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A table of contents for *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* can be found here:

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JOURNAL OF  
THE TRANSACTIONS  
OF  
The Victoria Institute,  
OR,  
Philosophical Society of Great Britain.

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EDITED BY THE SECRETARY.

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VOL. XLIII.



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1911.

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ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

## PREFACE.

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THE Members and Associates of the Victoria Institute will be glad to learn that the seven months of last Session have been more than usually successful, both in the interest and effectiveness of the papers read and the discussions which followed, and also for the additions made to the list of supporters of the Society. Fifty-five new names have been added during that period. Readers of this Volume will be able to judge of the truth of the former statement for themselves, while the balance sheet for the year 1911, which will be issued in the next Volume, will show the effect of the latter upon the Society's finance.

There is no other society in this country that does the same work or meets the same need, and the papers already promised for next session show that serious controversies of the day will again be dealt with by high authorities, and the opportunities afforded for discussing them from different points of view will be valued as much as at any previous time.

In issuing this Volume attention is drawn to the fulness of the discussions following each paper. All the speakers have had the opportunity of revising their remarks, and I hope very few mistakes have been left undetected. In this, as in all the Secretarial work, I have again enjoyed the benefit of Mr. Montague's experience and devoted attention to the interests of the Institute, which owes him much. My work has

been very much lightened by the constant help and sympathy of the Chairman and Members of the Council, to whom is largely due the Society's returning prosperity.

The suggested presentation of associateship to clergy and ministers has met with a gratifying response, and it is hoped that many more will avail themselves of the privilege.

FREDERIC S. BISHOP,

*Editor.*

*August, 1911.*

# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE .....	v
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1910 .....	1
CASH STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR 1910 .....	6
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, HELD IN ST. MARTIN'S VESTRY HALL ON MONDAY, 6TH FEBRUARY, 1911. THE REV. CANON GIRDLE- STONE, V.P., IN THE CHAIR .....	7
THE THEORY OF JURISPRUDENCE. BY JUDGE GEORGE H. SMITH .....	9
DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY .....	21
MR. J. O. CORRIE,	
MR. BALFOUR BROWNE, K.C.,	
DR. PINCHES,	
DR. THIRTLE,	
MR. OKE, PROFESSOR H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD, and	
ARCHDEACON POTTER.	
THEOSOPHY. BY THE REV. J. J. B. COLES, M.A. ....	33
DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY .....	47
MR. MAUNDER,	
LT.-COL. MACKINLAY,	
MR. DAVID HOWARD,	
MRS. SHARPE,	
REV. W. J. STUART WEIR,	
LT.-COL. ALVES,	
MR. WEDGWOOD, and	
DR. SCHOFIELD.	
COMMUNICATIONS FROM .....	52
PROFESSOR H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD, and	
REV. J. J. B. COLES.	

	PAGE
THE DEMAND FOR A CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY. BY THE REV. A. R.	
WHATELY, D.D. ....	55
DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY	68
REV. A. IRVING,	
MR. JOHN SCHWARTZ,	
BISHOP THORNTON,	
ARCHDEACON POTTER,	
PROFESSOR LANGHORNE ORCHARD, and	
REV. H. J. R. MARSTON.	
THE LAST CENTURY'S WITNESS TO THE BIBLE. BY THE REV. JOHN	
SHARP, M.A. ....	77
DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY	89
CANON GIRDLESTONE,	
BISHOP THORNTON,	
MR. JOHN SCHWARTZ,	
MR. GEORGE EVANS,	
REV. H. V. HEBERT, and	
REV. JOHN TUCKWELL.	
COMMUNICATIONS FROM	95
PROFESSOR LANGHORNE ORCHARD and	
DR. THIRTLE.	
THE RELATION OF SCIENCE TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. BY THE	
REV. F. BAYLIS, M.A. ....	99
DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY	118
PREBENDARY H. E. FOX, and	
BISHOP THORNTON.	
COMMUNICATIONS FROM	119
REV. CANON DODSON, and	
DR. C. F. HARFORD.	
PSYCHOLOGY. BY THE REV. GREGORY SMITH, D.D. ....	125
DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY	128
MR. D. HOWARD,	
LT.-COL. ALVES,	
REV. JOHN TUCKWELL,	
BISHOP THORNTON,	

REV. J. M. TURNER, and  
 PROFESSOR LANGHORNE ORCHARD.  
 NOTE FROM BISHOP WESTCOTT'S "GOSPEL OF LIFE."

THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED VERSION OF THE STORY OF THE FLOOD.

BY DR. THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES .... 135

DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY .... 150

MR. DAVID HOWARD,  
 MR. MARTIN ROUSE,  
 REV. JOHN TUCKWELL,  
 MISS O'REILLY,  
 REV. E. SEELEY,  
 DR. HEYWOOD SMITH, and  
 MR. MAUNDER.

INDICATIONS OF A SCHEME IN THE UNIVERSE. BY THE REV. CANON

GIRDLESTONE, M.A., V.P. .... 159

DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY .... 166

ARCHDEACON SINCLAIR,  
 MR. DAVID HOWARD,  
 MR. MARTIN ROUSE,  
 LT.-COL. MACKINLAY,  
 REV. E. SEELEY,  
 DR. WITHERS GREEN, and  
 PROFESSOR LANGHORNE ORCHARD.

COMMUNICATION FROM .... 174

REV. J. J. B. COLES.

THE SIDEREAL UNIVERSE. BY SIR DAVID GILL, K.C.B. .... 175

DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY .... 183

CANON GIRDLESTONE,  
 MR. MAUNDER,  
 THE ASTRONOMER ROYAL,  
 MR. MARTIN ROUSE,  
 REV. JOHN TUCKWELL, and  
 PROFESSOR LANGHORNE ORCHARD.

DIAGRAMS ... 189 to 193

	PAGE
A LIFE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE HARMONY OF CHRISTIANITY, PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE. BY PROFESSOR ROGET ....	195
THE DESCENT INTO HADES. A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION. BY REV. CANON MACCULLOCH, D.D. ....	209
DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY ....	225
ARCHDEACON POTTER, REV. JOHN TUCKWELL, REV. J. J. B. COLES, REV. DUGALD MACFADYEN, and REV. PREBENDARY H. E. FOX.	
COMMUNICATIONS FROM ....	231
CHANCELLOR LIAS, and LT.-COL. ALVES.	
MITHRAISM. BY THE REV. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, D.D. ....	237
DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY ....	274
ARCHDEACON POTTER, REV. D. MACFADYEN, REV. J. J. B. COLES, LT.-COL. ALVES, LT.-COL. MACKINLAY, and CHANCELLOR LIAS.	
THE TRUE TEMPER OF EMPIRE. BY SIR CHARLES BRUCE, G.C.M.G., BEING THE ANNUAL ADDRESS FOR 1911 ....	281
DISCUSSION. REMARKS BY ....	314
SIR HENRY GEARY, K.C.B., V.P., and LT.-COL. MACKINLAY.	
LOYAL ADDRESS TO THEIR MAJESTIES THE KING AND THE QUEEN	316
LIST OF OFFICERS, MEMBERS, ASSOCIATES, ETC. ....	317
THE GUNNING PRIZE. RULES FOR 1912 ....	339
SUBJECT ....	340

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\*.\* *The Institute's object being to investigate, it must not be held to endorse the various views expressed either in the Papers or discussions.*

# VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

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## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1910.

READ AT THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, FEB. 6, 1911.

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### 1. *Meetings.*

Owing to the adoption of a new Rule, requiring that the Annual Business Meeting should be held early in the year, this Report follows so soon after that of 1909, that the usual statement in regard to meetings and papers read will be very short. Reference was made in May last to most of the papers of the year 1910; it only remains to add that at the Annual Meeting the Institute was favoured with an admirable paper by A. C. D. Crommelin, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.A.S., of the Greenwich Observatory, on "The Return of Halley's Comet in 1910," which was listened to with very great interest by a large audience; and that at the closing meeting of the year, held in December, a paper by Judge George H. Smith, of Los Angeles, California, on "The Theory of Jurisprudence," was read and led to an interesting discussion.

### 2. *Grants of Literature.*

Grants of literature have been made to a few societies engaged in missionary work in India, and to some societies in England, whose work is benefited in the same way. More could be done in this direction if the Institute had funds at their disposal for the purpose. The Council specially commend this side of their work to Members and Associates, as the need in India, China and Japan is extraordinarily great at the present time. Where modern Education is conducted on a non-religious basis in non-Christian lands, Agnosticism is almost inevitable, and to meet this claim upon the Christian Church, those papers read before the Institute which are appropriate should be translated into the languages of the East and circulated largely amongst the student classes.

### 3. Council and Officers.

The following is the list of the Council and Officers for the past year :—

#### President.

The Right Honourable The Earl of Halsbury, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S.

#### Vice-Presidents.

Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., K.C.M.G.  
 David Howard, Esq., D.L., F.C.S. (*Trustee*).  
 Right Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D.  
 Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. L. Geary, R.A., K.C.B.  
 Professor Edward Hull, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S.  
 Rev. Canon R. B. Girdlestone, M.A.

#### Honorary Correspondents.

Sir David Gill, K.C.B., LL.D., F.R.S.  
 Professor Sir Gaston Maspero (*Paris*).  
 Professor E. Naville (*Geneva*).  
 Professor A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D.  
 Professor Warren Upham, D.Sc.  
 Sir Robert S. Ball, F.R.S.  
 His Excellency Herr Fridtjof Nansen, D.Sc.

#### Honorary Auditors.

E. J. Sewell, Esq. | H. Lance Gray, Esq.

#### Honorary Treasurer.

Edward S. M. Perowne, Esq., F.S.A.

#### Secretary and Editor of the Journal.

Frederic S. Bishop, Esq., M.A., J.P.

#### Council.

(*In Order of Original Election.*)

Very Rev. H. Wace, D.D. <i>Dean of Canterbury</i> ( <i>Trustee</i> ).	Rt. Rev. Bishop J. E. Welldon, D.D.
Rev. Chancellor J. J. Lias, M.A.	Sydney T. Klein, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S. M.R.I.
Theo. G. Pinches, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.	William J. Horner, Esq.
Ven. Archdeacon W. M. Sinclair, M.A., D.D.	A. T. Schofield, Esq., M.D.
Edward S. M. Perowne, Esq., F.S.A.	Heywood Smith, Esq., M.A., M.D.
Martin Luther Rouse, Esq., B.A., B.L.	Rev. H. J. R. Marston, M.A.
Rev. John Tuckwell, M.R.A.S.	E. Walter Maunder, Esq., F.R.A.S.
Lieut.-Colonel G. Mackinlay.	Ven. Archdeacon Beresford Potter, M.A.
General J. G. Halliday.	Rev. J. H. Skrine, M.A.
Arthur W. Sutton, Esq., F.L.S., J.P.	J. W. Thirtle, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.
Professor H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc.	E. J. Sewell, Esq.

### 4. Election of new Members of Council.

In accordance with the new rules one-third of the Council retire annually. The following members retire and offer themselves for re-election :—

The Rev. John Tuckwell  
 Lt.-Col. Mackinlay.  
 A. W. Sutton, Esq.  
 Professor Orchard.  
 Sydney Klein, Esq.

General Halliday and Mr. Rouse retired and did not offer themselves for re-election.

#### 5. *Vice-Presidents.*

The Council have pleasure in recommending as an addition to the list of Vice-Presidents of the Institute, General Halliday, who has devoted much time to the work of the Council, and whose experience and judgment has been of the greatest service to the Institute for many years.

