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ART. I.—NOTES ON THE SIXTH CHAPTER OF  
ST. JOHN.

THERE are difficulties recognised in this chapter, and there is a question raised concerning it. The difficulties result from the transcendental nature of the truth revealed, and from the necessarily figurative language employed. The question turns upon the relation of the teaching of the chapter to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the evangelical narrative the present discourse and the institution of the Sacrament stand far apart from each other. Therefore it is likely that the difficulties will be best cleared, and the question best answered, by following the Scriptural guidance, and giving them separate consideration.

The study of the teaching of the discourse, as historically given, shall accordingly be first taken by itself; and it may be well to commence, before any detailed exposition, by stating the general impression we receive of the purport of the doctrine, and of the method in which it is conveyed.

The Gospel of St. John is a record of the self-revelation of Jesus Christ; and it is written that men may believe that He is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, they may have life through His name. The sixth chapter is a page in this record. The testimony thus recorded is never single. "I am one that bear witness of Myself, and the Father that sent Me beareth witness of Me." Even so it is here. The witness of the Father by a great miracle sustains the witness of the Son to a great mystery. The sign of the feeding of the five thousand is in its importance adequate to the revelation, and in its significance introductory to it.

The particular relation of Christ to man which is here

revealed is briefly contained in the words, "*I am the bread of life.*" He is the Life *absolutely* (as declared elsewhere and in chap. v. 26); also, in consequence, the Life to others, *by communication*; and that is the definite truth asserted here.

Life by communication is the rule of all Nature, a principle of the material creation well known to us. Vegetable life exists by feeding on surrounding elements, animal life by supplies from other life than its own. Man lives by appropriate nourishments, various in kind, of which the standing type is bread. In his spiritual life there is an analogous necessity, for which there is a Divine provision; and the source and secret of that provision is here revealed. It is Jesus Christ come in the flesh, who is Himself "the living bread that cometh down out of heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die."

In this teaching the following points are observable, and they assist in its explanation:

1. It is doctrine delivered, not properly as discourse, but *in colloquy*, given out by successive utterances in answer to the words of interlocutors, generally unsympathetic or perverse; apparently, also, with some interval, both of time and place—first, "when they had found Him," afterwards "in synagogue as He was teaching." The *hearers* are distinguished by the writer as the multitude, who show no intelligence; "the Jews," who cavil; disciples who are offended, and the Twelve who adhere.

2. Consequently *the teaching is twofold*: (1) Of Himself as the object of faith, and (2) of the faith which believes and receives Him. These two subjects are (as one may say) intertwined through the chapter; as, indeed, is the case through all this Gospel, which is at once a record of the manifestation of the Son of God, and of the reception of it on the part of man, combining revelation on the one subject with lessons and warnings on the other.

3. As a further consequence, the teaching is *gradual and consecutive*. Taking occasion from the successive suggestions of inquiry, disputation and offence, it advances step by step to the result. There is first the general promise of *food* for eternal life which the Son of man will *give*; then the identification of this food with *Himself* personally, as come down from heaven for the purpose; then more definitely with his *flesh*, which is for the life of the world; then the *participation* of this gift, by eating the flesh and drinking the blood, with its assured consequence of eternal life and resurrection at the last day; then the summary of this life, as being in the Father, given to the Son, and by the Son to participants in Him; lastly, the ruling principle of interpreta-

tion: "It is the spirit which giveth life; the flesh profiteth nothing."

This course of teaching the narrative gives with an animation that makes us present at the scene.

The five thousand guests in the wilderness had concluded, "This is of a truth the Prophet that cometh into the world," and on the following day a good number of them have arrived in pursuit, full of expectation of what next He might do and they might get. Has the sign answered its purpose? Not so. He who knew what was in man immediately lays bare their meaner mind, and calls them to work for the meat which abideth unto eternal life. *Eternal life*—a word unknown to the Old Testament (save one solitary utterance in Daniel)—is the special theme of Jesus, His great proposal, the consequence of His appearing. He would evoke the desire and inquiry for it in the dull souls of men. What an elevation to human consciousness, when the idea is once in possession of the mind! If but faintly apprehended, it changes thought and life. But *whence can this eternal life be drawn, supplied, or nourished?* That is the point here. There is a provision, and the Son of man will give it, for "Him the Father, God, hath sealed." These men have just seen the seal; and He has the right to ask them for that faith in Himself which will include all. To their inquiry, "What shall we do that we may work the works of God?" He answers: "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent." They will not give that faith. They demand new proof, and of their own dictating. "What dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the wilderness; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat."

This demand becomes a suggestion for the doctrine which follows. In one point, at least, they are right. A supply for eternal life must be bread *from heaven*. Earth cannot afford it. The true bread, they are told, is being given now—"that which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world." That sounds well. "Evermore," they cry, "give us this bread"—unintelligent, as the woman who cried, "Give me this water." That water was the Spirit which the Speaker would give. This bread is the Speaker Himself. "I am the bread of life." This is a great advance in the revelation; it is the very heart of it. Like "I am the resurrection and the life," it fixes faith, not on His gifts, but on Himself. A teacher sent from God might say, "I give the food of life," meaning the truths which he delivered. Only the Incarnate Son can change "I give" into "I am." He that comes and believes will find it true. He will not hunger or thirst as before.

Now appears a definite class of objectors, "the Jews,"



probably from among the multitude (perhaps having joined it). As always in this Gospel, they are men possessed with the spirit of the dominant Judaism. They naturally question what they hear. Jesus has said, "I came down from heaven." What can he mean? They know of his father and his mother. It is a real objection, but must wait for its answer. More is wanted than the answering of objections. There is need of a *disposition of mind*. (On this subject Divine sentences are spoken, precious for ever; but these are not within the present purpose to consider.) The statement, "I am the living bread, which came down out of heaven," is more solemnly reaffirmed, and two sayings follow which increase the difficulty and the mystery: "If one eat of this bread he shall live for ever"—*εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*; and then it is added: "And the bread which I will give is My flesh—for the life of the world." What new thoughts are these? The bread is to be *eaten*—it is His *flesh*; and His flesh is for the life of the world. Deep unexplained truths, parts of a whole revelation to come.

No wonder the Jews strove one with another in conjecture and argument. The question was: "How is this man able to give us the flesh to eat?" (not *his*, but *the flesh*—*τὴν σάρκα*, *v.e.*—of which he has spoken. Their natural uncertainty is, I think, reflected in the expression). One might have expected that perplexity would be lessened by explanatory words. On the contrary, the difficulty is augmented by language more positive and precise, and is made more emphatic by the "Amen, amen, I say unto you."

(1) The *personal* element is insisted on. The flesh is now defined as "the flesh of the Son of man," and then the previous *ἡ σὰρξ μου* becomes *μου τὴν σάρκα, μου τὸ αἷμα*, and (2) a *new* element is introduced foreign to Jewish thought and sacrificial habit—the drinking of the blood; and this twofold participation is maintained throughout. (3) The word for "eating" is suddenly changed from *φάγειν* to *τρώγειν*—an unusual word, only twice elsewhere found in the New Testament (Matt. xxiv. 38; John xiii. 18)—and this four times repeated. It is a word which most properly expresses the feeding of herbivorous animals, and may here change the idea of an occasional eating to that of a continuous or habitual feeding. (4) The spiritual connection of this participation with eternal life is asserted both on the positive and the negative side. Lastly, the history of the derivation of life is summed up in majestic words: "As the living Father has sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me (*ὁ τρώγων με*), he also shall live by Me."

The whole is followed by reaffirmation of the certain con-

veyance of the life that does not die through this feeding on this bread from heaven.

These things, it is added, were said in synagogue while teaching in Capernaum. No more is said of the Jews. But on some among them who had been disciples the effect was searching and sifting. Sounds of complaint were heard. "This discourse is hard—*σκληρός ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ λόγος*"—harsh and offensive; makes too great a demand for submission and acceptance; "Who can hear it?" It ended in alienation and departure. Assistance was given them, if they would have taken it, in words that cast back a sudden light on all that has been spoken. "Doth this offend you"—shock and stagger your faith? "What, then, if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where He was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life."

Here is a Divine commentary on all that has passed, especially with reference to the two objections raised:

1. The first had been about the coming down from heaven, which, if admitted, would make all teaching Divine. Coming down will be proved by going up (*καταβαίνων* by *ἀναβαίνων*), and the truth will be sealed when "the Son of man ascends up where He was before." It is the same testimony as had been given to Nicodemus, which, then as now, answers questions by the assurance that it is one from heaven who speaks. "We speak that we do know—and no man hath ascended into heaven but He that came down from heaven, the Son of man which is in heaven" (John iii. 13).

2. The other contention had been upon giving the flesh to eat. Light is thrown on this by the instruction: "It is the spirit that giveth life; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I have spoken to you are spirit and are life."

Some read this as if it effaced what had gone before, and construe the feeding on flesh and blood as receiving words and believing doctrine. The one is a means to the other, but not the same thing. Flesh and blood, so repeated and insisted on, means flesh and blood—the entire humanity which they represent. There is nothing figurative in them. But how can flesh and blood give life? Only as the medium of another power. So the revealing word is added: The spirit is the life-giving power: the flesh by itself and of itself has no such potency. It is derived to it only from conjunction with the spirit. So it was in Christ, for it is of Himself and of His flesh and blood that He has been speaking. It was the Spirit, which in Him was the indwelling Godhead, which gave to His human nature supernatural powers, and

made His flesh and blood channels of life for man. "He was manifest in the flesh and justified in the Spirit" (1 Tim. iii. 16). "He was put to death in the flesh and quickened by the Spirit" (1 Pet. iii. 18). "Through the eternal Spirit He offered Himself without spot to God" (Heb. ix. 14). Thus, the Spirit by conjunction with the flesh gave infinite worth to what was done in it, and was in its nature diffusive, making the assumed humanity communicative of life; so that whereas "The first man Adam became a living soul, the last Adam became a life-giving spirit" (1 Cor. xv. 45).

Yet further, as spirit generates spirit and communicates with spirit, it is the spirit in man which warms into life under the spirit of Christ, as St. Paul largely testifies in the eighth chapter to the Romans. Thus, in all Scripture there is the same account of the effect of the Incarnation in respect of Christ's work for us and in us, which is briefly comprehended in this saying, "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing."

This truth the Lord uses as a principle of interpretation for the words preceding: "The words which I have spoken to you (*τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λαλάηκα ὑμῖν*) are spirit, and are life"—spirit in their meaning and life in their effect. Thus, some relief was given to the offence caused by the last words—those on eating and drinking the flesh and blood. The impossibility of such action in a literal sense had been apparent, but the meaning is more clear when all is transferred into the region of spirit. Spiritual reception, appropriation, and participation, can only be expressed by words derived from the world of sense, as, in fact, all abstract language is. This eating and drinking is spiritual, the action of the soul deriving life and sustenance of Christ.

We know not what help these interpreting words may have afforded to some who were disciples; but many of them would hear no more and were gone. The Twelve at least remained. "Will ye also go away? Lord, to whom shall we go? Words of eternal life Thou hast." Whatever may be dark to them, as beyond present comprehension, words of eternal life have already sunk into their souls. They are heard from Him, and can be heard nowhere else; and with Him they will abide. If they cannot yet apprehend all the meaning of His words, they are at rest in their reliance on Himself, assured at least of this: "We have believed and know that Thou art the holy one of God."

The result of this teaching may be stated thus:

1. The eternal life is derived to man through the Son from the Father. The Father hath life in Himself. He hath given to the Son to have life in Himself (v. 26). This, as

St. John says in his Epistle, is the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested to us (1 John i. 2).

2. The manifestation and consequent communication to us is *through the flesh—i.e.*, through the true human nature which He took, and in which all His action toward us and for us has been accomplished.

3. We have participation in the Son of God come in the flesh, and in all that He did in the flesh for us, *by faith—i.e.*, by spiritual acts of coming and believing.

This coming and believing is not a single act, but a *continuous habit*, as is the support of physical life by food. And so Christ is to us not only the source of life, but the *bread of life—i.e.*, its *constant supply and support*.

The apprehension, appropriation, and assimilation of Christ by faith is a spiritual eating and drinking which makes us participants of His flesh and blood, His human nature, and all that through it He does for us, and shows to us, and gives to us, and is to us.



## ART. II.—CHALDEAN PRINCES ON THE THRONE OF BABYLON (ISAIAH XIII. 19).

### II.

IN the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for May 6, 1884, Dr. Pinches published a facsimile of a tablet of unbaked clay from Babylon, to which reference has already been made as the Second Dynastic Tablet, and of which Professor Sayce has given a translation in "Records of the Past," New Series, vol. i., pp. 15-19. This tablet, in virtue of its contents, is so important as to merit a very careful description. It consists of four columns of cuneiform writing, two on the obverse and two on the reverse, the top of one side forming the bottom of the other. Although considerable portions at the top of Cols. I. and II., and at the bottom of Cols. III. and IV., are broken away, there are two things which enable us to determine the original size of the tablet, and so to get at the length of the columns and the number of lines in each. In the first place, the peculiar shape of the tablet, the obverse being flat and the reverse curved, enables us to fix on the thickest part as the middle point. Then the first remaining line of Col. I., which reads: "11 Kings" [of the dynasty of Babylon, etc.], shows that eleven lines have been broken off, whilst the size of the writing enables us to calculate the space occupied by

these lines, and so to get the distance from the middle point to the top of Col. I., which is found to be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The tablet, then, must have been 5 inches long, and the size of the writing allows for thirty-two lines in each column. Also supposing Col. IV. to have been filled up with writing, this tablet when entire must have contained a complete list of the Babylonian dynasties from the dynasty of Khammurabi, under which Babylon became the seat of empire, down to the time of the Persian Sovereigns.<sup>1</sup> In its present condition, however, the tablet commences with the summary of the dynasty of Khammurabi, given in Col. I. 12, and closes at Col. IV. 22 with the name of Kandulanu—*i.e.*, Assurbanipal of Assyria, the predecessor of Nabopolassar on the throne of Babylon.

The first period of Chaldean rule over Babylon is covered by Dynasty IV. on the tablet, the dynasty of Isin, which consisted of eleven Kings, and lasted probably 132 years.<sup>2</sup> Only four royal names of this dynasty survive on the tablet, the first and last being mere fragments;<sup>3</sup> but three others have been recovered from Assyrian sources, and the whole seven have been arranged by Professor Rogers as follows:<sup>4</sup>

1. Marduk— . . . .
2.    )
3.    ) Four unknown Kings.
4.    )
5.    )
6. Nabû-kudurri-utsur (Nebuchadnezzar I.).
7. Bel-nadin-akhe.
8. Marduk-nadin-akhe.
9. Marduk-akhe-irba.
10. Marduk-shapik-zer-mati.
11. Nabû-shum— . . . .