#### 6. *Obituary.*

The Council regret to announce the deaths of the following Members and Associates since the last meeting :—

Rev. F. A. Billing, M.A., LL.D., Rev. J. M. Clarke, M.A., Charles Dibdin, Esq., F.R.G.S., Rev. Hay S. Escott, M.A., M. H. Habershon, Esq., Rev. Prof. W. Ince, D.D., Rev. P. Fairfax Nursey, M.A., Rev. G. H. Rouse, LL.B., W. E. Thompson Sharpe, Esq., Colonel F. B. P. White, and of one Hon. Corresponding Member, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam.

#### 7. *New Members and Associates.*

The following are the names of Members and Associates elected since the last Annual Meeting :—

MEMBERS.—Mrs. G. F. Whidborne and the Rev. J. J. B. Coles.

ASSOCIATES.—W. Sylvester Walker, Esq., Miss F. M. Edensor, Mrs. Bartholomew, Dr. J. Peddie Harper, C. H. Candy, Esq., LL.M., Edward J. G. Titterington, Esq., M.A., Miss E. Zöl Johnson, Miss P. M. Bishop, Miss L. Bishop, Rev. Samuel Roberts, H. Lance Gray, Esq., H. Nugent Sharp, Esq., E. A. Dubois, Esq., Mrs. Percy Smith, Rev. T. P. Stevens.

#### 8. *Numbers of Members and Associates.*

The following statement will show the number of the supporters of the Institute at the present time, February 6th, 1911 :—

Life Members	...	...	...	30
Annual Members	...	...	...	91
Life Associates	...	...	...	65
Annual Associates	...	...	...	253
Missionary Associates	...	...	...	13
Hon. Corresponding Members	...	...	...	92
Library Associates	...	...	...	22
				<hr/>
			Total	566
				<hr/>

### 9. *Finance.*

Financially the last two years have resulted in a deficit of £56, due to the death and retirement of old members and associates. This has been met by the Sale of Stock, thereby reducing the Capital Investment of the Institute to £500 in 2½ per cent. Consols. The Council hope each member and associate will endeavour this year to secure at least one addition to the list from amongst their own friends and acquaintances. If this were done the Council could greatly extend the usefulness of the Institute at home and abroad.

### 10. *Auditors.*

Owing to the election of Mr. Sewell to the Council, Colonel Mackinlay resigned his position as one of the Auditors, one only of whom can be on the Council. At the request of the Council, Mr. Lance Gray kindly undertook the duties in conjunction with Mr. Sewell. The thanks of the Council are cordially extended to these gentlemen.

### 11. *Country and Suburban Meetings.*

Through the kindness of friends of the Institute in various localities meetings have been held as follows:—

On the 12th May, 1910, in St. Andrew's Hall, Upper Norwood, when Professor Orchard spoke on the subject of his Gunning Prize Essay, the "Attitude of Science towards Miracles." He was supported by Professor Carruthers, Mr. Corrie, Colonel Mackinlay (Chairman of Council), Rev. J. Sharp and others. One Associate joined.

On the 17th November, 1910, in the Pennefather Memorial Hall, Barnet, when the Rev. S. Roberts, Vicar of Christ Church,

took the chair and announced his intention of joining the Institute. Addresses were given by the Chairman of Council, Professor Orchard, and the Secretary.

On the 22nd November, 1910, in the Church Hall, East Croydon, when the Vicar, the Rev. J. Arthur Easter, took the chair. The Secretary advocated the objects of the Institute and Mr. Maunder, Member of Council, gave his lecture to a large and greatly interested audience on "The Astronomy of the Bible."

On the 6th December, 1910, at Wimbledon, when Mr. Maunder repeated his lecture under the chairmanship of the Rev. Canon Girdlestone, Vice-President of the Institute.

The Council desire to express their best thanks to all those named above who gave so much time and trouble in making the work of the Institute better known. They also wish to say that if other members or friends would kindly arrange similar meetings they will gladly do their best to supply able and interesting lecturers.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

HALSBURY,

*President.*

## CASH STATEMENT, *for the year ending December 31st, 1910.*

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.									
				£	s.	d.							
Cash Balance from 1909 .. ..				23	10	2	Printing	}	of these £165 17s. 4d. were the unpaid bills of 1909 .. .. .		117	5	0
Petty Cash in hand Jan. 1st				5	18	1	Binding			35	10	1	
Subscriptions:—1 Member, 1909 .. ..		2	2	0			Stationery			15	15	9	
85 Members, 1910 .. ..		178	10	0			Salaries			260	8	5	
4 " 1911 .. ..		8	8	0			Rent			131	5	0	
1 Life Associate, .. ..		10	10	0			Postage .. .. .	37	7	8			
2 Associates, 1908 .. ..		2	2	0			Expenses of Meetings .. .. .	14	10	0			
18 " 1909 .. ..		18	18	0			Life Assurance .. .. .	2	10	4			
240 " 1910 .. ..		252	0	0			Gas and Electric Light .. .. .	6	11	3			
5 " 1911 .. ..		5	5	0			Library .. .. .	13	16	4			
				477	15	0	Fire Insurance .. .. .	0	12	0			
Sales .. .. .				53	11	3	Bank Charges .. .. .	1	15	6			
Dividends .. .. .				13	8	8	Sundries .. .. .	2	14	0			
Donations .. .. .				10	12	6	Cash in Bank December 31st, £27 6s. 2d. less cheque outstanding £27 4s. 6d. .. .. .			1	8		
Sale of Consols .. .. .				55	7	4				1	8		
				£640	3	0				£640	3	0	

There is a Capital sum of £500, 2½%. Consols, also the Capital of the Gunning Trust Fund, £508 Great India Peninsular Railway Stock. Unpaid bills amount to £161 12s. 4d. Arrears of subscriptions due are expected to realize £23 2s. 0d.

### GUNNING PRIZE FUND.

		£	s.	d.
Balance from 1909.. .. .		21	14	8
Jan. 4th, 1910, Dividend .. .. .		7	3	6
July 4th, 1910 " .. .. .		7	3	6
		£36	1	8

We have verified all the accounts and compared them with the books and vouchers and find them correct.

17th January, 1911.

E. J. SEWELL,  
H. LANCE GRAY, } *Auditors.*

# THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

## VICTORIA INSTITUTE

WAS HELD IN ST. MARTIN'S VESTRY HALL ON MONDAY,  
6TH FEBRUARY, 1911, AT 4 P.M.

---

LIEUT.-COL. MACKINLAY took the chair at the beginning of the meeting and was succeeded later by REV. CANON GIRDLESTONE, Vice-President of the Institute.

The minutes of the preceding Annual Meeting were read and signed.

The SECRETARY read the Report of the Council (see p. 1), with the Financial Statement and Auditors' Report, for 1910.

The Rev. E. SEELEY, in moving the resolution below, urged the members of the Institute to co-operate in the publishing of desirable papers by ordering and paying for such a number of copies as they could individually use to good purpose. Mr. E. Dubois seconded it, and it was carried unanimously—

“That the Report now read be received and adopted, the officers named therein re-elected, and the thanks of the meeting given to the Council, Officers and Auditors for their efficient conduct of the business of the Institute during the year.”

In response to this resolution LIEUT.-COL. MACKINLAY, Chairman of the Council, said :—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Council, Officers and Auditors I thank you heartily for the resolution which

you have so warmly carried. The chief difficulty which the Institute has had to face has been a financial one, but this can be remedied if more members and associates will join: we beg that all who belong to us will use every effort to obtain more members. During the past year, as mentioned in the report, various local meetings have been held with successful results: the Council are desirous that these meetings may be held in increased numbers in the future; our Secretary will gladly arrange for speakers at any other meetings which may be arranged: our experience so far has shown that those most suited to our purpose have been held in church rooms, as then an audience is readily obtainable, but gatherings in private houses are also useful.

It is a matter for hearty congratulation that the numbers of members and associates who have joined the Institute during the past two months exceed the total of the previous twelve; this is chiefly due to the successful exertions of our new Secretary and old member of Council, Mr. F. S. Bishop, M.A., J.P., who was unanimously elected to his present post four months ago. I gladly take this opportunity on behalf of the Council of expressing our sincere thanks to him for what he has already done; if we progress at our present rate we shall indeed do well; with the Lord's blessing the future of the Institute appears to be very promising.

The work of the Institute is as much needed as ever; it is true that Christianity and Science are now very generally in accord, but present-day difficulties arise upon questions of Philosophy and Criticism, and the Institute is doing its best to investigate these difficulties thoroughly and impartially.

The members present to-day testify to the interest and importance of the subject of Mr. Sharp's paper,\* and the syllabus for this session will be found to contain other lectures on subjects which are exercising the minds of men at the present time.

A vote of thanks to Col. Mackinlay and Canon Girdlestone for their conduct in the chair was unanimously passed and the meeting terminated.

\* See p. 77.

509TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 5TH, 1910.

ARCHDEACON BERESFORD POTTER, MEMBER OF COUNCIL,  
IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mrs. G. F. Whidborne was elected a Member and Miss E. Zöl Johnson, Miss P. M. Bishop and Miss Lisa Bishop were elected Associates of the Institute.

The CHAIRMAN said: It was an interesting coincidence that while the paper, by a member of the Institute resident in the U.S.A., was being read here, the officers of the American Fleet were being entertained in London. It was gratifying to see these evidences of the strong bond of union between the two peoples.

The following paper, in the absence of the Author, was read by the Secretary :

*THE THEORY OF JURISPRUDENCE.\**

By Judge GEORGE H. SMITH, Los Angeles, California.

PROBLEM TO BE CONSIDERED.

THE problem I propose to consider upon this occasion, is to determine "the relation of *Jurisprudence to the Law*."

This will involve the definition of these terms; and, it will be proper to say—as indicating the method upon which I shall proceed—that my view of the matter is, that, in the successful accomplishment of this task, the problem must find its solution.

Of the two terms, the definition of *Jurisprudence* is sufficiently simple, and will be considered presently. But the definition of "*the Law*" is a problem of more difficulty; and it has even

---

\* The first Essay written by Judge Smith was too long to be read or printed *in extenso* in this Journal. He kindly submitted the following outline of his paper instead.—Ed.

been thought that its solution "is not possible unless and until we have a complete theory of the nature and functions of human society." (Sir Frederick Pollock, *First Book of Jurisprudence*, p. 4.)

In this I agree, except that I think we already have such a theory sufficiently complete to serve our purposes; and that the definition of "the Law" is, even now, quite practicable. But for the present, the task must be deferred, in order that the necessary preliminary matters (all of which fall within the province of Jurisprudence) be first considered. In the meanwhile, it will be understood, when not otherwise indicated, that the term, *the Law*, will be used to denote merely the aggregate of the rules and principles *customarily* observed by the courts in the exercise of jurisdiction; which is the sense now, perhaps, the most familiar.

## I. OF JURISPRUDENCE.

### *Jurisprudence Defined.*

Three definitions of Jurisprudence obviously suggest themselves:

- (1) In the first, as suggested by the etymology of the term—Jurisprudence may be defined as *the science of Jus or the Law, i.e., of the content of the Law.*
- (2) In the second, which is the sense in which the term was universally received by jurists prior to the advent of Bentham and Austin, it is defined simply as the *Science of Justice (justi atque injusti scientia)*. This, I conceive, is to be taken as the proper sense of the term.
- (3) In the third, Jurisprudence is defined as the *Science of Rights*; or substituting for the plural, the corresponding collective term, the *Science of Right*.

These several senses of the term, have been thought by Mr. Holland, and jurists of his school, to be essentially different. But obviously, with regard to the second and third of the definitions given, this is not the case. For according to the received definition, and the universal acceptance of the terms, *Justice* consists merely *in the observance of rights (jus suum cuique tribuere)*; and Jurisprudence may, therefore, be defined as the Science of Rights.

So, if we have regard to the terms used, and assume the term, *jus*, to retain, in the composite term, its original sense,

we must admit an essential identity, more or less complete, between Jurisprudence *as the science of justice or rights*, and the same *as the science of jus or the Law*.

This is, at least, a legitimate sense of the term, *the Law*, and I conceive it to be the proper sense to be used in Jurisprudence. How far the Law in this sense can be identified with the Law in the more familiar sense, as denoting the aggregate of the rules by which the courts are customarily governed in the exercise of jurisdiction, will be considered in the sequel.

The definition of Jurisprudence as the Science of Rights is the most specific, and pregnant of results; and from it it follows that, to acquire an adequate notion of Jurisprudence, an adequate analysis of the notion expressed in the term, *rights*, is essential.

#### *Rights defined.*

The term, *a right*, is but a special use of the more abstract word, *right*, which is used in many senses. Of these, three only are material to our present purpose, according to which, the term is used to denote: (1) A liberty or power of acting (*facultas agendi*), as when we speak of a *right*; (2) the quality of rightness or rectitude, as when we speak of *right* as opposed to *wrong*; and (3) the rule or standard in conformity to which the quality of rectitude consists (*norma agendi*).

Of these several senses, the last is involved only indirectly as implied in the others, and will be considered in the sequel. Of the other two senses, the second is involved in the first—that is to say: the term, "*a right*," according to its universal use and acceptance, connotes the quality of *rightness*.

This is no less admitted by Austin and jurists of his school than by others. Their definition of *a right* is that it is a power or liberty created by the will of the State. But to maintain this, they are compelled to invent a new kind of rightness or rectitude, consisting in conformity to the will of the State.

A right may, therefore, be regarded as constituted of the two elements—the faculty of acting, and the quality of rectitude, and may be defined *as a rightful or jural liberty to act*.

#### *An "Unjust Right" an "Insignificant Sound."*

Hence, to speak of an *unjust right* would be an expression belonging to the category of what Hobbes calls "*insignificant sounds*," as when men make a name of two names whose significations are contradictory and inconsistent; as, "an incorporeal body," and a great number more, or as if we should

speak of a crooked straight line, or round square. "For," as he says, "whenever an affirmation is false, the two names of which it is composed, put together and made one, signify nothing at all."

*Juridical and Non-Juridical Rights.*

Hence, also, the distinction sometimes made between *moral* and *legal* rights is to be regarded as inadmissible. For a *legal* right, if it be a right at all, must also be a *moral* right; and such a right would be nothing more than what is more appropriately called a *juridical*, as distinguished from a *non-juridical* right. (Authorities cited R. & L., pp. 161, 185.) But, in fact, as the distinction is commonly used, the quality of rectitude is ignored, and *legality* regarded as the sole essential element. But this is not merely to vary the sense of a term, which is often legitimate, but to *substitute* a new and contradictory sense, with the effect, or proposed effect, of displacing the proper sense, and thus eradicating the notion expressed by the term. Accordingly, to those who use this distinction, the *jus primæ noctis*, referred to by Blackstone (2 Com. 283), would, if allowed, be a true *right*; or, to vary the expression, the execution of Socrates, and of the innumerable martyrs who have suffered under cruel laws, would be *just*.

*Natural and Legal Rights.*

So, too, I regard the distinction between *natural* and *legal* rights as at least inappropriate. For, as will presently be more fully explained, all rights originate in *events*, of which human *acts* constitute the most conspicuous class; and among these are included the acts of government officials, legislative, judicial and administrative. But these are but acts, not differing from others except in the *rights* vested in their authors; and, therefore, like other human acts, they constitute mere facts or elements of the problems presented in Jurisprudence. From the standpoint of Jurisprudence, therefore, all rights are *natural rights*; and there cannot be a right of any other kind. Thus, for example, a right arising from the contract, grant, tort, or other act, of a private individual, is admittedly a natural right. But between such a right, and a right arising from an act or acts of legislation, which are but the acts of men vested with the right of legislation, there is, in this regard, no discernible essential difference. In either case, the right has its origin in the act, and its cause in the right of

the actor. Rights originating in legislation, or otherwise in the process of social evolution, are, therefore, no less natural rights than those originating in private acts. For, as we are told by Aristotle, man is "a political animal," and hence the State is his natural State, or the State of Nature.

Hence, as is acutely and profoundly observed by Hobbes: "The law of nature and the civil law contain each other, and are of equal extent.

"The law of nature therefore is a part of the civil law in all commonwealths of the world. Reciprocally also, the civil law is a part of the dictates of nature. For justice, that is to say, performance of covenant, and giving to every man his own, is a dictate of the law of nature. But every subject in a commonwealth hath covenanted to obey the civil law; and, therefore, obedience to the civil law is part also of the law of nature. Civil and natural law are not different kinds, but different parts of law; whereof, one part being written is called civil; the unwritten, natural."

*Of the Nature and of the Several Kinds of Rights.*

The several kinds of rights may be conveniently epitomized as follows:

Rights are of two kinds, radically different in their nature, namely: Rights of *Ownership*, and Rights of *Obligation*; which correspond to what are technically called rights *in rem*, and rights *in personam*.

The former kind include:

- (1) The Right of *Self-Ownership*, or, as it is commonly called, of *Personal Liberty*.
- (2) The Family Rights, or Rights of Ownership growing out of the family relations.
- (3) Property Rights.

These are all essentially of the same nature as the right of property; and, in the Law, are subjects of vindication by the same class of actions, *i.e.*, by actions *in rem*.

The several kinds of obligations, and the corresponding rights, are presented in the familiar classification in use; according to which they are of these kinds, namely:

- (1) Obligations *ex contractu*.
- (2) Obligations *ex delicto*.
- (3) Obligations *ex mero jure*; the last of which are sometimes again divided into, obligations *quasi ex contractu*, and *quasi ex delicto*.

It is to be observed that rights of Ownership cannot be directly enforced by actions, but only indirectly, by enforcing the obligations for restitution or compensation. Hence it is said, and the observation is of fundamental importance: "*Obligations are the mothers of actions.*"

Here it is observed, that a right, whether *in rem* or *in personam*, is defined by Thibaut, and, in effect, by Austin, Amos, Holland, and others of their school, as "*neither more nor less than a legal power to compel.*" But this definition can apply only to *rights of obligation* or rights *in personam*; which alone are susceptible of being directly enforced.

A right *in personam* or of *obligation*, therefore, would seem to consist in the *power* of coercing the obligor, and in fact, it may be so defined. But in another aspect of the case, *i.e.*, if we have regard to the owner of the right, *power* is but another name for *liberty*; for the power, and the liberty to act are the same thing; or rather both terms express the same essential notion, namely: the faculty of acting (*facultas agendi*). The specific difference between the two classes of rights is, therefore, that in the case of rights of obligation, the act which the owner has the right to do, or refrain from doing, is to coerce the obligor; whereas, with regard to rights of ownership, this is not the case. Hence, in either case, the right may be said to consist in the liberty to act (*facultas agendi*), and both classes of rights, therefore, come within the definition of a right as the rightful or jural liberty to act in a specific case, or class of cases. Or in place of the term *liberty*, we may use indifferently the term *power*; which, in this connection, is equivalent.

The distinction between rights *in rem* and rights *in personam*, corresponds to the more familiar distinction made by the Roman jurists between *dominium* and *obligatio*.

I use the expression "Rights of Ownership" in place of "Rights *in rem*," as the more appropriate term. Accordingly, Jurisprudence may be regarded as including two principal subjects, namely: *Ownership* and *Obligation*; to which, for the lawyer, there is to be added the subject of *Actions*.

#### *Of the Subject-Matter of Rights.*

To complete our analysis of the subject, it will be necessary to explain certain other notions essentially involved in the notion of a right, namely, the notions of *Person*, *Thing* and *Event*. These, together with the notions of *liberty to act*, and *rectitude*, embodied in the definition of a right, constitute the *Subject-matter* of *Jurisprudence*, and under that title have been treated

at length in the essay cited in the note ; of which, so far as may be necessary, I propose here to avail myself. But, as the subject is an extensive one, only those points will be touched upon which are essential to the consideration of the problems proposed for discussion.

The first two subjects (*Persons* and *Things*) are adequately treated in the works of the classical jurists, whose views have been generally adopted. "But," it is said by Ortolan, "the idea of the share of the last mentioned (*i.e.*, Events), is the work of modern analysis," and this, I suppose, is true. The three notions are described by the same author, as "*the elements producing law*"; and in this he is right. For there is implied in the notion of a right three things: A *person* in whom the right is vested, or the *owner* of the right; the *thing* in, or over which the right exists, which constitutes what may be called the *subject* of the right; and the *event*, or series of events in which the right originated. For all rights originate in some event or events; nor can they be terminated or modified by any other means. Hence the three notions, Persons, Things, and Events, together with the notions of Liberty, and of Rightness or Rectitude, involved in the definition of *a right*, constitute the peculiar subject-matter of Jurisprudence; and from these notions and their mutual relations, all the principles of Jurisprudence are to be derived.

The subjects of Persons and that of Things are sufficiently familiar, and further remarks on them may be omitted.

The subject of Juridical Events is less familiar, but their nature and kinds may be sufficiently presented by the following Table:

"TABLE OF JURIDICAL EVENTS,"

"Accidents:

*Actus Dei.*  
*Res inter alios acta.*

"Acts:

*Public Acts.*  
*Customs.*  
*Political Acts.*  
*Legislative.*  
*Judicial.*  
*Administrative.*

*Private Acts.**Acts of Original Acquisition.**Transactions.**Contracts.**Torts."*

Of Juridical Events, however, there are two kinds that will particularly require our attention, namely, *Customs*, and *Political Acts*.

*Of Custom.*

This subject is of fundamental importance. . . . But the efficacy of custom rests mainly upon a more profound principle. For it is part of the nature and constitution of man, that his actions shall in the main, be immediately determined by custom; and hence, using the term in its widest sense, as including not only ordinary customs, but also those which are accompanied by a conviction of their moral rectitude (*mores consuetudinemque*)—Morality itself, and Jurisprudence as a branch of Morality, depend mainly upon custom for their practical operation. Yet the received Morality is accepted by men, not on account of its mere prevailment, but from a conviction of its rectitude; and hence the conception of Morality, though as commonly entertained, but an embodiment of that which is commonly received, involves in it, the conception of a true Morality, of which the received Morality is but an attempted application.

*Instituted and Positive Morality Distinguished.*

We thus have denoted by the same term, two essentially different notions, which are commonly confounded. Nor can the resulting confusion be obviated, otherwise than by assigning to each notion an appropriate name. We will, therefore, assign to the received or customary Morality, the name of "Instituted Morality," and to the true Morality in its logical application to circumstances of time and place, the name of "Positive Morality."

*Of Political Acts.*

This also, though much neglected, is a subject of fundamental importance.

These are commonly divided into three kinds, namely: Administrative, Judicial and Legislative. To all of these, the principle will apply, that they are but the acts of men, and, like

private acts, derive their jural validity wholly from the right or power vested in their authors. If within the power or right of the officer, the act is jurally valid; otherwise not.

This is obviously true with regard to administrative acts, which therefore need not be further considered. It is equally true of *judicial*, and *legislative* acts. But it is to be observed that the distinction between these two classes of acts, as commonly received, does not conform to the nature of things. For, in fact, the courts commonly exercise the function of *legislation*, and the Legislature, the function of *jurisdiction*. Thus the judgments of the courts operate, not only as *res judicata* in the suit or proceeding before the court, but also, under our system, as precedents to be followed in the future, thus establishing rules of law. On the other hand, statutes intended to serve as rules for the decision of *questions of right*, are enacted by the legislature, and thus the judicial function, or function of jurisdiction, is exercised. For the judicial function of the state is simply that of justly determining controversies between men as to their rights; and the case is essentially the same, whether these be determined, either by the courts or by the legislature, in particular controversies, or by classes by means of rules previously established by either. In either case the function of the state is essentially that of judge or umpire, and, whether with regard to particular cases or classes of cases, justice constitutes the only admissible rule of decision.