With respect to the above Kings, Nebuchadnezzar I., the conqueror of the Kassites, was a contemporary of Asshur-rish-ishi, King of Assyria.<sup>5</sup> Bel-nadin-akhe is known from an inscription on a boundary-stone. His rule appears to have extended over "the Country of the Sea."<sup>6</sup> Marduk-nadin-

<sup>1</sup> It may have closed with Cyrus or Cambyses, or possibly a little earlier, to allow room for the name of the owner to be affixed at the end.

<sup>2</sup> This is the most approved reading, *not* seventy-two, as given in R.P., N.S., vol. i., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> See Col. II. 30, and Col. IV. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See Roger's History, vol. i., p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> See "The Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia," R.P., N.S., vol. iv., p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> See "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," Band iv., SS. 64-67.

akhe was a contemporary of Tiglathpileser I. of Assyria.<sup>1</sup> The location of Marduk-akhe-irba is, according to Rogers, exceedingly doubtful; nevertheless he takes this to be the King part of whose name appears on Col. III. 6, and the length of whose reign is there given as "1 year and 6 months." Marduk-shapik-zer-mati, sometimes read Marduk-shapik-kullat, was a contemporary of Assur-bel-kala of Assyria, the son of Tiglathpileser I. He appears to have lost his crown at the hands of Ramman-apal-iddina, a person of humble birth, who, nevertheless, married his daughter to the Assyrian King.<sup>2</sup> The arguments for the Chaldeoan origin of this dynasty are threefold. In the first place, all the Kings have one of the elements "Marduk" and "Nabû" in their names<sup>3</sup> (the significance of which will be presently explained), but not so the usurper Ramman-apal-iddina. Secondly, Nebuchadnezzar I., in his inscription (Col. I. 2), calls himself *tsi-it Babili*, "the offspring of Babylon," a term which, as we shall see, points to his being a Chaldeoan. Lastly, the fact of the usurper Ramman-apal-iddina being able, despite his low origin, to make such a good marriage for his daughter may be explained by the consideration that it was to the interest of Assyria that Babylon should be wrested from the Kaldi.

The dynasty of Isin, according to Rogers, commenced *circa* 1206 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar I. being the sixth King. Some authorities, however, look upon this monarch as the founder of the dynasty, in which case we must place its commencement about 1140 B.C.<sup>4</sup> If, then, our supposition be correct that this was a Chaldeoan dynasty, Chaldeoan Princes must have been sitting on the throne of Babylon as early as 1206 B.C., or at least 1140 B.C. Taking the later date, and placing the exodus of Israel in 1335 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> it will be seen that "Ur of the Chaldees" may well have been in the hands of that people at the time when Moses wrote the Pentateuch.

The second period during which Chaldeoan Princes were seated on the throne of Babylon is covered by the last two dynasties remaining on the tablet, viz., the eighth and ninth. The so-called Eighth Dynasty begins at Col. III. 19, and closes at Col. IV. 6. On Col. III. lines 19 and 20 are partly legible, and the rest is broken away. Still, we can see that this

<sup>1</sup> See "The Synchronous History," R.P., N.S., vol. iv., p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Practically so, since in the case of Bel-nadin-ape Bel=Marduk.

<sup>4</sup> See "A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians," p. 156, by Professor Goodspeed. London, 1903.

<sup>5</sup> See "The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia," p. 307, by Professor T. G. Pinches. London, 1902.

dynasty must have occupied 20 lines—viz., 14 lines on Col. III. + 6 lines on Col. IV. This allows for the names of nineteen Kings and a summary. The summary is very briefly given in Col. IV. 6, "31 Dynasty of Babylon," and must evidently be read "31 years," and *not* "31 Kings." The reason for this is twofold. First, as we have seen, there is not room for thirty-one Kings, only for nineteen.<sup>1</sup> In the next place, as C. P. Tiele points out, throughout the tablet the number of years is always specified without the addition of *shanati* "years;"<sup>2</sup> whilst, on the other hand, the number of Kings is never without the addition of *sharrani* "Kings."<sup>3</sup> Reading, then, Col. IV. 6 as "31 [*years*] Dynasty of Babylon," we see that it can only refer to the five Kings whose names occupy the first five lines of that column. Hence it is clear that the last fourteen lines of Col. III. must have contained another dynasty of thirteen Kings, with a closing summary. Let us call this Dynasty VIII A. Then the short dynasty of five Kings at the top of Col. IV. will be VIII B. I propose to show that both of these dynasties were composed of Chaldean Kings.

The names of the Kings of Dynasty VIII A., though broken away from the lower part of Col. II., have nevertheless been recovered in no less than eight instances, and their chronological sequence determined by means of the Assyrian historical records.<sup>4</sup> The order of these Kings is as follows :

Nabû-kin-aplu,  
 Erba-Marduk,  
 Shamash-mudammiq,  
 Nabû-shum-yukin I.,  
 Nabû-apal-iddina,  
 Marduk-nadin-shumu,  
 Marduk-balatsu-iqbi,  
 Bau-akhi-iddina,

and it will be seen at a glance that six out of these eight monarchs have "Marduk" or "Nabû" as an element in their names; this is an indication, as stated above, that the dynasty before us is a Chaldean one, although it would be too sweeping an assertion to affirm that every King of

<sup>1</sup> Sayce reads "21 Kings" instead of 31 in "Ancient History of Babylonia," p. xi; and as the curved reverse side of the tablet gives a little more room, this might seem a possible reading; but Tiele's reasoning is decisive against it.

<sup>2</sup> Except, indeed, in the case of a *single* year. See Col. II. 21, 22, 27, and Col. III. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See "Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte," Teil I., S. 105, footnote.

<sup>4</sup> See Dr. Paul Rost in "Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft," 1897, Heft ii.

Babylon whose name contains the name of one of those deities must be a Chaldean, seeing that even in the Kassite dynasty we meet with Marduk-apal-iddina, the son of Meli-Shipak (= "man of Merodach").<sup>1</sup> Agreeable, however, to the supposition that the above six Kings are Chaldeans is the fact that there is good reason for thinking that the remaining two, Shamash-mudammiq and Bau-akhi-iddina, whose names do not contain those elements, were usurpers. Thus, with respect to Shamash-mudammiq, "The Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia" informs us that he was slain by Nabû-shum-yukin, his successor on the throne.<sup>2</sup> If, therefore, we assume the latter to have been a Chaldean, the probability would be that the former was a usurper. So, too, in the case of Bau-akhi-iddina. When he first comes before us in the inscription of Shamshi-Rammanu, King of Assyria, he appears as the vassal of Marduk-balatsu-iqbi, his predecessor on the throne of Babylon; and this latter King, from the Kaldi forming the first of his auxiliaries, may be presumed to have been a Chaldean, as we have already seen. Ban-akhi-iddina, therefore, in whatever way he secured the throne, whether through the fickleness of the Babylonians or the interposition of the Assyrians, as far as the dynasty is concerned must be regarded as a usurper.

With reference to the other Kings of this dynasty, we possess a long mercantile inscription of Nabû-kin-aplu, from which it may be gathered that he sat on the throne of Babylon shortly after the time of Uras-kudurri-utsur, the second monarch of Dynasty VI., whose reign terminated only six years and three months before the commencement of Dynasty VIII., and that he had reigned at least twenty-four years at the time when the inscription was written.<sup>3</sup> This has led Dr. P. Rost to regard him as the first monarch of Dynasty VIII., who, according to the same authority, reigned thirty-six years.<sup>4</sup> The position of Erba-Marduk is somewhat uncertain. Rost regards him as one of about six (?) kings, whom he supposes to have reigned during the interval between Nabû-kin-aplu and Shamash-mudammiq. The Chaldean origin of this King is certified by the fact that Merodach-baladan claims him as an ancestor.<sup>5</sup> Nabû-shum-yukin is a name that occurs again as that of the second and fifth Kings

<sup>1</sup> See R.P., N.S., vol. i., p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> See "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," Band iv., SS. 82-93, where the name Uras-kudurri-utsur is given as Ninip-kudurri-utsur.

<sup>4</sup> Pinches' reading in Col. IV. 19 of the tablet is "13 years." See R.P., N.S., vol. i., p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> See the inscription of Merodach-baladan, Col. II. 43.



in Dynasty VIII B. In a cuneiform text published by Mr. S. A. Strong in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1892, vol. xxiv., p. 350, mention is made of a King of Babylon bearing this name, who is further styled "the son of Dakuri," from whence it may be inferred that he was the Prince of the Chaldean State of Bit-Dakuri. Evidence is thus adduced that either this Nabû-shum-yukin, or his namesakes in Dynasty VIII B., were Chaldeans. Turning next to Nabû-apal-iddina and his son Marduk-nadin-shumu, we observe that it was the defeat of the former by Assur-natsir-pal which, as noticed above, overwhelmed with terror the country of Kaldu, thus arguing a racial connection between these two monarchs and the Kaldi. Thus, to sum up the evidence, we may safely say that there is a strong probability that Dynasty VIII A. was a Chaldean dynasty.

Passing now to Dynasty VIII B., which occupies the first six lines of Col. IV., it will be seen that the evidence for its Chaldean origin is equally strong. This dynasty is given on the tablet as follows :

COLUMN IV.

1. . . . .
2. Nabû-shum-yukin for . . . (years).
3. Nabû-[natsir] for [14] (years).
4. Nabû-nadin-zeri his son for 2 (years).
5. Nabû-shum-yukin his son for 1 month and 12 days.
6. The 31 (years) of the dynasty of Babylon.

Here the name of the first King is wanting, whilst the name and length of reign of the third King, the Nabonassar of the classical writers, can be filled in from the Babylonian Chronicle. It will be noticed, further, that all the names contain the element Nabû, and that the last three Kings are in the direct succession of father and son. But the chief evidence as to the Chaldean origin of the dynasty is to be found in the name given to it in the summary, "*The dynasty of Babylon.*" This is a name which appears twice again on the tablet and in this same column, viz., in lines 15 and 18. In line 15 it is applied to Bel-ebush (Bel-ibni), in line 18 to Mushezib-Marduk. These two Kings reigned at Babylon in the time of Sennacherib. The former is described by him on the Bellino Cylinder as Bel-ibni, the son of the chief of the builders, *of the offspring of Babylon.*<sup>1</sup> The latter he expressly calls "*Shuzub the Chal-*

<sup>1</sup> See the Bellino Cylinder, line 13, *Bel-ibni (amelu) rab bani pir'u Babili*. The words *rab bani* ("chief of the builders") were formerly read syllabically, KAL-DA ("a Chaldean"), but this reading is now disallowed. With *pir'u Babili* compare *tsi-it Babili* in the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I. referred to above.

dean."<sup>1</sup> It appears, then, from the case of this Shuzub that by "the dynasty of Babylon," and the parallel expression "the offspring of Babylon," we are to understand a Chaldean dynasty.<sup>2</sup> It would seem as though these Chaldean Princes considered themselves Babylonians *par excellence*. Compare the language of the prophet Ezekiel, when speaking of the Princes and nobles of the time of Nebuchadnezzar—"the Babylonians, the land of whose nativity is Chaldea."<sup>3</sup>

Let us now proceed to an examination of the next dynasty on the tablet, the so-called Ninth Dynasty, which was of a very mixed nature, a medley of Chaldean and Assyrian Kings with one, or possibly two, native Babylonians. Here, by way of making the eye help the mind, I will print the names of the Assyrian Kings in capital letters, and those of the Chaldean Princes in italics. The list will then run as follows:

*Yukin-zer*, of the dynasty of Shashi, for three years.

PULU (Tiglathpileser III.), for two years.

ULULÂ (Shalmaneser IV.), of the dynasty of Tinu, for five years.

*Marduk-apal-iddina* (Merodach-baladan), of the dynasty of the Country of the Sea, for twelve years.

SHAR-UKIN (Sargon), for five years.

SIN-AKHE-ERBA (Sennacherib, son of Sargon), of the dynasty of Khabi the Greater, for two years.

Marduk-zakir-shumu, the son of Arad, for one month.

*Marduk-apal-iddina* (Merodach-baladan), a soldier of Khabi, for six months.

*Bel-ibni* (Belibush), of the dynasty of Babylon, for three years.

ASSUR-NADIN-SHUMU (son of Sennacherib), of the dynasty of Khabi the Greater, for six years.

Nergal-ushezib ("Shuzub of Babylon"), for one year.

*Mushezib-Marduk* ("Shuzub the Chaldean"), of the dynasty of Babylon, for four years.

SIN-AKHE-ERBA (Sennacherib), for eight years.

ASSUR-AKHE-IDDINA (Esarhaddon), for twelve years.

<sup>1</sup> See the Taylor Cylinder, Col. V. 8, *Shu-zu-bu (amelu) Kal-da-ai*; also Col. III. 45.

<sup>2</sup> On another tablet, given in R.P., N.S., vol. i., p. 13, this name, "The dynasty of Babylon," is given to the first of the Babylonian dynasties, which, as stated above, Hommel has shown to be of Arabian origin. My argument is that in the tablet before us the expression is used consistently throughout, and being found in one instance to denote a Chaldean Prince, must have the same meaning in the other two cases. This is the more likely since the interval of time between Dynasty VIII.B. and the two Kings mentioned in Col. IV., lines 15 and 18, was so short.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxiii. 15, R.V., margin.

SHAMASH-SHUMA-YUKIN (younger son of Esarhaddon),  
for twenty years.  
KANDALANU (Assur-bani-pal, elder son of Esarhaddon), for  
twenty-two years.

Thus the mixed nature of this dynasty is seen at a glance, and also the fact that it is almost entirely composed of Assyrian and Chaldean Kings, the only exceptions being Marduk-zakir-shumu, of whom we know nothing, and Nergal-ushezib, a nominee of the King of Elam, who was doubtless a Babylonian, since Sennacherib calls him "Shuzub of Babylon." With regard to some of the other names, Yukinzer, the *Xυζιρος* of Ptolemy, was, as we have seen, the Chaldean Prince of Bit-Amakkan. The names Pulu, the Pul of 2 Kings xv. 19, and Ululâ, "he of the month of August," stand respectively for Tiglathpileser III. of Assyria and his son Shalmaneser IV., and argue, possibly, some previous connection of these Sovereigns with Babylon. Merodach-baladan was twice on the throne of Babylon, for twelve years during the reign of Sargon, and then again for six months in the earlier part of Sennacherib's reign. On the second occasion he is styled on the tablet "a soldier of Khabi," whence it might be thought that we have here to do with a different person, were it not that the inscriptions of Sennacherib present him to us as the Chaldean Prince of Bit-Yakin.<sup>1</sup> The Chaldean origin of Bel-ibni and Mushezib-Marduk, as we have seen above, is vouched for by the description "of the dynasty of Babylon," and the fact that the latter is expressly called a Chaldean by Sennacherib.