Accordingly, with regard to the subject under discussion, a more appropriate classification of political acts other than administrative, would be to divide them into: Judicial or Juridical *Acts*, or Acts of Jurisdiction; and acts of Policy or Police. With regard to acts of the latter class, the maxim applies: *Voluntas stet pro ratione*. But to judicial acts, whether exercised by the courts or by the legislature, the maxim is: *Judicis est jus dicere non dare*.

#### *Of the Rule or Standard of Right (Norma Agendi).*

To complete our view of the nature of rights, some reference must be made to the standard or rule of right (*norma agendi*), connoted in the term. In this, however, it will be unnecessary to enter upon the metaphysical aspects of the subject; between which, and the science of Morality, as pointed out by Whewell, there exists the same distinction as between Geometry and the Metaphysics or Philosophy of Geometry. As in the case of Geometry, so in Morality, there is practically no difficulty in determining our first principles, and in deducing from them the

proper rules of conduct. This is peculiarly true of the principles of Jurisprudence, as will be seen as we proceed; and this may be at least provisionally admitted, until we come to consider more particularly the Method and Principles of Jurisprudence; when the matter may be judged.

On this point I have no apprehensions. But when we speak of *right*, as denoting a quality, it is important to determine the standard or rule of right referred to. For, as we have seen, there is in fact, in this term, a very subtle ambiguity; and this, indeed, is the principal, or one of the principal sources of the confusion reigning over the subject of Jurisprudence and of Morality generally. For, as has been explained, there are, in fact, two standards or rules referred to, namely: the *Instituted* and the *Positive* Morality. But these are commonly conceived as the same, and thus the essential difference between them, overlooked. Hence, in using the terms, *right*, in this general sense, the two standards are commonly confused, and it cannot be determined which of the two referred to, is regarded as paramount. But in the accurate observance of this distinction, I am persuaded, is to be found the key to the serious problems with which we are confronted.

*Positive and Instituted Jurisprudence, and Positive and Instituted Law Distinguished.*

In this connection it is to be observed that, as Jurisprudence is a part of Morality, it follows there must be also a corresponding distinction between *Positive* and *Instituted* Jurisprudence. Also, if we regard the term, *the Law*, as the appropriate English equivalent of the Latin *Jus*, as used in the composite term *Jurisprudence*, there must be a corresponding distinction between the *Positive*, and the *Instituted* Law, or *Jus*.

The Positive Law consists of the principles of justice or right, with their logical applications to circumstances of place and time; or, as it has been otherwise expressed, it is the "local and temporal realization" of those principles.

The Instituted Law is the attempted, but necessarily imperfect realization of the principles of justice or right, or, in other words of the Positive Law, in a particular community at a given time, with all its inevitable defects and errors.

In this distinction, however, it will be observed that the term Law is used in the sense appropriate to Jurisprudence, regarded as a science; in which sense, it is simply equivalent to *Justice* or *Right*. It remains therefore, to consider the relation of "the Law" in this sense, or Jurisprudence, to "the Law" in the

more familiar sense as denoting the phenomenon known to us by that name.

In the above disquisition upon Jurisprudence, we have sought to express dogmatically the matured results of human thought (operating during a period of some twenty-five centuries)—as these have been, more or less clearly expressed by *jurists*, from the time of Aristotle, including the classical jurists, and the modern civilians, and especially the great jurists of our own Law.

## II. OF THE LAW.

### *Of the Relation of Jurisprudence to the Law.*

We now use the term Law, it will be remembered, in the more familiar sense, as denoting the aggregate of rules and principles by which the Courts are governed in the exercise of Jurisdiction.

In this sense of the term, the Law consists of several heterogeneous parts, but these may all be distributed into two categories: The first, being the Doctrine of Rights; the second, the Doctrine of Actions; under which last head will be included, both *civil* and *penal* actions, and *civil* and *penal* procedure.

With actions and procedure, Jurisprudence, regarded as a science, is not concerned. But unless in the Law, we use the term *Rights* in a sense entirely inadmissible, the Doctrine of Rights must be regarded as but another name for the Science of Rights, or Jurisprudence. And this, in fact, as we have stated, is the way the subject has been viewed, more or less clearly, and always more or less explicitly asserted, by the jurists of our own Law, as well as by those of the Roman Law and the Modern Civilians. The relation of Jurisprudence to the Law is, therefore, apparent; it constitutes, simply, the *substantive*, as distinguished from the *adjective part* of the Law.

Certain apparent objections to this view, indeed, present themselves, but these are clearly explained, and removed, by the consideration of the distinction between the Positive and the Instituted Law. To the mere practitioner, the Doctrine of Actions, constitutes the more prominent aspect of the Law; and to him, Jurisprudence or the Doctrine of Rights is merely subsidiary. But though subsidiary, it is none the less essentially necessary to make the complete Lawyer or Judge; a fact of which, at least here in America, we have had a very melancholy experience.

To the Jurist, however, the important aspect of the Law is the Theory of Rights; and this can be scientifically treated only by disregarding all rules and supposed principles which run counter to the common natural rule of Right; or in other words, by disregarding what is called by the Roman Jurors *jus singulare*; or if he be also a practitioner, by simply noting such abnormal elements as exceptions.

By the term "jurists," I do not mean to exclude all Lawyers; for in fact it is among them that all the great jurists are to be found. But I include in the term, all Lawyers who set themselves to study the Law *as a science*. For of the actually Instituted Law, taken as a whole, as including these accidental and arbitrary rules, there cannot be any science.

*Definition of the Law.*

The relation of Jurisprudence to the Law, in the wider sense of the latter term, as we have seen, is simply that of a theory to its attempted application.

Hence, as in other cases of a science and its practical application (*Episteme* and *Practike*, *ἐπιστήμη* et *πρακτική*), the Law cannot be defined otherwise than as what it is in theory. For the Law is, in its essential nature, a *theory* of what *ought* to be observed, and hence, however we may define it, a *theory of right*.

Hence, also, follows the necessary and essential distinction, which must always exist between the Instituted and the Positive Law.

To this usage, the popular use of the term, the Law, in effect, though confusedly, conforms. For such is the constitution of the human mind that we can hardly conceive of a phenomenon merely as such, without more or less consciously conceiving of its cause or nature. Hence, when we refer to the Law we commonly, if not universally, form a conception also of its nature, as being right or justice, or legislation, or custom, or something else more or less clearly defined.

Hence, for the lawyer, as well as for the jurist, this is the true definition, and the Instituted Law, in so far as it cannot be brought under this definition, is to be regarded as *quasi* law only. And so, in fact, the Law has been commonly regarded, more or less consciously, by the great jurists of our own, as of the Civil Law.

This was substantially the view taken of the law by the Classical Roman Jurists.

For Americans it is obviously the only possible view that can

be taken of the Law, as we understand the term. For by that term we commonly have in view not the Law of any particular State, but the Common Law of all the States, in which there is no Doctrine of *Actions*, nor any Common Legislature or Judiciary.

This conception of the Law does not deny the doctrine of Absolute Sovereignty (though for myself, with Burke, I regard this as a simple absurdity). For, accepting this theory, the doctrine will still remain true; and accordingly it is substantially adopted and lucidly explained by Hobbes. On this point Hobbes' views have been generally misunderstood, though all his evil principles have been adopted by some modern English Jurists, thus verifying the saying: "The evil which men do lives after them; but the good is oft interred with their bones."

This view of the nature of Jurisprudence and of the Law is essential and necessary to the scientific exposition and study of the Law.

Nor is the theory altogether inconsistent with the theory of Austin, as modified by Mr. Markby and Mr. Holland, but all that is required to make a perfect synthesis of the two theories is simply to correct the definitions of the terms used, by confining the terms, *right* and *Jurisprudence*, to the Doctrine of *Rights*, and leaving the term "the Law" to express only the doctrine of *Actions*.

We may, therefore, conclude with Coke and other great jurists of our Law, that "the common Law is nothing else but reason"; or, in other words, that reason is not merely part of the Law, but, as applied to the Jural relations of men, is the Law itself.

#### DISCUSSION.

Mr. J. O. CORRIE, B.A., F.R.A.S., said: It has been suggested to me by the Chairman of Council, Colonel Mackinlay, that I should, in our discussion, touch on Law, as mentioned in the Bible.

Law and Covenant are leading biblical subjects and themes, too extensive for a short speech.

I will, therefore, merely deal with one cardinal principle of

morality, which animates Mosaic Civil Law, and, clearly asserted, uniquely distinguishes it.

It is laid down in Leviticus xix, 18, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." This "saying" is quoted by St. Paul in the thirteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans (that juridical people), as briefly comprehending all commandments.

I have noted, in the Mosaic Civil Code, some instances specially referable to this principle.

1. Thou shalt not avenge, or bear grudge against the children of thy people. Lev. xix, 18.

2. The third year's tithes to be given in charity. Deut. xiv, 28, 29.

3. A sheaf of corn, that may have been forgotten, not to be garnered, but left for the needy. Deut. xxiv, 19.

Gleanings of the field, and also its corners to be left for the needy. Lev. xix, 9.

The olive not to be twice beaten, nor the vine twice gathered; but the leavings to be for the needy. Deut. xxiv, 20, 21.

4. The millstone not to be taken in pledge, nor pledged raiment to be kept after sundown, nor widow's raiment to be taken in pledge. Deut. xxiv, 6.

5. To relieve one waxen poor, though a stranger, or sojourner; and not to take interest from him. Lev. xxv, 35.

6. A brother waxen poor not to be compelled to serve as a bondman, but as a hired servant. "Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour." Lev. xxv, 39, 43.

7. The stranger dwelling with you to be as one born among you. "Thou shalt love him as thyself." Lev. xix, 34.

8. The Law of Release every seventh year of debtors, and of Hebrew bondmen; and the command to lend freely even if the seventh year be near. Deut. xv, 1, 2, 7-11, and Exod. xxi, 2.

9. To bring back another's stray cattle, or lost property; and to help his fallen beast of burden, even if he be an enemy. Deut. xxii, 1-4; Exod. xxiii, 4, 5.

10. A woman, taken in war, and desired as a wife, to be allowed a month of mourning for slain relatives before marriage. Deut. xxi, 13.

Hence an altruistic principle, strange to the *jus commune*, was asserted in Hebrew law, and in some instances markedly carried out.

The laws of Hammurabi, though not devoid of humane touches, form a striking contrast to those of Moses.

The principle of love to the neighbour is, of course, fundamental in Christian morals; it increasingly affects our own laws.

For instance, the Poor Laws, the Old Age Pensions Act, and the feeding of necessitous children. We have recognized in our law, that the indigent have a claim on the well-to-do.

Hence the old jurisprudence (in the sense of the essay) tends to become inadequate as a moral basis for modern (English) law.

It is interesting to compare a Hebrew pattern of a righteous man:—

“He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor, his *righteousness* endureth for ever” (Ps. cxii, 9),  
with the Roman model—

“Vir bonus est quis?”

Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat.”

Mr. BALFOUR BROWNE, K.C., said:—It was difficult to criticise the paper because he was in substantial agreement with the writer. He took it that the judge's view was that law, positive law, or jurisprudence was another name of the Science of Justice or right. In this, he was in antagonism to the obsolete theory of Laws of Austin, who found in them nothing but Legislation and Sanctions. That theory left us still to determine by what right legislation exists, and upon what ground its sanctions or compulsions were just.

But even the writer of the paper begins his theory of jurisprudence too late. A science of philosophy of law must deal with and discuss the principles upon which legal rights rest and are enforceable. Locke and Mill seemed to think that there was no question of “right” in the matter, and that utility was the sole basis of law. Scotch lawyers had since the time of Lord Staire based their jurisprudence upon the law of nature, and Hume, who was one of the most thorough-headed of Scotchmen, said, “the apparatus of our government has ultimately no other objective purpose but the distribution of justice, or in other words the support of the twelve judges”: which implies the existence of an antecedent “justice” which is to be “distributed.” Sir Henry Maine has gone for his *Twelve Talks of the Law* to history, and has drawn from remote ages the germs which have evolved into the whole system of law, but without

explaining or accounting for the beginning of the germ, any more than Darwin accounted for the Ascidian. Our present day Pragmatical philosophers, William James, Davey and Schiller hold that "truth" is what is good for you, and "the right" is what will wash. But I take it that Judge Smith holds with Hume that there is a "justice" to be administered—that there is a sense of right and wrong in man (sometimes obscure, sometimes bright), and that the sense of right is developed into our law, and the tendency to wrong is regarded as outside the "jural liberty" of the individual. Or in other words, that active sins against the moral sense are the acts which we call criminal and which our law of Restraints seeks to remedy.

One writer made property the foundation of government. But property must depend not merely, as the writer of the paper suggests, on the obligation of others not to disturb or interfere with my possession or enjoyment, but must rest upon some active principle in the owner, and that active principle is the exercise of Will in the act or "event" of appropriation, or in the case of land, of occupancy. That *will* which makes property must not be disturbed or interfered with. The fundamental ideas of law are, I take it, *Property*, which includes self-ownership and family ownership, *Contract* and *Penalty*. All of these involve the action of the will. Will in possession, will in exchange, and will restricting to a criminal his real moral nature by restraining his immoral tendencies by the Sanctions of the law. And the right of the State to do so rests not only in the nature of the man himself, but in what Hume called "opinion"; but that opinion is again the individual sense of Right and Wrong in man.

But we have some curious departures to-day from these principles of jurisprudence. Property, private property seems to be regarded by many as theft, and the collective will is to be substituted for the individual will. Contract, private contract, is not to count. I am not allowed to make a bargain with a tenant as to hares and rabbits or with a servant as to injuries he may sustain while in my employment. Penalty still exists, I suppose, except when the Home Office takes it upon itself to stand between the offender and the law.

Dr. PINCHES said: I rise to speak—quite as a layman—upon a section of law which interests me—legal enactments of which I was

requested to speak, namely, the laws of Babylon. I am afraid I cannot analyse them in the same way as Mr. Corrie did those of the Old Testament; and after the excellent comments which we have heard, what I have to add to the discussion will probably fall very short of its high level hitherto. These laws—the Code of Hammurabi—are very difficult to treat of, and one can only say, that they show what a remarkable book of Babylonian law has been made since the time of the earliest code—for there must have been one before that of Hammurabi, as the tablets giving exercises for those studying to be scribes show. One of the speakers has said that law is another name for Right; but the laws of Babylon, both those which go back to the earlier period, and the later codes, show one thing, namely, that there was no personal right; or, at least, that the personal right of liberty of action was invested in the freemen of Babylonia. There was a large class of serfs, who, though not slaves, apparently had no real liberty of action. They seem to have been obliged to work in various ways, and to toil on the farms, though they possessed property, and were not really slaves, whose position showed a very noteworthy difference.

One of the precepts of the Old Testament is, “an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,” and this has its parallel in Babylonian law as exhibited by the Code of Hammurabi. That a man should be made to suffer as he had made another suffer, seems natural; but to my mind it is hardly a practical thing, for to mutilate a man because he had mutilated another was simply to make two defective members of society instead of one—other means of punishing him without impairing his usefulness might easily have been found. In this matter of mutilations, there is a point concerning the old Babylonian contracts which struck me, and therefrom one gathers that the laws were sometimes regarded as not quite sufficient. According to the translation of a Babylonian contract made by a German Assyriologist Dr. Ungnad, one of the parties, in a certain contingency, agrees to submit to mutilation, or something similar, of a more severe character than that exacted by the law referring thereto. This shows the nature of social state of the Babylonians, and suggests, also, that the laws by which they set so much store were not always observed; and that something was left to the contracting parties in such a case as this. And this leads to the question of imprisonment. A man awaiting trial or punishment would naturally have to be

placed in prison, but prison as a punishment seems to have been either not at all or very rarely resorted to, which is another point of difference between our laws and those of the ancient Babylonians. We must naturally be very thankful that we live in these more merciful times. The laws, with the Babylonians, were not exactly in all cases "dictated by common sense," but, as in the case of all primitive and class-legislation, by interest—it was to the interest of the freeman to get all he could from the serf whom he employed, or the slave whom he owned, and this self-interest is probably not altogether absent from legislation even now. It is a pleasant thing to think that our own laws are so dictated by "common sense," though people have had doubts about it, as witness the oft-quoted dictum which says that "the law is a hass." With the Babylonians, however, the law was dictated by the state of society which existed there at least, that is what their codes would lead one to suppose.

What I have said embodied such thoughts as occurred to me whilst the paper was being read. It is not of the best, but I offer it for what it is worth.

DR. THIRTLE said:—That the penalty should sustain a proportional relation to the offence was assuredly recognised by the *lex talionis*. There was, moreover, another side to that manner of punishment. In unsettled social conditions it must have exercised an important restraining influence. It was "an eye for an eye"—not two eyes for one, and probably further mutilation as well, exacted in lawless vengeance. Again, it was "a tooth for a tooth"—not every tooth from the head of the hapless offender, as penalty for an act of malice or neglect, whereby some slight injury was inflicted upon his fellow. Thus there was a merciful side to the law of retaliation, as it is set out in the Mosaic code. Exod. xxi, 20–25; Lev. xxiv, 17–22; Deut. xix, 21.

MR. OKE said:—Has the writer made sufficient distinction between law and morality? I think I should prefer that wonderful book of Austin. What would be the position of slavery if custom guided morality? One would like to have more clearly stated what is law and what is custom. There are difficulties of that kind which suggest themselves to my mind, and I regret that the writer of this interesting paper is not here to throw light on these subjects.

PROFESSOR LANGHORNE ORCHARD.—Our thanks are due to the able

author for this acute and thoughtful paper—a paper of which the propositions and reasoning command general assent.

But exception may be taken to some of the author's definitions. Correctly defining (page 8)\* Jurisprudence as "the Science of Rights," he makes this equivalent to "the Science of Right." This is to confound Jurisprudence with Ethics. So, too, he defines the Law (page 44)\* as "*a theory of right*," whereas the correct definition (in my judgment) is "the Theory of Rights." Right and Rights are not identical, although every true right has its basis in Right. Right is conformity with the moral standard which is the supreme law—the Law of God witnessed to by the moral faculty. On this point I am glad to find myself in agreement with Hobbes (a writer with whom accord is usually impossible), see the splendid extract from his "Leviathan" given on pp. 70-71.\* If we ask "What is a right?" the answer is "A man has a Right to whatever power or possession it is right for him to have." Natural rights and Social (or "Instituted") rights spring from the application of the Divine Law to the Natural and Social relations of men regarded as moral agents. If in any case of supposed "right" this application be erroneous, the so-called "right" is not a true right. The function and business of Jurisprudence is to make this application, to correct erroneous applications, and to investigate the relationships between rights with a view to an unified system.

May not the word "interference" on pp. 22, 23, etc.,\* be advantageously replaced by "opposition"?

With regard to the *lex talionis*, the objection has been brought that its enforcement would lessen a malefactor's physical value to society. The objection (for whatever it is worth) lies against imprisonment and fine, and generally against all punishment and suffering. The moral may, however, be held more important than the physical; and the enactment of eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, *i.e.*, *punishment in man*, does undoubtedly express the principle of abstract *Justice*.

The CHAIRMAN said: It is interesting to think, while listening to a paper on Jurisprudence by an American, that the new country guides its affairs on the basis of the old laws derived from old civilisations, but sown on new soil.

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\* These pages refer to the original essay.

I had no opportunity of reading the paper before coming into this room and do not feel able to say much on such a learned production as this. It certainly seemed to take the view that law was not law if it were not in accord with Justice, and though it did not state what right and justice were, it clearly assumed that they exist. The moral doctrine of Kant in his *Ethics* is nearly perfect, but the corollary should be added that the existence of a Power other than ourselves which makes for righteousness in the universe accounts for the sense of right and wrong in man. He held a thing to be right if it were for the benefit of the greatest number. Kant's principle was simply this: you must not selfishly make yourself the exception to a rule which is necessary for the well-being of society. Society would come to an end if everyone lied or stole, therefore we must not lie or steal. There is no law in human affairs without the action of the intellect, which frames, and carries out the law. The same must be true all through nature, therefore add this conception of a Moral Ruler to Kant's principle, and you have a clear basis for morals.

Colonel MACKINLAY proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the learned Judge for his most useful paper. This was seconded by Mr. HORNER and carried with acclamation.

Subsequently, and after reading the discussion, the AUTHOR writes,—I am much gratified by the concurrence of some of the speakers in the general views of my essay; and I feel equally obliged for the criticisms that have been made. For with these, or rather with the general views expressed in them, I am generally in accord; and I find they will serve to illustrate certain aspects of my theory; which may thus, perhaps, be made somewhat clearer.

I quite agree with Mr. Corrie that the commandment—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,"—comprehends the whole of *the Law*; which, in the only sense of the term I regard as permissible for the jurist, it will be remembered, is but another name for *justice*. But I cannot concur, in the conclusion, apparently drawn: That "the old jurisprudence (in the sense of the essay) tends to become inadequate as a moral basis for modern (English) Law."

If, however, this be intended—as I suppose it is—merely as a protest against the theory, that the function of the state is confined to the administration of justice, and to such matters as are essential

thereto, I have nothing to say against it. For, on this point, in my own opinion—which I think accords with the better opinion of jurists—Aristotle has said the last word: “The State is founded that men may live, but is continued that they may live well.”

Assuming this to be the case, and that the functions of the state extend to the promotion of the welfare of the people in other ways than by the mere administration of justice, the power to do so will be included among *the rights of the state*; of which Jurisprudence will take cognizance as it does of the rights of individuals. Hence if it be right for the state to perform the functions alluded to by Mr. Corrie, and similar functions, *its right* to do so will be affirmed by the principles of Jurisprudence; and, thus, whatever view be taken of specific questions, it will—if rightly taken—find an adequate “moral basis,” in Jurisprudence, as conceived by the author, and indeed by jurists generally.

Mr. Browne is right in supposing that my fundamental view of Jurisprudence is, that the Law (*i.e.*, the Positive, as distinguished from the Instituted Law) is but another name for Justice or Right. This, as I have said, I regard as the only sense of the term, *the Law*, admissible for the jurist; and under the latter name, I include lawyers and all others who would treat the Instituted Law scientifically. He is also right in supposing that I assume the existence of a *Justice* paramount to Human Convention and Institution; which, according to the views expressed in the essay, is the only Justice entitled to the name. But the suggestion is made—if I understand him aright—that I have failed to explain the philosophical principles “upon which legal rights rest and are enforceable.”

In reply, I would say that the paper read before the Society is but an outline of the essay as originally submitted, where this aspect of the subject is treated more at length; and where, I think, or at least hope, I have made it clear that the fundamental principle of Jurisprudence is the right of Personal Liberty or Self-Ownership. From this—as I attempted to show in the original essay, and in the essays and works there cited—all other kinds of rights are logically deducible, or rather are mere applications.

The theory there developed—which may conveniently be called the “Theory of Human Autonomy”—is involved in Hobbes’ definition of *a right* as consisting in “that liberty which every man has to use his natural faculties according to right reason.”

In this definition, jurists generally seem to agree; and from it, the theory is nobly developed by Herbert Spencer in "Social Statics," though not without some serious errors, and even logical fallacies.