The above list shows that during Sennacherib's reign over Assyria no less than seven different Kings sat on the throne of Babylon. This arose from an unfortunate attempt on the part of that monarch to govern Babylon by deputy, which was more than the proud spirit of the Babylonians could endure. Hence the reign of Sennacherib was one long series of struggles, in which Babylon sought the help of the Chaldeans against the might of Assyria. These struggles were terminated by the great battle of Khaluli, in which Mushezib-Marduk was assisted by the Chaldean States, Bit-Adini, Bit-Amukkan, Bit-Shilani, and Bit-Shahalli, and also by Nabû-shum-ishkun, the son of Merodach-baladan, and by the Elamites, the constant allies of the Kaldi. Sennacherib, who on the Taylor Cylinder describes the battle at great length, claims a brilliant victory; nevertheless, he does not appear to have felt safe till he had gone the length of utterly destroying Babylon itself. The result of these harsh measures

<sup>1</sup> See the Taylor Cylinder, Col. III. 50, 51.

was, no doubt, to throw the Babylonians more and more into the arms of the Kaldi, and to inspire them with an undying hatred of Assyria. Esarhaddon, the rebuildler of Babylon, strove hard to undo the ill-effects of his father's policy, but unhappily, at the close of his reign, he fell into his father's mistake, assigning Assyria to his elder son Assur-bani-pal, and appointing his younger son Shamash-shum-yukin to be sub-King of Babylon. For awhile, indeed, this ill-judged plan seems to have worked well, despite the fact that proud Babylon was again placed in a position of dependence. But when Assur-bani-pal, intoxicated with his successes, began to show an increasingly arrogant spirit towards his brother, and to treat him as a mere prefect, Shamash-shum-yukin, now in full sympathy with his restless Babylonian subjects, entered into an alliance with the Chaldeans, the Arameans, and the Arabian tribes. Amongst his allies were the States of Bit-Dakuri and Bit-Amukkan, along with Nabû-bel-zikri, the grandson of Merodach-baladan. The struggle of Khaluli was thus repeated, and with the same result. After experiencing the horrors of a famine, Babylon was taken, and the brutal conqueror exults in the fact that he had butchered the inhabitants on the very spot where his grandfather Sennacherib had committed similar atrocities.<sup>1</sup> But these acts of savage ferocity brought their own retribution with them. The Babylonians, thoroughly sickened with the brutalities of Assyrian rule, were thrown into entire sympathy with the Kaldi, and on the death of Assur-bani-pal, beholding Assyria weakened by those very struggles which had raised her to the height of military glory, appear quietly to have asserted their own independence under a Chaldean King—to wit Nabopolassar, the founder of the New Empire.

CHARLES BOUTFLOWER.

*(To be continued.)*

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ART. III.—MISSION VILLAGES IN SOUTH INDIA.

THE writer of the following pages will ask the reader's attention to the above subject on the following grounds: First, that he believes he is able to approach it with as unbiassed a mind as can usually be expected, and to view it from a different point to that from which the interesting reports of our missionaries are generally written. Secondly, that he was able to devote three weeks instead of the usual three days which the traveller generally allots to the inspec-

<sup>1</sup> See the Annals of Assurbanipal, Col. iv. 71.

tion of this district. Thirdly, on account of the importance which he believes attaches to the conclusions which he draws from the conditions which obtain in those villages. To understand rightly the condition of things in the mission villages of South India it is necessary first of all to have a clear conception of their geographical position. Starting from Cape Comorin and following a line due north for one hundred miles, then turning south-east for another sixty, we cut off an area of land equal in size to one of our English counties, but only a tiny fragment of the vast expanse of India. This area is named "Tinnevelly district," the word "district" being employed to denote the area under the charge of a Collector. In the centre of the district stand the twin towns of Tinnevelly and Palamcottah, on the left and right banks of the river Tambraparni—Palamcottah being the centre of education, seat of the law-courts, and the residence of European and the wealthy native inhabitants, while Tinnevelly, almost entirely inhabited by natives, is the chief seat of trade and business. The work which is being carried on at Palamcottah by the C.M.S., especially the admirable girls' schools under the charge of Miss Asquith, is probably well known to the readers of this paper, and does not strictly fall within the writer's purview. The scene of mission work to which he would direct the reader's attention is situated about twenty miles south-east of Palamcottah. One can only form to one's self an idea of what twenty miles' separation from civilization means in this part of India by realizing the way in which the interval is bridged over. Almost the only means of transit is the common cart of the country. This is simply a flat framework of wood resting without springs on two large wheels. It is covered with a horseshoe-shaped tilt made of palmyra matting open at the two ends. This is drawn by two bullocks yoked to the central pole. The average pace of bullocks is about two and a half miles an hour, so that, allowing for the necessary rests, it takes nine or ten hours to traverse this distance—rather longer, in fact, than the traveller at home occupies in passing from London to Edinburgh. The first part of this route lies through a perfectly level sandy country, which, when the writer passed through it at the end of November, was for the most part as bare of vegetation as a vast tract of seashore. The lines of banyan-trees shading the sides of the road and an occasional clump of palmyras were the only relief to this monotonous view. Traces of past cultivation, however, showed that in favourable seasons part, at any rate, of this tract was productive. The scarcity of rain during the last two years had, however, condemned it to become a sterile waste. The latter half of the journey is

through country more varied and more pleasing. The road approaches the valley of the river Tambraparni. The country becomes more broken and undulating, and it has been possible to discover places where tanks can be constructed and the rain-water husbanded. Around these tanks and along the banks of the river there is a rich culture, chiefly of rice, which grows luxuriantly wherever water can be provided. Here and there in this belt of cultivation we pass flourishing villages, one of which may be dignified by the name "town." Rising again out of the river valley, the last two miles of our journey take us up to the edge of a singular plateau. This is composed of sand and gravel of a brilliant red tint, so brilliant that, seen in the rays of the setting sun, it requires but little imagination to picture it as dyed with blood. Here and there in depressions of the plateau are groups of palmyras, but for the most part this tract is absolutely devoid of vegetation. On its borders stand most of the mission villages belonging to the two great societies. It will be understood, then, from this description of their situation, that they are to all intents and purposes entirely isolated from the rest of India. It is but rarely that one of the inhabitants of these villages moves to another part of India, or that the population is recruited by emigrants from elsewhere. No newspaper penetrates here and the politics of the world are the politics of the village. Public opinion is the opinion of the majority of villagers, and the standards of life which they set before themselves are standards which are lived out in their midst. The policy of the missionary has been to found villages of this type exclusively inhabited by Christian converts. The industry of the locality has lent itself to this policy. All the occupations of the villagers are connected with the palmyra-tree, which, like many other specimens of the palm tribe, can be adapted to a hundred uses. Hence, wherever a plantation of palmyras could be made a village could be founded. The missionaries, therefore, having built a church, gathered their converts around them, and in their own limited locality were much more Christian than an average English parish. The natives naturally looked up to the European family settled in their midst in a manner of which we find only a faint reflection in the respect paid by the inhabitants of a rural parish to the most esteemed of incumbents. The church became naturally a centre of village life; its services were the only variation of the daily monotony of toil. To a people whose ordinary avocations are not arduous, and who are to a great extent their own masters, being able to allot their time much as they like, unhindered by the rigid rules which govern labour at home, this means that whenever a service was held it required very little

self-denial, if any, on the part of the people to insure a congregation.

On Sunday the whole population, with the exception of the very young and the very infirm, would be found at church as frequently as the missionary was able to have service there. The simplicity of life in a rural district within nine degrees of the equator is such as we at home find it very difficult to conceive of. The climate renders unnecessary those provisions for clothing, for housing, and even for cooking, which are to us, in our Northern clime, of the highest importance. A simple hut with mud walls and having but two rooms, thatched with palmyra leaves, is amply sufficient to afford requisite shelter. One or two pieces of thin calico, a few yards long and unshaped in any way, form the clothing of both sexes. A fire lighted in the evening on the ground in the open air with a few sticks is sufficient to cook the curry and rice which are required to form not only the principal meal of the day, which is taken in the evening, but also to provide all that is necessary for the two lesser meals of the following day. Upon a people who live in such simplicity it is obvious that the duties of home sit but lightly. They may spend many hours of the day away from home without having neglected anything which it is their duty to do there. We must not, therefore, attach a fictitious value to the religious feeling which prompts men and women situate as these are to attend daily morning and evening service, with possibly a Bible-class or reading on some evening of the week, and on Sunday to be prepared to spend four or five hours in the church, engaged either in services or in receiving instruction in the Sunday-school. Indeed, we may say that the missionaries of both the great societies have succeeded in the villages of the Tinnevely district in realizing the ideal which "General" Booth has set for the members of the Salvation Army of causing religion to so interpenetrate the daily duties of life that his officers should cause their services to be an indispensable necessity to their people.

This is what has been done in the villages we are writing of. The foundations of a house are not laid without prayer being offered by the pastor; the house, when it is built, is not inhabited till it has once again been consecrated by prayer. No marriage takes place without the advice of the missionary having been sought, and no child is sent out into the world away from its native village except at the desire or request of the missionary. Of course, it is clear that in such a state of things as this is public opinion is necessarily religious opinion. We in England must go back thirteen centuries to find a parallel case amongst ourselves. Then, no doubt, the mis-

sionaries of Augustine in the South, or of Cuthbert in the North, gathered round them, at Canterbury and Durham, converts who formed settlements similar to those we are describing. But such a state of things has long passed away in England. Now in every parish we have a certain number who are direct opponents of religion; we have likewise a considerable number of those who, though not hostile to Christianity, are letters alone of religion, and there is, therefore, but little temptation for those who profess to be actuated by religious motives to be making their profession hypocritically; if they are not for us, there are two camps ever waiting to receive recruits who shall be against us. There they can obtain the society and recreations which they desire: they lose nothing socially by being separated from the religious element of the parish. The word "excommunication" has no terrors for them. But in a Tinnevely mission village "excommunication" is as dread a word today as it was in England in the reign of King John. To be separated from the Church means to them to be cast out of the only society they know, and to have withdrawn from them those services which they have looked upon, not as privileges only, but as necessities. There is therefore a very strong temptation to simulate the religious feeling, if not to be actual hypocrites. Nothing can be more pleasing than to see, as the writer had the privilege of seeing, how Sunday is spent among these simple people; but what has been already written must guard the reader from attaching an undue importance to what is thus seen. With this caution we will endeavour to picture the scenes presented to us on two successive Sundays spent at two typical villages, Nazareth and Mengnanapuram.

Nazareth is the headquarters of the S.P.G. Mission. It has for many years had the advantage of having been the home of Canon A. Margöschis, whose personal influence is enormous, and whose devoted work is well known through the length and breadth of India. The land on which the village is built and by which it is surrounded is the property of the Society, and the palmyra-trees growing on it are let out at a moderate rental to the villagers. The village consists of two parallel main streets, well laid out, and at the end of one of them, in an open space, stands the church. It is a low building, with a square tower at one end. Were it not that the building is whitewashed outside and that the green Venetian shutters which close the windows catch the eye, at a casual glance it might be taken for a village church of moderate size at home. Directly you step inside any such illusion vanishes. You find yourself in a building of which the windows give some faint suggestion of Gothic architecture, whereas the pillars are decidedly Classic; in fact, the shell of the building



is not at all unlike a district church built in the thirties, under the influence of Philistine churchwardens. The floor is of concrete, polished by the feet of thousands, and unencumbered by pew, bench, or chair. The chancel, raised one step above the nave, contains appropriate choir-stalls; and above them, again, we see an altar as handsomely and elaborately draped as in one of our churches at home. Passing through a gate close to the church, we find ourselves in an enclosure which contains the schools and other mission buildings. In addition to the ordinary elementary and advanced schools, a large building is devoted to technical instruction, which is most efficiently imparted. Another building close to the missionary's bungalow is the Hospital of St. Luke, where many thousands of cases are annually administered to by Canon Margöschis, who is equally at home in medicine and divinity. Beyond the hospital stretches the singular desert of red sand already described.

It is 8.30 on Sunday morning. Outside the mission bungalow is gathered a long line of choristers, robed in scarlet cassocks covered with short white surplices; behind them stand two native pastors entirely in white. One moment more and the missionary, fully robed, takes his place in the procession, which moves towards the church, led by the cross-bearer. As we near the western door, a processional hymn in Tamil strikes up. Entering the church, the scene is most striking. From western end to chancel step is one dense mass of humanity. A church which in England would be seated for about 350 here has a congregation of 900. On the south side stand the women and girls, each one dressed in the graceful garb of the country, the only observable difference being that the women pass one end of their cloth over the head, to satisfy the requirement of the Apostle. On the north side stand the men and boys, very variously clothed and unclothed: some of the poorer men wearing nothing but a loin-cloth, others, more prosperous, enveloped in ample folds of cotton or muslin. The service is fully choral, and the singing is such as many a Vicar of a country parish at home would be well satisfied if his choir could produce. This early service consists of Morning Prayer and celebration of the Holy Communion, and the number of communicants would cheer the heart of an English pastor. From a village whose population is not more than 1,200 nearly 300 communicants present themselves each Sunday. It was the writer's privilege to preach on this occasion, and he will not readily forget those lines of dark faces ranged along the floor, all eagerly drinking in the words which fell from the lips of the Tamil interpreter, and eagerly scanning the face of the preacher, to gather from

his expression and tone an anticipation of the meaning of the strange words which fell from his lips. At noon another service was held, conducted by one of the native pastors, and yet once more the congregation assembled to join in a full evening service.

The following Sunday was spent at Mengnanapuram, a place which will ever be associated with the name of Mr. Thomas, who was for so many years connected with it, and whose wife and daughter still carry on as far as lies within their province the work of the late pastor. It is four miles from Nazareth to Mengnanapuram across the *terai*, or sandy waste, and when half that distance has been traversed, one sees rising out of palmyra groves the beautiful spire of Mengnanapuram Church. Surprising indeed is the contrast between a village, which can only be approached on horseback through the deep sand, and which consists of mud huts, similar to those previously described, and the noble stone church, which recalls memories of Doncaster. The building is indeed a magnificent one. It is cruciform, with a lofty tower and spire, and the great height of the roof makes the interior most impressive. Walls and pillars are alike of stone, and the open floor, devoid of benches, gives apparently additional breadth and height to the building. It is said to seat over 2,000 persons, and is not unfrequently filled on special occasions by contingents from the neighbouring villages, the population of Mengnanapuram itself being about 1,000.