Kant's theory of Justice—in which Spencer admits he was anticipated by that author—is also based on the same principle, but his treatment of the subject is far less satisfactory. He tells us indeed, that: "Right, therefore, comprehends the whole of the conditions under which the voluntary actions of any one person can be harmonized in reality with the voluntary actions of every other person according to a universal Law of Freedom." But he makes no attempt to determine this *Law*—which is the real problem, which Spencer, at least, attempted to do. (See work in the Library of the Institute, entitled *Right and Law*, §§ 30–39 inclusive; to which, and to my original essay, I must, for lack of space, refer the reader.)

In the above observations I have assumed that the term "*legal rights*" is used by Mr. Brown merely as the equivalent of "*juridical rights*." Otherwise, for the reasons explained in the paper read to the Society, pp. 11 and 12, I would regard the term as inadmissible.

To the question of Mr. Oke: "Has the writer made sufficient distinction between law and morality?" I answer: "Yes." The distinction is simply between *part* and *whole*—that is to say: the Positive Law is, both in fact and in theory, a department of Morality; and this is, in theory, equally true of the Instituted Law, and true also in fact, in proportion to its successful development.

The necessary and essential connection between Law and Morality cannot, I hold, be questioned without denying the existence of moral distinctions; and hence, I think, the divorce between Law and Morality temporarily effected by Austin and others of his school, has been in the highest degree disastrous, not only to the interests of Jurisprudence, but to those of Political Science and Morality generally.

To the objection of Professor Orchard to my use of the term, "*Right*," as denoting rights in the aggregate, I have only to say that I have used the term in this sense (which is one only of its many related senses) to supply an obvious need for a collective term corresponding to *rights*. It is so used by Hobbes in the following passages, among others: "Right is that liberty which the law

leaveth us"; "For nothing is signified by the word, right, than that liberty which every man has to use his natural faculties according to right reason"; "Right consisteth in liberty to do or forbear." (*De Corpore Politico*, B. 2, Ch. 10, § 5; *Leviathan*, B. 1, Ch. 14.)

This difference of expression, however, does not indicate any substantial dissent on my part from the views of Professor Orchard, with which, if I understand him rightly, I entirely agree. "Right (as denoting conformity to the moral standard) and Rights (I agree) are not identical." But there is a clearly defined relation between them, expressed in the proposition that "every true right has its basis in Right," as thus defined; and to use the mathematical expression, the one term is a function of the other. Also I agree, that *all* rights "spring from the application of the Divine Law to the Natural and Social relations of men regarded as moral agents"; and that if in case of supposed "right," this application be erroneous, the so-called "right" is not a true "right." But this is but, perhaps, a more forcible expression of the distinction I make between *rights*, *i.e.*, *real* rights, and *quasi* rights; and the corresponding distinction between Law and *Quasi* Law.

It may be observed, also, that I use the term, Right, not only in the two senses above noted, *i.e.*, as a collective term denoting rights in the aggregate, and as denoting conformity to the moral standard, but, also, as denoting the aggregate of the principles by which rights are determined. In this sense, the term is equivalent to Justice or the Law, and this is in accord with modern usage, where the term, Right, or its equivalent, is used as the name of the Law, as, *e.g.*, when we speak of the Law, as *Common Right*, *Jus Commune*, *Recht*, *Droit*, *Diritto*, *Derecho*, etc. This implies an *essential* relation between Jurisprudence and Ethics or Morality, but does not confound the two. It simply implies that, according to the views expressed in the essay, Jurisprudence is a department, and an essential part of Morality.

In conclusion, referring to the suggestion of the Chairman, I would say that the use of a *common law*, by this country and England, and the English colonies, is not merely evidence of the strong bond of union between these peoples, but, as explained in my original essay (pp. 55 to 58 inclusive), that it is a most significant phenomenon, altogether irreconcilable with the conception of

the Law, prevailing, until recently, in the two countries, from the time of Bentham and Austin.

This, from the standpoint of Jurisprudence, I conceive to be the most important aspect of the phenomenon alluded to by the Chairman, but none the less, it must be gratifying to all of us to contemplate the close and intimate relation imposed upon us, not only by the use of a common law, but by a common language and literature, and common blood, which makes us in fact one people. In this regard, the feeling of Americans generally—excepting perhaps some of our naturalized fellow citizens and their immediate descendants—was, I think, well expressed by the American Commodore (Commodore Shubrick, I believe) when he came to the assistance of the British fleet in withdrawing from its attack upon the Chinese forts, saying: “Blood is thicker than water.” Nor do I think there are many of us who—except on the score of official propriety—would be disposed to condemn the sentiments expressed by Captain Sims, upon the occasion of his late speech in London. For myself, looking back over a more than usually long life, I do not remember the time, when I, or those with whom I have commonly associated, have ever regarded England, or rather Britain, as a foreign country.

## 510TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

MONDAY, JANUARY 9TH, 1911, 4.30 P.M.

DR. A. T. SCHOFIELD IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

Announcement was made of the election of the following :—

MEMBER : Rev. J. J. B. Coles, M.A.

ASSOCIATES : Rev. Samuel Roberts ; H. Lance Gray, Esq. ; H. Nugent Sharp, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said that Mr. Coles was a gentleman of profound study ; the subject has depths perhaps few of us realised. Anything that comes from him comes with authority.

The following paper was then read by the author :—

*THEOSOPHY.* By the Rev. J. J. B. COLES.

*Θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην.* 1 Cor. ii, 7.

**L**ET me first give in outline a brief summary of Theosophical teaching.

## BRIEF SUMMARY.

“The word Theosophy means not the ‘Wisdom of God’ but the ‘wisdom of the gods,’ or Universal Wisdom. This wisdom is the inner, hidden, spiritual truth which underlies all the outward forms of religion, and its central thought is the belief that the Universe is in its essence spiritual, that man is a spiritual being in a state of evolution and development, and that by proper physical, mental, and spiritual training humanity can so progress on this path of evolution as to develop faculties and powers which will enable it to get behind the outward veil of what we call matter and to enter into conscious relations with the underlying Reality. To the Theosophist, man is composed of seven principles, which are resolvable into the lower and the higher parts of his nature, the four lower principles forming the personality, which is his non-permanent side, disintegrating after death, and the three higher forming the individuality, the intelligent and spiritual side, which is permanent and eternal.

“The whole Universe is in a continual state of progression ; the spiritual, having descended into matter, is ever and always working its way upwards, and the duty of man is to assist this upward

evolution by every means in his power. So far as regards himself, this evolution cannot be completed in one lifetime, and the Theosophist therefore believes in *Reincarnation*. That part of man's intelligent nature which reincarnates in successive personalities and lives is called the Reincarnating Ego. The spirit or monad has to pass through all the stages of evolution, mineral, vegetable and animal. In man, self-consciousness and moral responsibility are attained, and the duty then at once arises to subordinate the animal and passionate part of the nature and to develop the spiritual, so as to prepare for the next incarnation. At the change, which is called death, the Reincarnating Ego passes, not into any particular place, like heaven or hell, but into a state of subjective consciousness called Devachan, remaining thus for a longer or shorter period according to the way in which the earth life has been passed. When the time comes for it to take up another body the Ego again incarnates, and this goes on till all experience has been gained, and till by spiritual advancement the necessity for reincarnation ceases, the ultimate destiny of the higher spiritual principle in man being its conscious union with the Absolute, the Universal All. The whole of this evolution and reincarnation are governed by law, for the Theosophist does not believe in anything *miraculous* or *supernatural*. This law is called *Karma*, and its meaning is that as a man sows so shall he reap; that every life depends on and has to work itself out in accordance with what has been done in previous lives, and that the whole Universe is one unbroken chain of cause and effect. It is especially to be remembered that this holds good in the moral and spiritual realms which are the reality, *thought* being the vital and the moulding force.

“The great fundamental idea of Theosophy is universal brotherhood, and this is based on the spiritual unity of man. The Theosophical Society is the outward expression of Theosophy, and the only pledge which is asked of its members is that they should faithfully and loyally work, by thought and action, for the realization of this brotherhood, which does not depend on race, sex, creed, caste, or colour, but on the imperishable spiritual unity of mankind.”

Theosophy teaches a profound Pantheism which recognises that in manifestation intelligence is everywhere, guiding, moulding, controlling matter. It holds that the devas of the Hindu and the angels of the Christian have their places and work in the Universe, but jealously guards from all limitations that source of which the centre is everywhere and the circumference nowhere, in which the immeasurable universe is but as a grain of sand, and which is yet the life of the spirit in man.

In the matter of divine incarnation Theosophy teaches that the Krishna of the Hindu, the Buddha of the Buddhist, the

Christ of the Christian are not antagonistic concepts, but complementary aspects of a fact in nature. While each is looked on as unique by the adherents of each religion, all are looked on as repeated examples of the same truth by the follower of the Wisdom Religion. Every man is regarded as the incarnation of God, and the work of evolution is the gradual manifestation of that divine nature.

The Supreme Teachers of the race, the Divine Founders of great religions, are men who, during ages of evolutionary progress, and reincarnations have so purified and sublimed their human nature that it has become translucent to the God within.

The Buddhist should see in every man a potential Buddha and the Christian in every man a potential Christ. To recognise this esoteric truth under the exoteric veil will not only soften religious antagonism, but will help religious teachers to appeal to the divine nature in man instead of treating man as being naturally inclined to evil and only to be held back by threats.

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The above short explanation of this Wisdom Religion almost in the very words of its principal teachers, is intended, as will be seen, for anyone who may take up this paper without having had any previous acquaintance with Theosophy.

In order to interest those who for many years have been students of Theosophy, and especially the Members and Associates of the Victoria Institute who may wish for suggestions as to the proper attitude which an educated Christian should assume towards it, we shall now consider the claims of Theosophy to be a science, a philosophy and a religion.

In *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*, by Madame Blavatsky; *A Study in Consciousness* and *Esoteric Christianity*, by Annie Besant; *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, and *The Gospel* and *The Gospels*, by G. R. S. Mead; *Man Visible and Invisible*, by C. W. Leadbeater, and *Thought Forms and Occult Chemistry*, by Annie Besant and C. W. Leadbeater—not to mention many other works such as *Nature's Finer Forces*, by Râma Prâsad, and *The Perfect Way* and *Clothed with the Sun*, by Dr. Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland—we have a fair and ample selection from Theosophical writings on which to form our judgment as to this attempt at a synthesis of all knowledge relating to God, Man and the Universe.

Let us turn over the pages of *Occult Chemistry*, a series

of Clairvoyant Observations on the Chemical Elements, by Annie Besant and C. W. Leadbeater. I give a few extracts—

“The first thing which is noticed by an observer, when he turns his attention to the chemical atoms, is that they show certain definite forms, and that within these forms modified in various ways, sub-groupings are observable which recur in connection with the same modified form.” (p. 11.)

“The tetrahedron seems to be one of the favourite forms of nature, and repeatedly appears in the internal arrangements. ‘Gold contains no less than 20 tetrahedra.’”

“The Cube appears to be the form of triads.” The Octahedron—the simplest example of this is carbon.

“We have a regular series of the Platonic solids, and the question suggests itself, will further evolution develop elements shaped to the dodecahedron and the icosahedron?”

Those of us who have studied the Geometrical Philosophy of the ancients, and who are aware that Moses, the writer of the Pentateuch, was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and that he introduced in an esoteric manner, into Genesis, the science of geometrical form and number, will have read this book of *Occult Chemistry* with very great interest.

On my writing table before me I have three of the regular polyhedra or platonic solids, the icosahedron being one of them. Some of us will remember Lord Kelvin's *Molecular Tactics of a Crystal* and the diagram representing a small sphere in the centre of twelve other similar spheres, and we note with close attention this reference to the dodecahedron and icosahedron in connection with the suggestion as to further evolution. Many of us have but little doubt that this further evolution will soon be an accomplished fact.

But let us continue our perusal of this interesting book, all the more interesting from the fact that at a recent meeting of scientists in Milan, a well-known Professor of Chemistry, Dr. Ubaldo Antony, spoke very favourably of the results of this clairvoyant excursion into a hitherto unoccupied field.

After noticing the diagram of radium on p. 89 and the allusion to the “extraordinary vivid and living” complex central sphere, “so rapid that continued accurate observation is very difficult,” let us turn to the Appendix on the Æther of Space.

“Much discussion has taken place, especially between physicists and chemists, over the nature of the substance with which all space must, according to scientific hypothesis, be filled. One side contends

that it is infinitely thinner than the thinnest gas, absolutely frictionless and without weight: the other asserts that it is denser than the densest solid. In this substance the ultimate atoms of ether are thought to float, like motes in a sunbeam, and light, heat and electricity are supposed to be its vibrations.

“Theosophical investigators, using methods not at the disposal of physical science, have found that this hypothesis includes under one head two entirely different and widely separated sets of phenomena. They have been able to deal with states of matter higher than the gaseous, and have observed that it is by means of vibrations of this finer matter that light, heat and electricity manifest themselves to us. Seeing that matter in these higher states thus performs the functions attributed to the ether of science, they have (perhaps unadvisedly) called these states etheric, and have thus left themselves without a convenient name for that substance which fulfils the other part of the scientific requirements.

“Let us for the moment name this substance *koilon*, since it fills what we are in the habit of calling empty space. What *mulaprakrti* or ‘mother-matter’ is to the inconceivable totality of universes, *koilon* is to our particular universe, not to our solar system merely, but to the vast unit which includes all visible suns.

“To any power of sight which we can bring to bear upon it, this *koilon* appears to be homogeneous, though it is probably nothing of the kind, since homogeneity can belong to the mother substance alone.

“It is out of all proportion denser than any other substance known to us, infinitely denser—if we may be pardoned the expression; so much denser that it seems to belong to another type or order of density.

“But now comes the startling part of the investigation; we might expect matter to be a densification of this *koilon*; it is nothing of the kind. Matter is not *koilon*, but the absence of *koilon*, and at first sight, matter and space, appear to have changed places, and emptiness has become solidity, solidity has become emptiness!”

[A recent address on the New Elements in Chemistry by Sir William Crookes adds interest to these extracts. See note on p. 45.]

But time and space will not admit of any further quotations from this engrossing Appendix, save only the following:—

“To us, Theosophists, it is the Breath of the Logos—we know not whether of the Logos of this solar system or of a yet Mightier Being; the latter would seem the more likely.”

Christians might here venture to quote the words of that great initiate the Apostle Paul. “Whom therefore ye ignorantly

worship, Him declare I unto you." "He Himself giveth to all life and breath and all things." And (referring back to the quotation at the head of this paper and its immediate context)—

. . . "And things that 'are not,' that He might bring to nought the things 'that are'—that no flesh should glory before God."

#### THE LOGOS OF THEOSOPHY.

Let us now see what is the teaching of Theosophy as to the Logos of this world—of this solar system.

In *The Secret Doctrine* by H. P. B., 2nd Ed., 1888, vol. ii, p. 215, we read:—

"So little have the first Christians (who despoiled the Jews of their Bible) understood the first four chapters of Genesis in their esoteric meaning, that they never perceived that not only was no sin intended in their disobedience, but that actually the Serpent was the Lord God Himself, who as the Ophis, the Logos, or the bearer of divine creative wisdom, taught mankind to become creators in their turn. They never realised that the Cross was an evolution from the Tree and Serpent, and thus became the salvation of mankind. By this it would become the very first fundamental Symbol of Creative Cause, applying to geometry, to numbers, to astronomy, to measure, and to animal reproduction."

In *A Study in Consciousness*, by Mrs. Besant, pp. 8-9, we read:—

"Every Logos of a universe repeats this universal Self-Consciousness: in His activity, He is the creative Mind, Kriyâ—corresponding to the universal Sat—the Brahma of the Hindu, the Holy Spirit of the Christian, the Chochma of the Kabbalist. In His Wisdom, He is the preserving, ordering, Reason, Jnâna—corresponding to the universal Chit—the Vishnu of the Hindu, the Son of the Christian, the Binah of the Kabbalist. In His Bliss, He is the Dissolver of forms, the Will, Ichchhâ—corresponding to the universal Ananda—the Shiva of the Hindu, the Father of the Christian, the Zepher of the Kabbalist. Thus appear in every universe the three Logoi, the three Beings who create, preserve, and destroy their universe, each showing forth predominantly in His function in the universe, one ruling aspect, to which the other two are subordinate, though of course ever-present. Hence every manifested God is spoken of as a Trinity. The joining of these three Aspects, or phases of manifestation, at their outer points of contact with the circle, gives the basic Triangle of contact with Matter, which, with the three Triangles made with the lines traced by the Point, thus yields the divine Tetractys, sometimes called the Kosmic Quaternary, the three divine Aspects in contact with matter, ready

to create. These, in their totality, are the Oversoul of the kosmos that is to be."

#### WHO OR WHAT IS THIS "LOGOS" ?

I have given samples and extracts from Theosophical writings which demonstrate that we have to deal with a system of philosophy, science and religion, which is attributed to one who is called the "Logos" of this solar system.

The Lord Jesus Christ calls him the "Archon" of this cosmos, and also by his name "Satan" or "the Adversary"—the Apostle Paul calls him the god of "this age" or dispensation, inasmuch as since the rejection of Christ by the world, the True Logos—at the instigation of Satan himself—he is the spirit that energises in those who are ready to receive his teaching and to carry out his plans.

Our conflict is with principalities and powers, and the world-rulers of this darkness—hence we need the complete armour which God has provided for us in Christ. By His Cross the Lord triumphed over Satan and all his principalities and powers, and we are complete in Him, Who is the Head of all principality and power. A study of God's Word shows that theosophy is preparing men for the rebellion foretold in the last Book of Scripture, and pride, self-will and self-deification are beginning to assume the last and final phase which will be headed up by the Lawless One, the Man of Sin.

#### "THE PERFECT WAY" AND "CLOTHED WITH THE SUN."

*The Perfect Way* and *Clothed with the Sun* by Dr. Anna Kingsford and Mr. Edward Maitland were both written, confessedly by the inspiration of the so-called *masters* of theosophical wisdom.

On p. 37 of *The Perfect Way* (1882) we read—

"And even though the indubitable fact be recognized that the 'one name given under heaven whereby men can be saved' has been shared by many, that name will still be the name of salvation, and the symbol of its triumph will still be the Cross of Jesus, even though borne before Him by, or in the name of, an Osiris, a Mithras, a Krishna, a Dionysus, or a Buddha, or any others who, overcoming by love the limitations of matter, have been faithful to the death, mystically called the death of the Cross, and attaining thereby the crown of eternal life for themselves, have shown to man the way of salvation."

On p. 240 of *Clothed with the Sun* the following sentences occur:—

“O Father Iacchos, thou art the Lord of the body,  
 God manifest in the flesh . . . .  
 Who wearest the horns of the ram, who ridest upon an ass,  
 whose symbol is the vine, and the new wine thy blood.

Whose Father is the Lord God of Hosts . . . .  
 Give me to drink of the wine of thy cup, that I may live for  
 evermore.

Evoi, Father Iacchos, Lord God of Egypt; initiate thy servants  
 in the halls of thy temple.

Evoi, Iacchos, Lord of the Sphinx . . . .  
 Thou turnest man to destruction; then thou sayest,  
 Come again ye children of my hand.

Yea, blessed and holy art thou, O Master of Earth,  
 Lord of the Cross and the Tree of Salvation . . . .

Evoi, Father Iacchos, Jehovah-Nissi, Lord of the Garden and of  
 the vineyard . . . .

Evoi, Father Iacchos; out of Egypt hast thou called thy Son.”

Is it possible to believe that there are professing Christians  
 who have exchanged the “living oracles of God” for such  
 profane and ludicrous theosophical teaching as this?

Having given in the above extracts examples of the more  
 intellectual as well as of the baser and more repellent writings  
 of modern theosophy, I add a brief survey of other books  
 bearing on matters of interest.

#### “ESOTERIC CHRISTIANITY,” BY ANNIE BESANT.

In *Esoteric Christianity*, Mrs. Besant labours to show that  
 the Historical Christ, the Mythic Christ and the Mystic Christ  
 must be carefully distinguished—she does this by denying the  
 truth of the New Testament scriptures. Just as the early  
 Gnostics endeavoured to explain away the true teaching of  
 the New Testament as to the unique personality of the Christ  
 of God, by introducing heresies referring either to the deity  
 or holy humanity of the Lord Jesus, so theosophists profess to  
 explain away the glory of His Person which is transcendent  
 and inscrutable, by similar unsuccessful methods.

#### EARLY RELIGION AND THE CONSTELLATION FIGURES.

The ancient myths were perversions of early patriarchal  
 revelations concerning the coming Seed of the Woman, which  
 revelations were embodied in the constellation figures, the  
 oldest symbols belonging to the nations of antiquity.

Many learned Christian Theosophists who altogether repudiate the Pantheistic philosophy of Esoteric Buddhism, know well the great value of the true teaching as to the Zodiacal Signs and their intimate connection with the Philosophy, Science, and Religion of the world, *before* the rise of Babylon and Egypt, and before the introduction of idolatrous worship.

The four principal sources of idolatry were :—

1. Sabeanism or the Worship of the Sun, Moon, and Stars.
2. The Worship of Ancestors such as of Nimrod.
3. Misinterpretation of the symbols of the attributes of God as figured in the Cherubim.
4. The deification of the human passions, as in the sensuous worship of Greece and Rome.

Our classical dictionaries are an embodiment of these early perversions of primitive symbols.

#### THE RELIGION OF EGYPT.

The Religion of Egypt was a corruption of Patriarchal faith and the doctrines of Karma and Reincarnation were taught by a corrupt priesthood, who not only “changed the truth of God into a lie,” but went so far as to introduce a change in the ancient signs of the Zodiac. [For “Libra” was not in the earlier Zodiacs, but “Ara” the Altar, and “Libra” would, they thought, support the teaching of Karma, and would obscure the truth of Redemption and Resurrection.]

#### GNOSTICISM.

Mr. Mead’s *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten* have resuscitated the manifold teachings of the early Gnostics, which show the almost unlimited capacity of the subjective mind of man under the influence of suggestion. How endless are the vagaries of the human intellect when not controlled by objective reason and not guided by an inspired revelation from God!

#### THE TRUE AUTHORS OF MODERN THEOSOPHY.

The real inspirers of Modern Theosophy Books are confessedly the “Lords of Karma” and the “Shining Ones.” The Lost Atlantis was ruined after these superhuman teachers had taught the inhabitants the use of Nature’s finer forces, according to

Theosophical writers themselves, and with the prophecy of Revelations xiii and xvii before us, we know what sin and ruin will be the outcome of this revival of the teaching as to Karma and Reincarnation and the deification of man. Theosophical teaching on these lines will prepare the way for the great apostasy headed up in that monster of multiple personality, the Man of Sin.

#### INITIATION AND THE MYSTERIES.

“In the Mysteries of Egypt, the Mithraic Mysteries of the Persians, the Orphic and Bacchic Mysteries, the Eleusinian Mysteries of the Greeks, the Mysteries of Samothrace, Scythia, and Chaldea, the initiate was taught things relating to *post mortem* existence. And initiation was also supposed to establish a relationship of the soul with the ‘divine Nature.’

“The culminating point of the Mysteries was reached when the initiate became a god, whether by union with a divine Being outside himself, or by the realisation of the divine Self within him. This was termed ecstasy and was a condition which the Indian Yogî would term high Samâdhi, the gross body being entranced and the freed soul effecting its own union with the Great One.

“Much instruction was given in the Mysteries by the unseen hierarchies and Pythagoras, the great teacher who was initiated in India, and who gave ‘the knowledge of things that are’ to his pledged disciples, is said to have possessed such a knowledge of music that he could use it for the controlling of men’s wildest passions, and the illuminating of their minds.