The services on the Sunday in question began at 7.30 with the celebration of Holy Communion, at which there were about 280 communicants. This was followed at 9.30 by a service for children, which is not usually held in church, but which had grown out of a suggestion that the writer should address the children in the Sunday-schools. In place of the original idea, all the children of the schools were assembled in church, to the number of about 400, and a short service was held specially for them. In many ways it was a contrast indeed to the children's services we are accustomed to at home. The children sat cross-legged on the floor, and there were none of the difficulties of discipline and order which we sometimes have to grieve over in England. They sat as quiet as mice, listening to the address that was translated sentence by sentence to them, and showing not the slightest unwillingness to answer any question that was put to them. Some, indeed, amongst the elder ones might be observed taking notes of the heads of the address. After the service was over they filed away two by two—the girls through one door, the boys through another—in absolute silence, their bare feet making no noise on the concrete floor, and their soft clothes no rustling as they moved. At noon

took place the chief service of the day. This consisted of Morning Prayer and sermon, and was attended by about 1,300 people. No doubt the presence of a stranger caused the number at this service to be rather larger than usual, but the service was ordinarily attended by not less than 1,000. This was followed by a Sunday-school for adults, also held in the church, and lasting for about half an hour. In the afternoon men who are members of the Young Men's Christian Association go out in parties to heathen villages in the neighbourhood, and hold outdoor services there. Instead of visiting one of these services, the writer was asked to attend the evening service at a small Christian village about four miles from Mengnanapuram. One of the schoolmasters volunteered to act as the interpreter, and, guided by him and a body of young men from Mengnanapuram, we rode slowly along the very sandy roads to the place of service. The church stands on a rising ground, and in the open space in front of its gate grow two magnificent banyan-trees. Under these trees, more than fifty years ago, Mr. Thomas stood on his first visit to the district, and, in the course of an address to the people, foretold that the day was coming when a Christian church should be built in that village. Many years ago that forecast was fulfilled, and a church, simple indeed in its architecture, but sufficient for its purpose, now occupies the centre of the village. We found the pastor had drawn up his people in two lines under these historic trees to receive us.

The voices of welcome proved a little too much for the equanimity of our steeds, and some little time elapsed before we could calm their feelings. Then, dismounting, we were ushered into the church, which was immediately filled to its utmost capacity by the crowd that followed. The building would have been considered a small church at home, but by some means or other over 800 people contrived to find sitting room within its walls. The village has the reputation of having very hearty services, and certainly the singing and responses at this service fully bore out that reputation. On the other hand, there was considerable slackness about what might be termed the order and discipline of the congregation. Persons entered and left the church freely during the progress of the service, and children were allowed to walk about unchecked. The furniture and fittings of the church, too, were in an unnecessarily slovenly condition. Extreme simplicity in such fittings may be expected where the available funds are so infinitesimal as they are in the native churches in this district. But simplicity is always compatible with neatness. Here, alas! they are generally found divorced, and what was found in this church is, it must be confessed, the rule in churches and

schools which are entirely under native supervision. This is partly due to the fact that the word "tidy" has no place in the Oriental vocabulary. That neatness which is so dear to the English eye is remarkable by its absence in the sunny East. Gorgeousness where means allow and tawdriness where poverty demands take its place in Eastern climes. Partly, also, it is due to the lack of personal influence of the pastor over his flock. In a country like India, where social order has fixed itself in lines which cannot be altered, respect is paid to social position in a way which we cannot understand in a country where liberal traditions have broken so largely the barriers of rank. But in India all this is different. A pastor, however able he may be, and however excellent an education he may have received, yet, if one of his brothers is a palmyra climber and another a bandy driver, these facts are never forgotten by his fellow-villagers. To their mind he still belongs to the class from which he sprung, and from which, according to the caste traditions of his country, he can never depart.

We at home are accustomed to value a man according to his personal worth and ability, but in the East it is not so. Consequently, many of the native pastors, estimable men in every respect, are still without real influence among their flock. And they for their part would be the first to acknowledge that it is so. Indeed, they instinctively showed this by their mode of addressing their European fellow-labourers. They cannot realize that we desire to stand on the same platform with themselves as fellow-priests in the Church of God. They invariably address the European with the same titles of respect that are used by their lay brethren. It must also be borne in mind that it is but rarely that one finds the organizing and governing qualities, which are probably the leading characteristic of the English race, at all fully developed in the South Indian character. This probably explains the failure of the policy adopted a few years since by both the C.M.S. and S.P.G. of replacing the European missionaries by native pastors. It is an object which, of course, we must always have in view to make the Native Church entirely independent of aid from outside. It must always be a source of weakness in the Church in India if it is to look to Europe for a permanent supply of pastors and teachers. The time must come when it is to be entirely officered from its own ranks, but we must learn not to hurry that day. The experiment alluded to above turned out to be almost a complete failure. Disappointing though this was, one of the societies, the C.M.S., has had the courage to acknowledge its mistake and to return almost entirely to its old plan. A slight variation has, indeed, been made in that

plan, but this variation is an undoubted improvement. Instead of placing their European missionaries at three or four fixed centres, with the charge of the surrounding district, they now spend their whole time in itinerating from village to village and giving that superintendence and assistance, which are necessary in order that the work of the Church may be kept up to its proper standard. The S.P.G. still adheres to the experiment, which it began at the same time with its fellow-society, of withdrawing the European missionaries and replacing them by natives. But the results are eminently unsatisfactory. If we look to statistics we find that the number of Church members shows but slight, if any, increase, while if we ask the missionaries themselves they with one voice deplore a policy which they look upon as fatal.

Before closing this paper it may be well to point out the remedy for this state of things, which was very strongly borne in upon the mind of the writer during his visit to this interesting district. There is, no doubt, very much to be thankful for in the religious life of these villages. We at home might learn lessons of humility and faith from many shining examples of the Christian life which are found in these quiet hamlets. But we must, at the same time, not blind our eyes to the helplessness and want of independence which sap the strength of these little colonies, and will, if neglected, prevent them from ever fulfilling the high destiny which seems to be placed before them. The difficulty may be briefly stated as follows.

Without European superintendence there appears to be nothing before them but disorder and disintegration. On the other hand, if they are continually to be under the charge of a foreign chief, they will never quit the position of children in a nursery. The problem to be solved, then, is how to develop an independent and self-reliant character in their own pastors. This, I believe, can only be done by freeing them from the trammels by which they are now bound. They must be removed from a sphere of work where tradition debars them from freedom of action to one where their real power will be able to grow and develop. The solution, then, of the problem will, I believe, be found if we encourage some of the ablest among them to become independent missionaries in a country where they will be permitted complete freedom of action and development.

Such a sphere, I believe, may be found in the mission districts of Central Africa. There, instead of being overshadowed, as they are at home, by the deadening social influence of castes higher than their own and by the paramount influence of the European, they would be surrounded by a people who would at once acknowledge their intellectual superiority and be pre-

pared to receive teaching from them, while at the same time they would probably succeed in infusing into the Oriental some of that vigour of character which is strongly marked in the Central African races, especially in those of the Uganda district. A few years of such work might prove of immense blessing both to the teacher and to the taught. Now, one of the great difficulties which besets work in that particular mission-field is the unsuitableness of the climate to the European constitution. Hence, the work of the Church in that district has been carried on under the disadvantage of a continual change of teachers. Every two or three years the European missionary in Central Africa has to give place to a successor. But to the native of South India the climate would scarcely differ from that in which he was born and brought up. He would, in fact, feel at home there, and be able to use all his powers, unfettered and unhindered by the disadvantages of an uncongenial climate. Returning to his native land after ten years of independent work, he would approach his people from an entirely different standpoint. He would find that the liberal influences which result from travel and from mixing with the world would have broken down those barriers which seemed insuperable so long as his village was the world. He would feel his position enlarged, and, realizing what his true function was, he would assert that position in a manner which could not be denied. His flock would find that, while the same man had returned to their midst, he had returned wondrously transformed, and he for his part would discover that now he had no difficulty in obtaining that respect for his opinions and obedience to his decisions which would enable him to enforce that discipline among his flock which is now conspicuous by its absence. Officered by pastors of this description, strong in their emancipation from the tyranny of effete tradition, the Church in India will soon find itself able to dispense with that helpless dependence upon European support which is now its greatest weakness, and also, apparently, its only strength. Under such a changed order of things, we might expect to see—and we should be justified in expecting—that the native Church would be able to govern and support itself without English assistance, and to make that rapid progress in the conversion of India to Christianity which can only be expected to take place when the work is done from within, not from without.

A. E. LOVE.



## ART. IV.—THE BATTLE OF GIBEON—I.

THE Book of Joshua, as a record of the early occupation of Palestine by the Israelites, is an intensely interesting composition. It appeals to our minds in various ways. In our youth we looked upon it as the campaign story-book of the Bible, yet something infinitely truer than a novel, the discrepancies of which young minds easily account for by relegating them to the sphere of fiction. And though we began by being told not to doubt the truth of the Bible, we discover, as we grow older, that the more we study the words of the text the clearer does the meaning appear in a manner afforded by the study of no other volume. And the Book of Joshua, containing as it does incidents which, sooner or later, present to our minds problems more or less inconsistent with the intellectual degree of reasoning at which we are conscious of having arrived, does not so much affect us as a record to be doubted or disbelieved, as strengthen our conviction that there is some misconception which we have all along been entertaining, but which is capable of correct interpretation could we but know what it is. With all its marvels it bears the impress of truth, and will submit to the minutest scrutiny without losing its Divine claim, the scrutiny invariably tending to disperse the obscuring clouds from before the clear light that we know is behind. The study may be unsuccessful at many points, and yet how often has what we have thought inexplicable yielded to some test we had not been led to apply before, the result being so ineffably reassuring as to afford a bright pledge of future success. And, of all the chapters in the Book of Joshua, the tenth is perhaps the one which contains more difficulties than any other. It is this chapter on which we venture now to offer some suggestions.

But before proceeding to indicate the line we propose taking, let us for a moment note what the difficulties are that present themselves. First, there is the reconciliation of the direction of the rout of the enemy with the geography of the places mentioned, many of which have been identified. Then comes the serious difficulty, in the eyes of the scientist, of the sun and moon standing still. Again, there is the—not very valid, but nevertheless demanding explanation—perplexity about Joshua being cognizant of the geography of the country he had never seen beyond Gibeon, arising from his mention of the Valley of Aijalon. There is also the difficulty of understanding Joshua's motive in apostrophizing *both* sun and

moon, because he could hardly have desired the light of both at the same time; that is to say, the light of the moon is of no use during daylight, and if the day were lengthened night became day, and where was the need of moonlight? Then there is the difficulty about the physical capability of the Israelite army being able to sustain the fatigue of a quick night-march of at least five hours, followed by a running fight of about thirty-six more, that being the period we have reason to ascribe to the whole action up to the execution of the five kings, if the sun's light were prolonged for an additional day. Next, there is some explanation required of how Joshua carried on the campaign beyond Makkedah without reinforcements till he had subdued the whole of Southern Palestine, with the original body of troops that he had hastily mobilized for the relief of Gibeon. And, lastly, there is the perplexity about the phrase in the twenty-first verse, "none moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel," where it is hard to realize who but Israelites could have returned "*in peace*" to Joshua. So that it really appears as if the whole chapter bristles with difficulties, if not improbabilities.

How are we to set about the solution of these perplexities? Does not the first idea that occurs to us point to the necessity of our being quite clear as to the geography of the country spoken of in this chapter, so that we may be able to trace the line of Joshua's march, the probable site of the battle, and the direction of the rout? Then, we ought to be familiar with the history of the places mentioned, and the events which led to the battle and its consequences. It would also be instructive to follow Joshua's and the enemy's movements from a military point of view. And then we might advantageously devote our attention to the phenomenon of the sun and moon standing still, if by any means that phenomenon and science may be reconciled. We shall therefore endeavour to offer facilities for inquiry in these directions, by giving some geographical, historical, strategical, and astronomical details.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL.

The position of each of the six important places mentioned—viz., Gilgal, Gibeon, Beth-horon, Aijalon, Azekah, and Makkedah—ought certainly to be found out by us.

*Gilgal.*—The site of Gilgal has not been absolutely identified yet, but it will be seen, for the purposes of our inquiry, that, owing to its propinquity to Jericho, the relative position of the latter to the other places will be quite sufficient. Wherever Gilgal was, it was in Jericho's vicinity, probably to the south-east or east, the site of which town still bears its old name



Yarihu under the Arabic form Er Riha, so that Gilgal could not have been more, certainly, than nineteen or twenty miles, in a straight line, distant from Gibeon in a south by west direction.

*Gibeon* (Bib. Dict.).—"The situation of Gibeon has, fortunately, been recovered with as great certainty as any ancient site in Palestine. . . . Retaining its ancient name almost intact, El Jib stands on the northernmost of one of these mamelons, just at the place where the road to the sea parts into two branches, the one by the lower level of the Wady Suleiman, the other by the heights of the Beth-horon to Gimzo, Lydda, and Joppa."

*Beth-horon* (Bib. Dict.).—"There is no room for doubt that the two Beth-horons still survive in the modern villages of *Beit-úr*, *et-takta*, and *el-foka*, which were first noticed by Dr. Clarke. Besides the similarity of the names, and the fact that the two places are still designated as 'upper' and 'lower,' all the requirements of the narrative are fulfilled in this identification. . . . From Gibeon to the Upper Beth-horon is a distance of about four miles of broken ascent and descent. The ascent, however, predominates, and this, therefore, appears to be the 'going up' to Beth-horon which formed the first stage of Joshua's pursuit. With the upper village the descent commences, the road rough and difficult even for the mountain-paths of Palestine. This rough descent from the upper to the lower *Beit-ur* is the 'going down to Beth-horon' of the Bible narrative." The writer is here under the impression that this "going up" to Beth-horon was the first stage of Joshua's pursuit; but we think from the narrative that it must have been the last.

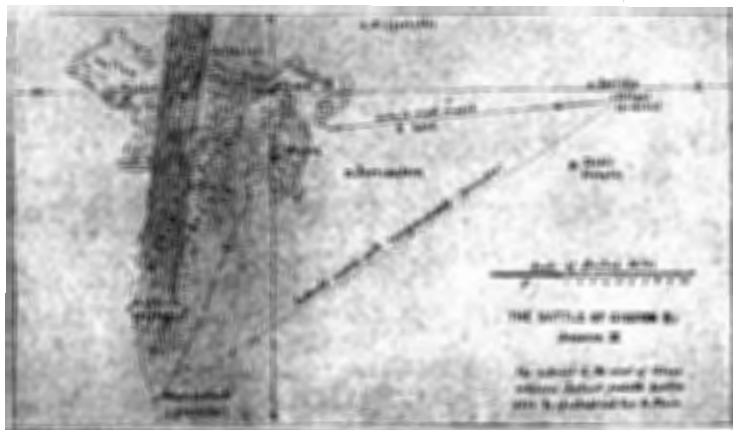
*Aijalon* (Bib. Dict.).—"The town has been discovered by Dr. Robinson in the modern *Yálo*, a little to the north of the Joppa road, about fourteen miles out of Jerusalem." Its position on the latest map (Pal. Ex. Fund) is about nine miles west of Gibeon in almost the same latitude, with its valley extending from somewhat east to mostly north of it.

*Azekah* (Bib. Dict.).—"A town of Judah with dependent villages lying in the Shefelah, or rich agricultural plain. It is most clearly defined as being near Shochoh (1 Sam. xvii. 1). Joshua's pursuit of the Canaanites after the battle of Beth-horon extended to Azekah. . . . The position of Azekah has not yet been recognised." But the Shefelah, or rich agricultural plain of Judah, is considerably south of Gibeon, and yet the writer of the above seems to think that Joshua's pursuit of the enemy to Beth-horon was on the way to Azekah. This, we think, is a misconception, which in all due courtesy we shall venture later on to correct. The valley near to

Azekah (1 Sam. xvii. 1), which "there seems no reason to doubt is the Valley of the Terebinth," has been pretty well identified, and may therefore be sufficient in informing us of the southerly position of Azekah on the way to Makkedah.

*Makkedah* (Bib. Dict.).—"Its situation has hitherto eluded discovery. The report of Eusebius and Jerome is that it lay eight miles to the east of Eleutheropolis, *Beit-Jibrin*, a position irreconcilable with every requirement of the narrative." The writer of the above is, we think, led to doubt the position given by Eusebius and Jerome because it places Makkedah so far south, and certainly in the opposite direction to Joshua's rout of the enemy over Beth-horon, which was west-north-west of Gibeon. But are we quite sure that Joshua did pursue the enemy to Makkedah? Until this is quite clear from the text, we should not have impugned authority so topographically given. For Eusebius' and Jerome's Makkedah does not appear to be irreconcilable, but, on the other hand, agrees with every requirement of the narrative.

The accompanying diagram shows the correct positions, at any rate, of Jericho, Gibeon, Beth-horon, and Aijalon, about



which there is no doubt; as also the probable positions of Gilgal, Azekah, and Makkedah, the first of these three places being close to Jericho, the second being in the Shefelah of Judah, and close to the spot described in 1 Sam. xvii. 1 as the boundary of the Philistines' battlefield; the third is where Eusebius and Jerome place it. We shall see if the narrative itself does not bear out these positions.

The other places mentioned are Jerusalem, Ai, Hebron, Eglon, Gaza, Jarmuth, Lachish, Libnah, Gezer, Debir, Kadesh-

barnea, and the country of Goshen. The positions of the first five are known, while those of the others are still open to conjecture, though Eusebius and Jerome have fixed the sites of Lachish and Libnah. Jarmuth is probably *Yarmuk* in the Shefelah, visited by Dr. Robinson. "Perhaps the strongest claims for identity with Gezer are put forward by a village called *Yasur*, four or five miles east of Joppa on the road to *Ramleh* and *Lydd*" (Bib. Dict.). Debir is the name of three places in Palestine, two of which are apparently in Judah: (a) Debir, also called *Kirjath-sepher*, south-south-west of Hebron; (b) Debir "near the 'Valley of Achor,' and therefore in the complication of hill and ravine behind Jericho" (Bib. Dict.). We can only say that *Kadesh-barnea* is about the southern boundary of Palestine, while the country of Goshen is evidently some tract "apparently between the south country and the lowlands of Judah" (Bib. Dict.). With reference to the above places, we think that Debir (b) is perhaps the Debir which Joshua destroyed when returning from Hebron on his way to Gilgal after finishing his campaign to the south. But all of the names belong to the southern country, except, perhaps, that of Gezer.

#### HISTORICAL.

The inquiry in this direction embraces a concise account of what we know of Gilgal and of Gibeon, with the circumstances that led to the battle and its consequences. The large cantonment of Gilgal evidently presented peculiar qualifications for the base of Joshua's operations in the occupation of Palestine. We can imagine that the general, having himself been chosen by Moses as one of the twelve spies sent from *Kadesh-barnea*, would in his turn choose men specially suited for their ability and judgment to "view the land and Jericho," and to bring a reliable report, not only of what the state of feeling in the country was, but also to reconnoitre positions for the best possible camp. It is, therefore, probable that the two spies who were harboured by Rahab, and one of whom may have been Salmon, a prince of Judah—for he afterwards married her, and was the ancestor of our Lord—had reconnoitred the position of Gilgal as being most favourable; because as soon as the passage of Jordan had been effected the whole host of Israel proceeded straight to this place, to form, not only a temporary halting-ground for an attack on Jericho, but a permanent camp as a base of operations in every direction, as we know from its subsequent history. The first mention, therefore, that we have of Gilgal is when Joshua occupied the place after crossing Jordan, on the tenth day of the first

month (iv. 20). It was here that the first Passover in the Promised Land was kept, on the fourth day after reaching it from Jordan (v. 10). This was the place where the general circumcision of the Israelites took place, and from which circumstance it derived its name of Gilgal. The daily investment of Jericho was made from this camp, and to it all Israel returned even after the city had been captured on the seventh day. From this camp the ill-fated expedition set out to reduce Ai, and in this very camp the culprit Achan was condemned as the cause of that failure, and put to death in the neighbouring Valley of Achor. The second and successful expedition against Ai was also made from Gilgal, and to it Joshua and all Israel returned after the capture of that city. To this same camp came the deputation of Gibeonites who succeeded in making peace with the invaders and obtaining immunity from destruction; and from Gilgal the children of Israel took three days to reach Gibeon and its dependencies to arrange formal alliance and suzerainty. It was to Gilgal that the Gibeonites sent an urgent appeal to Joshua for immediate aid against the powerful combination of the five kings that had come up against their city, which appeal was answered promptly by Joshua in a rapid night-march to Gibeon. *And it was to Gilgal that Joshua returned after the appalling destruction by the Lord's hand of the enemy at Beth-horon, and before the execution of the five kings at Makkedah* (x. 15). The next thing we hear of Joshua was at Makkedah, where the execution of the five kings took place, from which he began the operations against the southern fortresses till he had subdued them, returning finally to Gilgal (x. 43). And after the whole country had been conquered, the demarcation of the land among the tribes was begun at Gilgal, and here Caleb received the charter of his inheritance of Hebron. It was after three tribes had been settled in their possessions, and when yet seven remained to be awarded possession, that the tabernacle and ark were removed from Gilgal to Shiloh. Thenceforward Gilgal ceased to be important—at any rate, as far as military considerations were concerned, though as a place of sanctity it is mentioned in connection with Samuel's history, and was also one of David's halting-places on his return to Jerusalem after Absalom's defeat at Mahanaim.

The first mention that is made of Gibeon is when the inhabitants sent a deputation to Joshua which by a ruse deceived him and the Israelites into granting them immunity from extermination (ix.). It is there described as a city of the Hivites (ix. 7), of being the head of a community of cities, its dependencies being Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim, all of which were included in Joshua's

charter to Gibeon. It was a huge and royal city, larger even than Ai, which had once defeated Joshua, and its army was regarded by the Amorites as a formidable one (x. 2). After Joshua had taken Jericho, the stronger fortresses—of which we have reason to believe that Jerusalem and Lachish, at any rate, considered themselves impregnable—would most probably have defied the invader in their own strongholds, especially after Joshua's defeat at Ai; but on hearing of the capture of that city they saw it was necessary to take the initiative and unite in a combination against the victor (ix. 13). Their preparations, therefore, for taking the field in strong opposition were begun before Gibeon made peace with Joshua, and we have no reason to doubt that Gibeon itself formed one of the confederacy, being a Hivite stronghold (ix. 7). We may then easily judge of the consternation of the united forces when they learned of the defection of a fortress which they had regarded as one of their strongest, their consternation being enhanced by the subsequent attitude of Joshua towards Gibeon on becoming aware of how he had been beguiled, as now no further chance of a compromise with the conqueror was possible under any circumstances. Their position was not only desperate, but one of extreme exasperation against the traitorous Gibeon, and they determined upon the best move they could make, which was to take Gibeon by a *coup de main* before Joshua could come to its relief. The direct cause of the battle of Gibeon, therefore, was its sudden investment by the confederacy of the five kings in force. We are distinctly told that it was at this very city that Joshua practically defeated the allies, though the victory had to be followed up beyond it during the rest of the day. We are not told anything more about Gibeon after the battle, except in allusion to that event.

#### STRATEGICAL.

The fact of Gibeon having made peace with Joshua was looked upon by the rest of the confederacy as a distinct turning of the balance of power into his hands, considering the importance of the place; and the movement to snatch it out of his grasp without warning, during the temporary lull in the campaign after the capture of Ai, was so well concerted that it appears to have taken the Gibeonites, whom we should have expected to find prepared for an emergency of the kind, by surprise. In order to understand how such a movement could have been carried out, we should be familiar with the physical features of the locality, so as to realize this *coup* thoroughly from a military point of view, putting our-

selves, as it were, in the place of the confederate army, and fixing upon our plan of campaign. We are apt, perhaps, in this enlightened age, to think little of the military capabilities of these tribes in comparison with those of our own times, but we have not much reason to congratulate ourselves on more than the accessories to warfare which the inevitable progress of centuries has been improving for us; while, on the other hand, we may often have had reason to be ashamed of strategic mistakes such as none of those leaders would have been guilty of. In such tactics as are founded on perfect acquaintance with ground and position, and as depend on a thorough reliance on the comparatively limited material at their disposal, they had probably more ability to boast of than we are at first sight likely to give them credit for. But in Hebrew warfare the Divine arm was always so much in evidence, that, though we must give their commanders every allowance for knowing their business, we somehow feel we must not include their nation in any comparison with others. And, in order to realize clearly the extent of the Divine assistance given, we must in no way underrate the capabilities of their opponents. As a military study for the present age, the movement of the confederate Amorite chiefs upon Gibeon is an extremely instructive one, when the country lies spread out before us on a reliable map such as the Palestine Exploration Fund can place at our disposal. We are apt to lose sight of what must have been their tactics when we merely read of their general move and its results, and the best way to understand what they could have been is to put ourselves on their side at this crisis. Let us, then, imagine ourselves among those confederate leaders, breathing a united spirit against Gibeon, and try to play the best game under the conditions. Look at it as we will, the capture of Gibeon by a *coup de main*, by a sudden swoop without warning or exciting suspicion, was undoubtedly the course to be pursued. But how concentrate forces of different States for such a purpose without exciting the suspicion of a presumably wary foe? Clearly, these must be collected for some other ostensible purpose than the capture of Gibeon, in order to allure their victim's attention to another direction. Taking a survey of the southern part of Palestine, and knowing all that had taken place up to this point, our conclusion would be, certainly, that Jerusalem, the stronghold of which held the fourth angle of what we may term the Palestine Quadrilateral, would be the next *point d'appui* of Joshua's campaign, before he could penetrate farther into the country. He was already in possession of three points, and could hardly subdue more of the southern fortresses as long as Jerusalem stood in her strength. But here was the problem.

One advantage we may infer he had gained from the Gibeonite alliance was the facilities it afforded to his Intelligence Department, and the information about the exceeding impregnability of Jerusalem must have been, certainly, if not given him firsthand by the Gibeonites, at least thoroughly confirmed by them; for he never took the fortress, nor have we any reason or record to show that he ever attempted to take it. He was now also fully aware that this formidable capital was at the head of a powerful combination against him, which meant, in plain language, that an opposition in the field had been formed, and that it must be reckoned with. So we can realize Joshua's position at this time, and, now, what should we surmise would be the plans of the allies opposed to him, when the one vital point at stake with them was the capture of Gibeon? We should say that their entire demonstration should be made in Joshua's direction to distract the vigilance of the Gibeonites from any design upon their city. We can quite imagine the situation. In the open ground to the west of Jerusalem, between that city and Aphek, where we know two battles were afterwards fought, we can picture the confederate encampment and the council of war being held. Two plans would be discussed. All are unanimous that the capture of Gibeon is the first essential move, and all are agreed that the movement for this seizure must be so masked that the blow may be decisive and final when delivered. The first plan would be what a modern commander would probably advocate, to divide the forces into two divisions, one to pounce down upon Gibeon, while the other would proceed to waylay a relieving force from the east. But to these Amorite leaders, in their desperate state, this meant, after full discussion of details, a weakening of their combination. Besides, Joshua would by means of his spies, or anyone giving him information of the investment of Gibeon, learn of the presence of an intercepting force, and, if it were annihilated and Gibeon not taken, any chance of success they might have would be utterly shattered. The other plan, therefore, would be better, to divide into eastern and western columns of simultaneous advance upon Gibeon, so as to make the cordon complete by meeting on the north with such rapidity and precision that its fall would be certain, or, in any case, that their unbroken combination would be strong enough to resist the raising of the siege till it was successful. But till this movement was ripe for inception their front must still be directed east towards Gilgal, in order to put the Gibeonites off their utmost guard, and then, with a sudden change of front to the north, the *coup* could be carried out in the manner agreed upon. Now, what is the use of going into these conjectural details?

Just to show us, what we are likely to lose sight of, that this move upon Gibeon must have been, under the circumstances, consummate, or the city would certainly have been protected by a strong Israelite contingent; as also to show us that Joshua's attention must have been altogether absorbed in dispositions to meet the enemy's ostensible front. Otherwise it is difficult to see how the Gibeonites could have allowed a deliberate advance to be made upon them without letting Joshua know. And the movement is instructive, in that it must have been made from within easy reach of Gibeon, so as to effect a complete surprise. And yet we must give the Gibeonites credit for being sufficiently on the alert to have despatched a messenger to Joshua directly the change of front was observed, as the hill of Gibeon would certainly afford singular facilities for not being caught napping. All the conditions considered, therefore, the confederate investment of Gibeon must have been rapid and carried out with consummate precision. From the nature of the ground, possibly a little altered to the south where the hill rises behind the town—for a road now passes between both—we may conclude that the disposition of the investing army would be somewhat as follows: The most open ground about consists of a plain to the north-east, enclosed by more or less rising ground and hills sweeping round to the east and north, and narrowed by them on the south and west to within a mile or so of the hill of Gibeon. The ground on the west and north-west is broken and rough where it forms the northern entrance to the Valley of Gibeon, running in a tortuous south-west direction, bounded on the east by the hills of Mizpeh and Gibeon, and on the west by a series of ranges separating it from the Valley of Aijalon, eight or nine miles further west. We may reasonably say that the bulk of the investing force occupied the north-east plain, though a strong cordon could be drawn all round the town, except perhaps on the south, whence, in that age of warfare, no assault was possible, though it would be the best station from which operations could be directed. Here, then, we shall leave the confederate army, and join ourselves to the other side—the Israelites in their camp at Gilgal.

We have seen how Joshua must have been preparing for a great struggle with the confederate army, and, relying upon information, he is now awaiting developments, either to take the field for a pitched battle or otherwise, when a messenger comes with hot haste into the camp with the news of the enemy's change of front upon Gibeon, and imploring aid for the doomed city. Joshua at once asks counsel of the Lord, and is reassured by the answer to attack them resolutely, as



not a man of them will be able to stand before him. And here we see how prompt he is, as if there was no time to be lost. Ordering out his best troops and most veteran commanders, he determines to set out at nightfall and surprise the enemy before dawn. Here we have another picture before us: The relieving force, elated with the assurance of success and confidence in their general, marching rapidly through the night—the messenger from Gibeon as an aide-de-camp by the general's side, the other commanders round him also arranging the details of attack. The probable positions of the besieging force are discussed, with all the minutiae of the ground about Gibeon, and the impracticability of any action extending westward over ranges of hills separating its valley from that of Aijalon: but learning that there are no northern allies in the confederacy, what should we suppose would be Joshua's plan about Gibeon and its relief? The answer is fairly obvious—to do his utmost to bar retreat southward, and to prevent escape in that direction by closing the Valley of Gibeon on the west of the town. The attack would, of course, begin on the east, but every nerve must be strained to prevent the enemy from breaking southward down the Valley of Gibeon. Then, as soon as the beleaguered garrison would be set free, it would sweep the hills to the south, over ground it well knew, taking up a scattered pursuit in that direction, while the Israelites, turning the town to the north and west, would drive the bulk of the forces northwards and complete the discomfiture. And we venture to think these plans were carried out to the letter, for what was the result? The text tells us (ver. 9): "Joshua therefore came upon them suddenly, (for) he went up from Gilgal all the night. 10. And the Lord discomfited them before Israel, and He slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon, and smote them to Azekah and Makkedah." That is to say (according to the suggestions we have given), the northern rout before Israel was towards Beth-horon, while the southern before the Gibeonites was towards Azekah and Makkedah. Are we justified in explaining the direction of rout thus, or in bringing the Gibeonites at all upon the scene? We submit that there is no other view to take, when the whole of the subsequent narrative is taken into careful consideration. Let us see (ver. 11): "And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, while they were in the going down of Beth-horon, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah," etc. Assuredly, if the Divine arm had ever fought for Israel, it did so on that day! But this eleventh verse tells us something more. It indicates clearly the usual direction of hailstorms

of this description—from north to south. Anyone who has seen one of these terrific local visitations in the East will realize what occurred. A storm working in a straight course from north to south, generally from one to two miles wide, leaving ruin in its wake as it goes, the devastation being in proportion to the size of the hailstones—the heavens about as gloomy as dark clouds can make them, with fierce lightnings adding awe to the scene! If we were to try to understand a more perfect picture of heaven's artillery, we could hardly do so. Surely this hailstorm in its direction accounts for the destruction at Beth-horon, as well as for that on the road to Azekah, and would about coincide in its velocity with the period at which it caught the southern flight after leaving extermination behind it in the northern. Immediately after this record comes the poetical episode of Joshua's apostrophe to the sun and moon, which we will leave to be considered at length under our astronomical inquiry, and go on with the narrative. Ver. 15: "And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp at Gilgal." Surely this is explicit enough in informing us that after the appalling destruction witnessed by Joshua from the height of Beth-horon on the fugitives he was pursuing—presumably the extermination by the Lord's hand of all of them—he saw that no more was to be done, and, wheeling about, led his Israelites leisurely back to the camp at Gilgal, as there was no use to try to overtake the southern pursuit. What authority there is for stating that this (fifteenth) verse must be the forty-third, inserted somehow beforehand, we have yet to learn; but we prefer to give the sequence of events as it is narrated. We learn, later on in the chapter also, that Horam, King of Gezer, had the temerity to come to the aid of Lachish against Joshua. May we not infer that this undismayed chief would have opposed Joshua's further progress beyond Beth-horon, and that we should have heard of it? But, now the difficulty of reconciling the direction of the enemy's rout with the geography of the country no longer presents itself. We can now surmise how Joshua knew of the Valley of Aijalon. We can now see that, after all, there is no need to argue that the Israelites were granted the physical endurance to undergo what never soldier yet underwent or could undergo without miraculous help, and we can now understand how Joshua returned and reinforced his army before proceeding to Makkedah on his more protracted southern campaign.

*(To be continued.)*

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## ART. V.—THE TWO SAINT PHILOMENAS.

## I.

IN the year 1802 a stone was found in the catacombs of Rome, broken at both sides. On the centre part, that had been left, there remained the words *lumena pax tecum fi*. What was to be made of this inscription? A learned Jesuit, named Mariano Partenio, suggested that an explanation might be found by reading from right to left, "according to the ancient usage of the Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Arabs, and Hebrews, some traces of which," he declares, "are found even among the Greeks." But the inscription is neither Chaldaic, Phœnician, Arabic, Hebrew, nor even Greek, but Latin; and, further, when read backwards, the letters form *if mucet xap anemul*, which has no signification. Instead, therefore, the learned Jesuit suggested that the two last letters *fi* should be taken from the end and prefixed at the beginning. Then the inscription ran *Fi lumena pax tecum*.

This was the first step in the creation of Saint Philomena. The second was "miraculous phenomena which exhibited themselves in the catacombs" in the neighbourhood of the stone. The third step was formed by three visions which appeared to three different persons. These visions declared that the learned Jesuit was quite right in what he had suggested; that her name was originally Lumena, and that she took the name of Filumena at her baptism, *Lumena* meaning, in some unknown language, light, and *Filumena* meaning the Daughter of Light. No one acquainted with the Latin language can be unaware that *Filumena* could not by any law of language be identified with *Filia Luminis*, nor *Lumena* substituted for *Lumen*. The story of the saint was then made known by means of the visions, and the story was this: In the reign of Diocletian, Filumena was born in Athens, the only daughter of the King of Athens (we are not told who this King was in the reign of Diocletian), and heiress of the throne. Unfortunately her father took her to Rome, where she was seen by Diocletian, who immediately demanded her in marriage. Filumena refused because she had vowed herself to her Divine Spouse, whereupon Diocletian threatened to make war upon her father; but as she would not yield, she was carried, by Diocletian's order, to a loathsome dungeon, loaded with chains and fetters, refused any food, while "toads, lizards, and vipers were thrown upon her." These measures not being sufficient, Diocletian commanded her to be scourged and made the target for darts and arrows,

and finally he had her thrown into the Tiber with a weight around her neck. But she rose from the water, and came back safe to the land, on which her head was cut off by Diocletian's order. Two angels were seen to carry her soul to heaven in a cloud.

The worship of St. Filumena, or Philomena (a name evidently derived from *φιλουμένη*), spread, and it received the Papal approbation. Leo XII. pronounced her "a great saint." Gregory XVI. solemnly blessed her image at Rome, and she became "surnamed the Thaumaturge, or Wonderworker, of the Nineteenth Century."

Lives of St. Philomena were published with Episcopal approbation at Geneva, and in Italy and in Spain. Fifty years ago she appeared to be the most popular saint in Spain after St. Mary. It is possible that she will soon be superseded by her namesake the Venerable Philomena de Santa Colomba, whose canonization is at present proceeding at Rome.

## II.

The surname of the second Philomena was Ferrer, and she was named Philomena by a mother who had a great devotion to the saint of whom we have already spoken. She was born in 1841, entered a convent in 1860, and died in 1868. Her life has been written in French by one of the Capuchin Fathers, and an account of her is given in English in the Rev. Wentworth Webster's deeply interesting work, "Gleanings from Church History" (S.P.C.K., 1903). From Mr. Webster's instructive pages we draw the following picture of a saint whose sanctity is modelled after the latest fashions of the nineteenth century. The secret of her eminent sanctity, says the *Civiltà Cattolica*, was "the double devotion, more especially peculiar to our nineteenth century, to Mary Immaculate, and to the Divine Heart of the Redeemer." To these Philomena added the Archangel Michael, and thus a second trinity was formed, consisting of the Heart of Jesus, of Mary, and of St. Michael, which appeared to Philomena under the form of a triangle. The Lord revealed to her that this new trinity must be "blest and glorified in earth, as in the Unity of the Three Divine Persons in Heaven." Writing to her confessor, and commanding him to propagate this new devotion, she instructed him that between Jesus, Mary, and the Archangel Michael there was but one will and one desire.

"Oh, a thousand times happy," she cries out, "are those devoted to them—devoted to the most holy heart of Jesus; or more, to that of His Immaculate Mother; or, still more, to the seraphic Archangel St. Michael; for, as I have said, the glory

that each one of them receives would be equally shared by the two others."

We are told that Philomena's first utterance was, "Mary, my mother," to whom she had been dedicated before her birth. When she was thirteen years old she received her First Communion, which was followed first by a fainting fit and then by "a clear vision" (to a child of thirteen) "of the Immaculate Conception of the Very Holy Virgin Mary," on which "she consecrated to her all the affections of her heart, choosing Mary for her sweetest mother and offering herself to her for ever as her humble child." From this time she began a life of asceticism which brought her to an early grave. She slept in winter on the bare floor, in spite of her mother's orders; she wore a hair-cloth shirt; she gave up first all meat, then all fish, then all pottage, and finally confined herself to bread and water, which she took once a day towards evening. She and one of her friends agreed to spend the whole week between them fasting, one of them fasting three days, and the other four days, each week. After she had entered a nunnery she described her day, which began at 2 a.m., as follows:

"Before beginning it I shall give myself a severe scourging with an iron chain; then I shall put a crown of thorns upon my head, a cord round my neck, and a heavy weight upon my shoulders; then, after the example of my Divine Saviour, I shall follow His steps on the road to Calvary, visiting the way of the cross. At three o'clock I shall begin my prayers, and continue till six, imitating Jesus in His three hours' prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, persevering in it in spite of all pains and sadness. After that I join the Sisters in reciting the Divine Office, preparing my soul to receive the living Bread from heaven. After the sacrifice of the Mass and thanksgivings for it, I shall occupy myself with the ordinary occupations of the community. . . . My daily penance shall be constantly wearing a hair-cloth shirt, daily disciplines (*i.e.*, whippings), fasting on bread and water three times a week, and adding to this a Lent from St. Matthew's Day to All Saints' Day, and from the first of May to Ascension Day. During these Lents I shall eat once only in forty-eight hours, and what is served in the refectory, taking only the worst food. For other meals I shall be contented with bread and water. I shall abstain from sweets, fruits, and from all such things" (p. 190).

The results of such a life as is here indicated were such as might have been expected both in body and soul. She pathetically complains that "The devil pictures vividly to my imagination the most exquisite meats, the most delicate savours, and that everywhere—in the choir, in my cell, in the

places furthest removed from the kitchen—on the days when I eat I feel all the same an insatiable hunger, and often after my meal I have a greater appetite than on days when I do not touch a morsel.” And, again, sometimes she had “a disgust and want of appetite so great that I suffered atrociously at meal-times; sometimes it was an insatiable appetite, but all that I ate did not do me the least good, and I was almost falling from weakness. . . . I had no strength at all, and suffered unspeakable pains, which I strove to hide as much as possible as far as the body was concerned.” At other times she had “the terrible temptations of despair, wrestling against the diabolical insinuation that Mary herself—Mary, the refuge of sinners—had also abandoned her for ever on account of her wretchedness.” She could not read at all. “If I have sometimes a little time for study it is impossible for me to apply my mind to it, or to remember what I have read, however much I may wish to do so.”

On the other hand, the supposed merit which Philomena derived from her austerities led her, in the midst of her humiliations, to a spiritual pride, which made her sermonize everyone about her—parents, brothers, sisters, friends, relatives, fellow-nuns, and even her superior and her confessor. Nor was this all, for she instructed St. Michael what he was to do, and not only that, but “she argued with the Divine Master, arriving at such boldness as to make a compact with the Lord and debate conditions with Him.” Still further, addressing God, she says that it seems to her that “the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity in some way strive in rivalry to beautify my soul with gifts and celestial graces.” And again, she exclaims, “O my God, you were very right to cry out that you did not know what more to do!”

Of course, too, she had visions. On one occasion, while “the devil was hovering about me,” she says, “I felt myself touched very gently on my right shoulder, and turning round, I saw a most beautiful angel, who invited me to follow him into the smaller choir. On entering the place I saw Jesus and Mary; they spoke to me tenderly, and invited me to rest in their sweet company after the fatigue that I had experienced from the assaults and attacks of the devil. I remained still with astonishment, not knowing what I ought to do, when it seemed to me that the Mother and the Son made me taste some exquisite food and drink a celestial and wholly divine liquid. The taste of this food made me take a disgust to all earthly nourishment, at the same time that it left in my soul an ineffaceable sweetness.”

As the canonization of Philomena is at present proceeding at Rome, it is necessary that she should have worked miracles,

not only during her lifetime, but also after death. One of those on which her advocates rely is as follows: "One of the Sisters sent to a nun belonging to another convent, who was said to be dying of consumption, a chip of the rush shirt which Philomena wore, with nine little notes, each containing an invocation of her. One of these notes was to be burnt each day, and the ashes swallowed in water. On taking the ashes of the first note burnt, the girl was completely cured. But another nun, ill of cancer, who did the same thing, died soon after. In the latter case it is said that God granted the prayer of the Sister—she wished to die!"

What are we to think of the two Philomenas, and of the Church which holds them up as objects of adoration or devout admiration? Of the first we may say that it is demonstrable that she never existed at all, any more than St. Viar existed, who, like her, was formed out of a broken stone, and when the other parts of the stone were discovered, was resolved into *Præfectus Viarum*, the road surveyor. Yet St. Philomena was counted "the Thaumaturge of the nineteenth century," no infallible Church stepping in to enlighten her numerous votaries, but encouraging them with her blessing.

With regard to the second Philomena, can her faith be called the Christian faith at all? She professedly introduces a new religion, a new trinity, consisting of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Mary the Immaculate, and the Archangel St. Michael. The poor child did not know that it is not only inconsistent with, but contradictory to, the once delivered Christian faith to form any such imagination, or strive for its propagation; she did not know, for none had taught her, that worship must be confined to the one Triune GOD. She did not know that the Sacred Heart, one of the most popular devotions of the modern Roman Church, had been virtually condemned at the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus as heretical, at the time that it rejected Nestorianism. She did not know that the worship of St. Mary was a Gnostic and Collyridian heresy, unknown to the Church, and condemned by her as "a device of the devil" for the first six centuries: nor that the idea that she was immaculate—that is, not subject to original sin—was not only unknown during those same centuries, but she was believed to have fallen into sins of infirmity, like other good men and women. She did not know that the worship of St. Michael and the other angels was condemned by S. Paul in the Epistle to the Colossians. Probably she was not allowed the use of any Bible at all; if she had been, she tells us that her mind, weakened by her fasting, was incapable of understanding or retaining anything that she read; and all

this time she was under the direction of a confessor, and went on her way to introduce her new religion unreprieved by him.

Then look at the life that the poor girl led. From thirteen years onward she never ate food enough to keep her in moderate health. Every morning at 2 a.m. she beat herself with a scourge, made by herself, of iron chain-links. She "wore round her neck two heavy chains, which crossed on her chest and were wound round her waist. She girded herself with a brass cincture bristling with sharp points. She had a kind of shirt, sharper than a hair-cloth shirt, made of stiff rushes with hard points. Under her head-dress she put on a crown of thorns, which she had taken from a crucifix, and as there were not thorns enough, or sharp enough, she added needles. She slept but three hours each night, often on the bare ground, with a log for her pillow. So that in the year before she died she declared to her confessor that "from the soles of her feet to the crown of her head she had no sound part." All this would be quite reasonable in a Hindu devotee, who believed that her god was gratified by the pains which his worshippers underwent. But is it Christianity? Compare this poor girl and her self-inflicted tortures, resulting in enthusiastic joys on occasion, depression and misery at other times, and spiritual pride at all times, with the simple, natural life of a young girl brought up in a different system of belief. Look at a young English girl, such as we see about us day by day, conscious (though with a consciousness only half realized, perhaps) that she is living in the warmth of God's love and under the protection of her heavenly Father's care. She does not enter on sickening attempts to earn God's favour by giving pain to herself and to those about her. She lives, and she finds an exquisite happiness in living, as God intended that she should do. And there emanates from her, as naturally as an odour from a sweet-smelling flower, an atmosphere of purity, love, and self-forgetfulness, which spreads itself around her, and is the salvation of many more than herself. Kind acts to others come naturally to her ("for am not I also forgiven?"), and that by doing them she is laying up merit for herself or earning a higher place in heaven, or that self has anything to do with them, does not come within the range of her imagination to conceive. Such lives as these are the salt of the earth. Would we exchange them for St. Philomena's?

What did that poor girl do with all her self-torments, hair-shirts, scourgings, iron chains, crowns of thorns and needles, and nights spent on the bare ground with a log of wood for her pillow? In her own person she did not escape tempta-



tions of the flesh or temptations of the spirit, and what did she do for others? The only results that she effected were that the poor Sisters of the Order should henceforth go bare-footed instead of wearing sandals, and that they should get up at twelve o'clock at night for a midnight service. In other words, Philomena lived her unnatural life without doing any good to others—unless it was a good to be “the first to propagate through the world the worship of the new Trinity, the very Sweet Heart of Jesus, His Mother, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, and the Archangel St. Michael”; that is, to introduce a new fashion of religion only slightly based upon Christianity. In the case of Philomena I., the Church of Rome shows that she is entirely careless as to the truth of the existence or non-existence of the saints whom she canonizes and makes objects of worship. In the canonization of Philomena II., she shows us what is her ideal of the spiritual and religious life. Not such is the ideal of the Church of England, and may it never be!

F. MEYRICK.



#### ART. VI.—BISHOP CREIGHTON'S SERMONS.<sup>1</sup>

FOR the intrinsic value of its contents this is a volume of sermons which should be studied. And if only the clergy will profit by the opportunity of studying it, its publication may, I believe, be an event of very great usefulness. Such a recommendation does not, of course, bind us to agreement with every statement or argument it contains; nor do we say that the various sermons are equally valuable. But were we asked what kind of preaching we believe would most probably prove to be really helpful at the present time, we should answer, “Preaching similar to that which is here offered to us.”

However painful the recognition of the experience may be, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that in various quarters very severe criticism is at the present time being passed upon what is termed the “average preaching” in the English Church. At the last London Diocesan Conference the Bishop of Stepney said: “Surely it would be a libel on the Church of England to say that the average sermon represented the average capacity of the English clergyman—he was sure it did not.” If a Bishop can speak like this, can we be sur-

<sup>1</sup> “University and other Sermons,” by Mandell Creighton, sometime Bishop of London. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903.

prised if the "average layman" speaks somewhat freely on the subject?

But what, it may be asked, is the value of the criticism of the average layman? Is there not just now a wave of unpopularity passing over the clergy? And if a cause is even temporarily unpopular, is there not a temptation, to which all but the strongest and wisest will succumb, to join in the popular depreciation? Doubtless much of the criticism of preaching, like other criticism, is ignorant. Much of it, again, is no doubt a mere echo of a present popular cry. But not all this criticism can be said to be either ignorant or thoughtless; if it were so, we should not find the subject so frequently or so seriously treated as it is at diocesan conferences and other gatherings of responsible Churchmen.

Let me give a recent personal experience. Within a month I heard three sermons: the first in the parish church of a fashionable watering-place; the second, though not technically a University sermon, was delivered to a large congregation in the University Church of one of our two old Universities; the third was addressed to some hundreds of hearers in one of the most popular of continental pleasure resorts. No right-thinking man ought to be able to address even a few uneducated people without feeling the responsibility of his position. But there can be no harm in saying that some opportunities are greater than others, and the greater the opportunity, the greater the responsibility. I do not wish to be hard upon these three preachers. But the first knew so little of the art of public speaking that it was with the greatest difficulty that, from a position about two-thirds down the Church, I could gather sufficient to enable me to understand that he was attempting, not very successfully, to criticise and unravel an extremely involved argument in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The second preacher had very evidently read a sermon which during the previous week had been reported verbatim in the *Guardian* and the *Church Times*; out of this sermon he read several lengthy extracts practically verbatim, without any acknowledgment that he was quoting. These extracts were joined together by matter presumably original, but whose nature was such that it went far to prove that he had almost entirely failed to understand the sermon from which he was quoting. But the third experience was even more painful. The preacher was young, but his want of experience he had evidently determined to atone for by an almost boundless self-assurance of manner and language. The subject upon which he scorned the idea of any difficulty of solution was, he forgot, one upon which *an apostle* had been content to express his inability to come to a definite conclusion. In the

course of his sermon this preacher accused "scientific men and materialists"—the two classes were regarded as continuous—of certain opinions which were, if I remember rightly, attributed to a few scientific men thirty years ago, but, so far as I am aware, are held by no scientific man to-day.

As I said, I do not wish to be hard upon any one of these preachers—perhaps only those who have regularly had to produce more than one in a week know how difficult a task the composition of a sermon may be—but even when judged from the most charitable point of view, I failed to see how any one of these three sermons could be called "helpful"—that is, as conducing to the edification of the hearers.

These sermons of Bishop Creighton's may not, when judged by some standards, be regarded as eloquent; they may not be models of artistic arrangement; they may not even contain much brilliancy of exposition; but I cannot believe that even a "moderately attentive" hearer can have listened to a single sermon in this volume without being able to carry away at least some thoughts which he would find it useful to ponder over and to test the value of in the course of his daily experience. The "moderately attentive"—in other words, the *average* hearer—must be interested; and these sermons are certainly extremely interesting.

Now, interest is generally aroused by what may be termed "everyday subjects" being at once freshly and practically treated—in such a way, that is, that the average man feels that, besides their being put in a new light or in new clothing, they have a meaning for him, that they have a direct connection with, and a practical applicability for, his own daily life and experiences. In order to throw fresh light upon everyday subjects a wide range of knowledge is required; in order to apply this knowledge to various human needs, a deep insight into human nature—and especially as we find it in the men and women of to-day—is essential. That Bishop Creighton not only possessed, but that he also knew how to exercise these two qualities, and that in a degree rarely equalled, these sermons amply prove.

As an example of deep insight into human nature and of the particular conditions of the present, we may take the following words from the first sermon in the volume, upon "Peace."

"Peace, is it not in some form or another the aspiration of us all? . . . Peace for the weary hands and the exhausted brain, freedom from excessive wear and tear, opportunities at least for quiet and repose—it is the aim of all classes of society; it is what we all want, though we own with a sigh

that it seems almost unattainable, that the necessities of life which spring up in increasing number around us every step we take in advance are inexorable in their demands, and that we cannot hope permanently to escape such remorseless masters" (p. 2).

I would draw particular attention to the last few lines, and I would ask to how many hard-working and struggling professional and business men must they not have gone home? There are multitudes of men who to-day are inwardly groaning under the burden of having not merely to "keep up" what are termed "appearances," but of having to provide for their families and their households what the world at present regards as necessities, but which these men at heart know are certainly not essential either to health or to happiness.

The same thought is again brought prominently forward at the end of the sermon, where the causes of "want of peace" are enumerated. Among these the Bishop places *cowardice*. "Many are afraid," he says, "to act up to what they know; they see that genuinely to act up to their highest duties, really to do all that might be done, would set them in opposition to prevailing prejudices or habits, would require a strength of character towards which they feel indisposed to make the first efforts."

Again I would ask, Have we not here an extremely stern, if an indirect, rebuke, and at the same time a plea which must have touched the hearts of many of the hearers? One of the chief aims of the preacher must be to compel men to view themselves—their thoughts as well as their actions—in the mirror which he (like the Bible) holds up before them. How well I remember the secret of the power of a well-known preacher being described for me by one of his hearers. "That man," he said, "reveals me to myself, until I am utterly astonished to see what kind of a man I am, and what I really believe I might be."

Another sermon which must have made men think is that upon "Prayer." The subject is one which causes "difficulties" to thousands of thoughtful men and women to-day, and in one sense those difficulties seem constantly to increase; for as the area over which law rules is ever widening, the sphere in which prayer is possible seems constantly to decrease. The subject might be described as a "pitfall" for the preacher. There is probably none which is more frequently treated, there is none upon which it is easier to utter platitudes, which to hungering and thirsting souls give absolutely no satisfaction. Bishop Creighton's treatment is open to no charges of this kind. He recognises at once the importance and the difficulties of the subject. He takes a far more comprehensive

view of the nature and office of prayer than is usual; at the same time, he is not afraid to limit the sphere in which its exercise is justified. He shows quite clearly that it is the test and touchstone of the religious, in contradiction to the merely moral, life.

"The Christian lives that he may become like God. . . . How is he to do this unless he lives his whole life in God's sight, unless he brings all his actions before God, and offers them to Him . . . unless his whole soul is always open before God? How can he do this? How will this show itself in ordinary life? In what way will prayer influence daily life? . . . The moral man and the religious man would probably act in the same way under many circumstances, but their motives would be quite different. The one would act from a feeling of duty towards his fellow-men, the other from a feeling of aspiration towards the Divine. . . . And this continual aspiration of the soul to God is prayer in its higher sense." The Bishop then proceeds to show that "we tend to lose sight of the real meaning of prayer in its broadest sense by the many divisions we have made of it for convenience of practice and reference: public prayer, private prayer, prayer for ourselves, intercessory prayer for others." But these divisions, while tempting us to forget the great, broad, general meaning of prayer as aspiration, are not only necessary, they are, if rightly regarded, actually helpful for ourselves. Dr. Creighton then proceeds to deal with these in order:

"Unless we set apart each day certain times for private prayer, we should tend to neglect it altogether, we should be giving a terrible opportunity to the world to take advantage of a day of forgetfulness to encourage us to forget God altogether. . . . Private prayer at definite periods reminds us of our aims, enables us to judge of our actions, brings back our life into God's presence, from which it has too often strayed.

"Similarly, too, with public prayer, it is a necessary corrective to private prayer, which, if that were all, would tend to spiritual selfishness, would isolate the individual believer from the great company of his fellow-Christians, would limit his conception of his Christian duties by rendering him liable to think only of some and forget others—would, in fact, leave him one-sided in his character, just as solitude makes a man one-sided in his social character. For the same reason, too, the observance of a public form of prayer is useful in order that each Christian assembly throughout the land may express the same desires for the common good of all, and that the idea of a Christian country with common aims for mutual good, and with common aims towards our heavenly Father, may grow

up. And not only so, but a form of prayer binds us with the ages long gone by, prevents our desires from becoming dwarfed merely to those of the age in which we live, and makes us feel the unity of our aims with those of the generations that have gone before us."

Upon the very difficult subject of the limits of the object of prayer, Dr. Creighton speaks most wisely. He recognises, as every clear-thinking man who is conversant with the growth of our knowledge of natural forces must recognise, that the domain wherein irrefragable laws are known to act is being constantly enlarged. "These laws," he says, "we may learn, these laws we must obey, knowing that the laws of Nature, which science from age to age makes known to us, are as much revelations of the Divine laws of the universe as are any others which we have been more accustomed to call by that name. We do not now pray for miracles to happen amongst us, we do not pray for the suspension of the law of gravitation, because we are, all of us, thoroughly convinced that the action of gravitation is uniform, and that for our own good God has shown us that it is His law . . . it is our absolute conviction of the undeviating uniformity of gravitation that causes us to class it amongst natural laws. . . . In consequence of our recognition of this fact, we are sometimes told by those who investigate the laws of Nature that it is useless to pray for the sick, because their condition depends on natural laws which cannot be altered. Are all diseases the same? Does every sick man die within a certain time as surely as a stone thrown in the air falls down again within a certain time? If it were so, we would not pray for the sick, we would have no hope for them, and the absence of hope would stifle our desire for their recovery, and we should no more pray for them than we should pray that the sun might set. But so long as their recovery is doubtful, the length of their days uncertain, so long is their life an object of eager desires which must be poured forth on high. . . . Surely our teachers of science are guilty of a foolish pedantry when they wish to hinder us from praying for the sick. . . . Surely the remedy is in their own hands if our prayers annoy them. Let them establish quite surely the laws of disease, and we shall cease to pray against what has become certain.

"Our prayers proceed from our desires, our desires from the uncertainty of the event; if the uncertainty were to disappear, so would the desire. Men who would not hesitate to say in private talk, 'I hope my friend may recover,' need not hesitate to say, 'O Lord, look down from heaven; behold, visit, and relieve this Thy servant.'"

Another very valuable sermon is that upon "Public

Worship"—a sermon which, if carefully studied, should do much to allay the bitterness of controversy which at present seems to surround this subject. The sermon is the composition of one who is a master in the history of the past, as well as being thoroughly conversant with the needs of to-day; and among these needs we should assign a chief place to a wider recognition of the usefulness, in the highest sense of the word, of participation in public worship.

In the opening sentences of the sermon, Bishop Creighton admits that "the duty of public worship may be enforced on the authoritative ground that it is a Divinely-appointed means of grace, which a man neglects at his own peril." But this is not the ground of appeal which he chooses to take; he thinks "it is well to consider the reasonableness of the thing in itself."

This word "reasonableness," together with the sentences which follow, is in exact accordance with what we believe to be the chief merit of the whole volume. In other words, these sermons are addressed by a *reasoning* man to men whom he asks to exercise their *reason* upon what he places before them. The preacher proceeds: "It is noticeable that the Apostles never argue from authority as to the duties of Christian life, but appeal to the convictions of those whom they address. It were well if their example were more often followed, and if Christian duties were more often traced to their root in the inner life of men, rather than referred to the authority of an ecclesiastical system."

Then follow these words, which can hardly be too well remembered just now: "Observances and duties ought sometimes to be looked at with reference to the conditions of the time, and to the state of feeling and opinion among different classes of society."

Then Bishop Creighton goes on to notice how different conceptions of "worship"—of its meaning and its object—and how also different conceptions of "public worship," have prevailed at different times and under various social conditions. His treatment of the subject is historical, and a better example could hardly be found of a full and clear knowledge of history in the preacher. "Histories make men wise," and a knowledge of history, if wisely used, may make the preacher both interesting and convincing to his hearers. Dr. Creighton commences with public worship in the Apostolic age, and reminds us of what we may learn of its objects, as these are either expressed or implied in the Acts and the Epistles. Public worship then "united the little bodies of Christian converts"; it "strengthened the weak by the example of the strong"; it was also "a formal profession of Christian faith";

it was, again, "the means by which the Christians could testify to unbelievers the reality of their own conviction."

When Christianity had won its way to what was practically a general acceptance—we are speaking now of the period extending from the conversion of the Empire almost to the eve of the Reformation—"it could not but be that those primitive ideas changed." In the place of "the need of testifying to the heathen, by a severe and simple worship," had come "the more difficult task" of trying "to make all Christians realize to the full the meaning of their Christian profession." We find "the excited feelings and burning zeal of ardent souls seeking for a more decided testimony to mankind than the ordinary rites of Christian worship could afford." "We come to the examples of the hermits and the earlier monastic orders, and we see the ceaseless prayers of the few accepted as, in some degree, a satisfaction for the carelessness of the many. The conception gradually grew up of worship as a service due to God, and which ought to be regularly rendered."

The following words deserve to be very carefully noticed: "This idea is at the root of the worship of the medieval Church. A materialized conception of man's duties towards God rapidly gained ground. The formal organization of society in feudal times tended to assimilate the public service of God to the homage paid by the vassal to his superior lord. It was something which had to be regularly paid by everyone who wished to maintain a secure position."

I have no wish to imply that these sentences mean more than they state. But no one can have carefully read medieval Church history, and at the same time be conversant with certain tendencies in the Church to-day, without recognising (1) how true is their account of the origin and meaning of public worship in those days, and (2) how they explain why we feel so strongly moved to do all in our power to stem the current of the revival of medievalism in the Church to-day. One of the most learned of living theologians has taught us that our "worship" is really the expression of our "religion," and our religion must ultimately be based upon our conception of God. If we object to the revival of medieval forms of worship in our services to-day, it is not to these in themselves that we object, but because we believe that the "religion" which they express is false, and that it is false because it is based upon a false conception of God. Medieval forms and ceremonies are but the symptoms, the surface symptoms, of a false theology—a theology which is not that of the New Testament, but a strange compound of Judaism, heathenism, and Christianity.



Bishop Creighton proceeds: "The reaction against the materialism of the medieval Church again altered men's views of public worship. It was no longer regarded as a service due to God, but as a means for the edification of the individual."

Is this quite a sufficient account of Reformation worship? We know, of course, that as the result of the Reformation the individual again found his true place in public worship, as he did in the Christian "economy" generally; but did this necessarily, or even actually, imply that the idea of the "church" or of the "congregation" was therefore lost? We must not enter upon this question; but I think the charge of individualism brought against the Reformers of the sixteenth century and the Puritans of the seventeenth is often based upon a very insufficient knowledge of their ideas and of their teaching.

The next sentences give an admirable explanation of another aspect of the change of ideas consequent upon the Reformation: "The object of Divine service was to advance the spiritual life of men, to put at the disposal of all the zeal of a few, to enforce upon all their duties, and make them better fitted to perform them. Outward pomp faded away before severe simplicity. The glory of God was to be indirectly procured by the edification of man, not by any direct efforts to offer Him human homage."

These last words might be quoted to explain how preaching and listening may be regarded as at least parts of Christian worship, though to-day it is the fashion to deny to them this office.

After considering the Apostolic, the medieval, and the Reformation aspects of worship, the preacher proceeds to consider the conditions of the present day. Bishop Creighton believed that to-day opinion "tends to combine" the last two ideas. He thought that the tendency towards a revival of medieval practice has been modified and broadened by the antagonism to which it has been exposed. At the same time, "those whose aim is primarily edification are driven, in spite of themselves, to recognise, to some extent, in public worship the direct service of God, and to try to combine the two objects."

While this thought might, perhaps, have been more happily expressed, it is valuable in serving to remind us that in "public" worship—in a worship in which people with different views are asked to combine—both ideas should find at once a place and an expression, for neither view can be said to have a monopoly of the truth.

But the main object of the sermon may be regarded as a plea, in face of the present tendency to neglect public worship altogether, for a revival of the Apostolic view.

Here, again, Bishop Creighton appeals to the reason. He says it is not sufficient to tell the non-church-goer that "public worship is a means of grace which a man neglects at his own peril." The non-church-goers "have minds which demand a reason, and it is right that a reason should be given to them. It is right that all men should have set before them the reasonableness of the course of conduct which they are called upon to adopt."

The portion of the sermon which follows is so closely reasoned, and at the same time so packed with excellent advice, that it is impossible with justice to condense it. It must be read and pondered. And it is worthy of the most careful study. The following are just a few of the thoughts on which the Bishop dwells: The duty of the clergy—in not preaching "stupid" sermons or indulging in "affected postures"; the duty of the men in not giving way to a narrowing individualism; life at its best cannot be lived in isolation from our fellow-men, neither can worship be best so practised; the need of tolerance, which public worship may teach, for the feelings of others.

The conclusion to which the preacher comes, that "the great benefit of public worship now, as in Apostolic times, is the realization of Christian brotherhood . . . the feeling clearly brought home to us of our common destiny, of our common duties to God and man. . . . Men might surely be ready to confess their recognition of one another as children of a common Father, as bound upon a common quest, as willing to help one another and to learn from one another, as having common wants, common aims, common aspirations. Surely the least imaginative heart ought to be impressed by the simple grandeur of the symbol embodied in the assembling of themselves together in the presence of God."

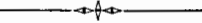
I have drawn attention to only three out of the nineteen sermons which this volume contains. And these three are not in any degree that I am aware of superior to the rest. Had I the space, I could, by quotation from the other sixteen, multiply the length of this article sixfold. The volume is one to be read and studied in its entirety. It would be a happy day for some congregations could their clergy be induced to do this.

To-day, for good or for evil, the temper of the time is largely utilitarian. And this spirit has affected religion as every other sphere of life. "Prove to us," men and women are saying in their hearts, "that religion, that Christianity, is *useful*, that it will help us in our difficulties, that it will aid us to solve our perplexities, that it will assist us to overcome our temptations, that it can enable us to live more happy and

more useful lives, that it will really conduce to our welfare. Show us this, so plainly that we cannot help seeing it." These, I believe, are the unuttered thoughts of thousands of weary souls to-day.

Why do we hear so many objections, not only to "doctrinal," but to "spiritual" sermons to-day? The first term is generally opposed to "practical," the second to "the real." Why is this? Simply, I believe, because the average preacher is not careful to translate the "doctrinal" into "the practical for the present necessity," and to show that the "spiritual" is of all the forces of life the strongest and the most real. Bishop Creighton has admirably performed both these tasks, and for this reason these sermons should be studied by all upon whom the same task has been laid.

W. EDWARD CHADWICK.



#### THE MONTH.

THE ecclesiastical interest of the month has centred in the Church Congress, which has been unusually successful. We must return to two or three of the chief discussions by which it was marked, as they will probably lead to further debate, and may be the starting-point of further action. The President's introductory address was full of historical interest, and brought out in a striking manner the historic claim of the Church of England upon the nation. Its effect at the moment was somewhat marred by its postponement to the reception of a deputation from the Nonconformists of Bristol. These gentlemen were not content with presenting an address of welcome, which was conceived in a Christian and courteous spirit, but must needs put forward one of their ministers to give an address to the Congress, which took the form of a kind of opening sermon, and almost usurped the place of the President's opening address. These courtesies between the Church and Nonconformists are very agreeable, and we hope they are useful. But when a Nonconformist address takes the place of the President's address, and postpones the opening of the Congress by a good half-hour, the true proportion of things seems to be somewhat inverted. We are much disposed to think that, for the future, the formal address alone should be received and replied to, and that all supplementary speeches should be suppressed. As the President said, if he had attempted to reply to Mr. Arnold Thomas a great part of the first meeting would have been consumed. Churchmen do not meet in the Church Congress in order to

listen to Nonconformists, however worthy of respect and attention they may be.

The discussion on variations in a National Church ought to bear good fruit. When, after papers by the Bishop of Exeter, the Dean of Canterbury, the Bishop of Worcester, and Bishop Barry, a man occupying the position of Prebendary Webb-Peploe could say with evident conviction that they seemed to him to contain the germs of mutual agreement, there would seem a fresh ray of light amidst our confusions. The points urged by these speakers will need very careful consideration, but there is at least some sign of a common basis, and we can only hope that further consideration of the views put forward will lead to a still better mutual understanding.

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### CORRESPONDENCE.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CHURCHMAN."

SIR,

Mr. Chadwick's references to Dr. Chalmers in your last issue recall to the memory a most noteworthy incident in the history of social progress. In his "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," Dr. Chalmers details at length the methods he pursued in dealing with pauperism at Glasgow, and their success. I read the book some time ago, and wondered why we had ceased to hear of this striking experiment. On asking some of my Scotch friends the reason, I was told that it collapsed entirely as soon as the guiding hand of Chalmers was withdrawn. No more remarkable instance could be given of the fact that the best methods will fail if not directed by superior intelligence and informed by the spirit of Christ.

Yours faithfully,

J. J. LIAS.

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### Notices of Books.

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*Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century.* By H. V. HILPRECHT, with the co-operation of Drs. BENZINGER, HOMMEL, JENSEN, and STEINDORFF. Illustrated with nearly 200 woodcuts and photogravures, and four maps. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1903. Price 12s. 6d. net.

THIS book, so long expected and eagerly waited for, has not disappointed our expectations. As a record of recent research in Assyria and Babylonia it is unrivalled; nor, as a brief résumé of the surveys and explorations carried out by C. J. Rich, Sir R. K. Porter, Layard, Rawlinson, George Smith, and Rassam, could it well be surpassed. But students will have

cause to value it chiefly as a detailed account of the American excavations at Nuffar (Nippur), first under Peters and Haynes, and latterly under Professor Hilprecht himself, to whose scientific knowledge, skill, and industry are due the considerable advances made in our knowledge of the civilization of Mesopotamia during the third and second millenniums B.C. The mass of details given in the text of this book (pp. 289-568) has been marshalled with great lucidity, and the many excellent illustrations afford a valuable clue to the precise significance of the topographical facts related.

The Philadelphian expeditions—there have been three so far—have all been conducted at the cost of a number of public-spirited Americans, and each has contributed its share to the sum total of human knowledge on questions connected with Mesopotamia, its history and civilization. But it is to the third expedition—which began work in 1898—that scholars owe most, or, rather, will finally owe most, when the data acquired at Nuffar have been co-ordinated, digested, and interpreted. This third expedition was directed throughout by Professor Hilprecht; and the present book is to be regarded more as a preliminary statement of results than as an ordered body of scientific information.

Among other interesting "finds" recorded here may be named the discovery of a true arch, which disposes at once of the hitherto accepted teaching that it is to the Romans that the world owes this palmary advance in building methods. As a matter of fact, it is now beyond dispute that the principle of the arch was known in Babylonia some 6,000 years ago. The vaulted tunnel illustrated on p. 399 shows clearly that the Babylonian builders were perfectly conversant with the method of arching in bricks laid on the principle of radiating *voussoirs*. This is a discovery of prime significance in the history of architecture.

Another striking result of the expedition is the unearthing of the great "zigurrat" and temple of Bêl, erected when that god was the chief figure in the Babylonian or Sumerian pantheon, long previous to the days when Mardûk had become the chief deity of the Semitic civilization, subsequently superimposed on the ruins of the earlier cults. Besides these important discoveries is another—equal, if not more striking in its probable consequences—and that is the discovery of the great priestly library at Nuffar, which, after its cruel destruction by Elamite invaders, had lain unnoticed for over 4,000 years among the ruins and débris of the old city. However, even this has come to light, and the shelves of the library have yielded up their treasures.

A vast complex of interesting and important facts regarding the ancient art of Babylonia, its commercial relations with the rest of the world, its social status, its religion, and its material progress, awaits us as the result of Professor Hilprecht's labours, conducted as they have been with much tact, critical insight, and scientific mastery of the problems involved. We are, as a Bible-studying nation, deeply indebted to the author and publishers of this excellent work for what they have given us.