“Of this, instances are given by Jamblicus in his *Life of Pythagoras*. It seems probable that the title of Theodidaktos, given to Ammonius Saccas, the Master of Plotinus, referred less to the sublimity of his teachings than to this divine instruction received by him in the Mysteries.

“The close identity between the methods and aims pursued in these various Mysteries and those of Yoga in India is patent to the most superficial observer.

“It is not, however, necessary to suppose that the nations of antiquity drew from India; all alike drew from one source, the Grand Lodge of Central Asia, which sent out its Initiates to every land.

“There was much inter-communication between the Initiates of all nations, and there was a common language and a common ‘symbolism.’”

## THE CHRISTIAN'S ANSWER TO THEOSOPHY.

In reply to all this the Christian answers that among the initiates of antiquity none was better instructed than Moses the servant of Jehovah, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and that he entirely repudiated the doctrines of Karma and reincarnation as being contrary to the teachings of an earlier wisdom taught to the patriarchs, which the Egyptians had corrupted both in doctrine and in symbolism.

In his writings, especially in Genesis, are embodied in its divinely inspired structure, all the keys to cosmic numbers and to the geometrical building up of the "elements" of this cosmos, both in its astronomical as well as in its minute atomic relations.

The divine philosophy underlying the structure of the writings of that man of God gives the true key to geometrical symbols and to the esoterism of numbers.

## ISAIAH'S PROPHECIES BEFORE THE BIRTH OF BUDDHA.

Again it is helpful in this connection to bear in mind that the writings of another great initiate, the prophet Isaiah, were known in the countries of the East one hundred years before the birth of Gautama Buddha.

Moreover, Daniel, who was wiser than all the astrologers of Chaldea, who in his divine chronology of the "Times of the Gentiles" foretells the end of this Age, could alone interpret the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast.

## THE GREATEST OF ALL INITIATES.

Lastly, in the writings of the greatest of all initiates both of east and west, the Apostle Paul, we have a revelation of a *third order* of mysteries which in every way transcends both the Lesser and Greater Mysteries of the Ancients, a philosophy of God, Man and the Universe of which the Risen and Glorified Christ is the only true key, and whose name is above every name, who is "the Firstborn from the dead."

"At His Name every knee shall bow, of things in Heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." (Phil. ii, 10, 11.)

As we know, the true and all-powerful answer to Modern Theosophy is the fuller and deeper teaching of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians.

The "Sophia," "Sunesis," "Epignosis," the "Pleroma," and the "Mysteria," of these inspired Pauline Epistles in

connection with the Cross of Christ, by which He triumphed over and led captive all the hosts of evil principalities and powers in heavenly places, far transcend all the "deep things of Satan" with which Theosophy is so replete.

The exaltation of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory, to a sphere and throne far above all principalities and powers is the answer of the enlightened Christian, the true "teleios," the real "initiate," who knows that the "seven spheres" of the Theosophist, to the *fifth* of which only ("Nirvana") he hopes by a long process of reincarnations to attain, do not reach to that sphere, "far above all the heavens," where He is, who glorified God by His death and put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself, who redeemed us by His precious blood, and who is soon coming to transform us and to call us away to be in the same glory in heavenly places on high, in the Father's Home with Himself. (Phil. iii, 19, 20; 1 Tim. iii, 16.)

He whom Theosophy would dishonour by placing Him on a level with Buddha, Krishna and Confucius, is the Amen, the Faithful and True Witness, the Beginning of the Creation of God, who from that sphere of Love and Light and Glory encourages each and every one who loves His appearing by the promises: "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the Tree of Life which is in the Paradise of God. Hold fast that which thou hast that no one take thy Crown. To him that overcometh will I grant to sit down with Me in My throne, even as I overcame and am sat down with My Father in His throne."

#### THE TRUE "LOGOS."

Holy Scripture teaches that Christ is *the* Logos by Whom this world was created, and that by Him were all things made, that are in heaven, and that are in earth—visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers: "All things were created by Him and for Him, and He is before all things and by Him all things consist." Coloss. i, 16-18.

Professor W. R. Inge points out in his *Personal Idealism and Mysticism* in the chapter on the Logos-Christology, p. 52, that St. Paul avoids the use of the actual word "Logos," while he gives us in his doctrine of Christ all that the word contains. Professor Inge has no suggestion as to the reason why the Apostle avoids using "Logos." The true explanation seems to be this.—The Apostle John's writings refer especially to the coming of the true Logos into *this* Cosmos—which is, therefore,

a more or less relative term—whereas in the Pauline Epistles, the Lordship of Christ over the *whole universe* is set forth, especially in Ephesians and Colossians.

The transcendent glory of the Risen Christ as the “Prototokos” of all creation in these epistles goes beyond the scope of the word Logos as used by the Spirit of God in the Johannine writings.

St. Paul does not use the expression “Son of Man”—doubtless for the same reason.

Theosophy is concerned with setting forth from a Pantheistic standpoint the evolution of *this* Cosmos or Solar System. The revelation of the glory of Christ, and of the calling of the Church, as revealed in Ephesians, infinitely surpasses anything that can be found in modern Theosophy.

#### AN INSPIRED REVELATION AS TO ORIGINS.

The mind of man works by deductive, inductive, analytic and synthetic processes. But unless it starts from an inspired revelation as to the question of origins—the theories which it can formulate or which can be suggested to it by intelligences of a spiritual order of existence, are not only interminable and of a very mixed kind, but must end in leaving nothing certain or sure.

The Theosophist is openly and confessedly receiving suggestions as to the evolution of this Cosmos from those who profess to be highly evolved men of previous incarnations.

The Christian rejects this testimony in many important details, and, therefore, is bound to believe that the real object behind these clairvoyant suggestions is both sinister and ominous.

Holy Scripture states *expressly* (1 Tim. iv, 1) that such communications will be a striking characteristic of the closing days of this age or dispensation.

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#### NOTE ON “NEW ELEMENTS IN CHEMISTRY.”

In a recent address on “New Elements in Chemistry” by Professor Sir William Crookes, he said:—

“If we had disestablished the idea of the fixity of the old-fashioned elements, we would say we still had matter to fall back on. But philosophers had not respected even the sacredness of matter itself. Physicists were now beginning to say that in all probability there was no such thing as matter; that when we had caught and tamed the elusive atom and split it into 700 little bits,

these residual particles would turn out to be nothing more than superposed layers of positive and negative electricity. He refrained from speculating as to what would happen to us if some clever researcher of the future discovered a method of making these alternate layers of plus and minus cancel each other out.

“It must never be forgotten that theories were more than mutable; they were only useful so long as they admitted of the harmonious correlation of facts into a reasonable system. Directly a fact refused to be pigeon-holed, and would not be explained on theoretic grounds, the theory must go, or it must be revised to admit the new fact. The nineteenth century saw the birth of new views of atoms, electricity, and ether. Our twentieth century views of the constitution of matter might appear satisfactory to us, but how would it be at the close of the present century? Were we not incessantly learning the lesson that our researches had only a provisional value? A hundred years hence should we acquiesce in the resolution of the material universe into a swarm of rushing electrons? He could not conclude better than by quoting some words he wrote more than thirty years ago: ‘We have actually touched the borderland where matter and energy seem to merge into one another—the shadowy realm between the known and the unknown. I venture to think that the greatest scientific problems of the future will find their solution in this borderland, and even beyond. Here, it seems to me, lie ultimate realities, subtle, far-reaching, wonderful.’”

In view of this reference to the borderland of Science, and taking it in connection with the extracts given above from *Occult Chemistry*, the Christian student of Science holds fast to the dignified opening words of Scripture: “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.”

That God, who is both transcendent and immanent, was pleased to work by gradual methods as well as by direct creative energy, is, I take it for granted, what most of us here present believe.

For my own part I have long held that Genesis i and ii refer both to indirect and direct creative acts, and that there is no authority for amalgamating these inspired records.

To those who agree with me in this, there is no difficulty in keeping the mind open upon the, as yet undetermined, questions in the modern scientific world.

Professor Alfred Russell Wallace, in a recent reference to the question as to how life originated in this planet, again affirmed:—

“That there was at some stage in the history of the earth, after the cooling process, a definite act of creation. Something came from

the outside. Power was exercised from without. In a word, life was given to the earth. All the errors of those who have distorted the thesis of evolution into something called, inappropriately enough, Darwinism, have arisen from the supposition that life is a consequence of organisation. This is unthinkable. Life, as Huxley admitted, is the cause and not the consequence of organisation. Admit life, and the hypothesis of evolution is sufficient and unanswerable. Postulate organisation first, and make it the origin and cause of life, and you lose yourself in a maze of madness. An honest and unswerving scrutiny of nature forces upon the mind this certain truth, that at some period of the earth's history there was an act of creation, a giving to the earth of something which before it had not possessed ; and from that gift, the gift of life, has come the infinite and wonderful population of living forms."

#### DISCUSSION.

Mr. MAUNDER of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, said : There is one sentence in the paper which I should like to see amended (p. 45, lines 26 and 27) ; for "in many important details" read "absolutely." I think we are much indebted to Mr. Coles for his paper, which deals with a subject of great importance. It does not seem to me right that such systems, as that which he has described to us to-day, should be spoken of without knowledge : and it is therefore necessary that from time to time able men should investigate them, and ascertain their true character. It is not the duty of every one to take up such an investigation, just as it is not the duty of every one to examine into diseases. But the service which is rendered to the community by the medical men who do study obscure diseases is of the highest order. My own particular line of study is that of astronomy and necessarily it touches very little upon the subject of Mr. Coles' paper ; but he has referred incidentally to a subject to which I have given long attention, namely, the record in the constellation figures of the promise of the Seed of the Woman, and the bruising of the serpent. Now it is abundantly clear that the designers of the constellation figures had a considerable knowledge of a genuine and practical astronomy. But it is also clear from Babylonian tablets and inscriptions, that though the Babylonians retained the constellation figures, they had lost the astronomical

knowledge connected with them. Indeed their knowledge of astronomy was almost *nil* until the Greeks conquered them. It would seem that, in just the same way as they had retained the constellations, but lost the principles of astronomy, so they had also lost the religious significance which they were intended to set forth, and many idolatrous mythologies were invented to explain them. I have for some considerable time been impressed with the probability that some of the most powerful and widespread heathen systems owed their origin to the dispersion of the two Hebrew kingdoms. The literary influence, both of Israel and of Judah, would seem to have been great upon their conquerors, and we find, as a matter of fact, that the conquest of Israel was followed by the remarkable literary development of Assyria under Ashurbanipal, and the conquest of Judah by a similar development in Babylon; just as the conquest of Greece by Rome gave rise to the literary development of the latter nation. I think it probable that the spiritual influence of the Hebrews was more powerful even than their intellectual, and that apostate Hebrews, having the light and knowledge derived from the law and the prophets, but giving themselves up to idolatry, were in effect the creators of the great religious cults. The reality of the truths which they held in perverted form sufficed to give vitality to the idolatries which they embraced, and we may probably see in Mithraism, the outcome of the golden calves of Bethel and of Dan. Here then I think is the root of theosophy, in which there is much subtlety and knowledge, as well as evil; hence its danger and its importance. In my mind the two most important things are Religion and Science, and both are eminently sane and eminently reasonable. I do not think theosophy either the one or the other.

Lieut.-Colonel MACKINLAY said:—I wish to add my thanks for the able paper which we have just heard. On pages 34 and 35 our author tells us Theosophy teaches that in His divine incarnation the Christ is not an antagonistic concept to Krishna and Buddha. But according to the New Testament "God was manifest in the flesh" (1 Tim. iii, 16), and according to Ex. xx, 3-5, there is but one God and He a *jealous* one. Christ Himself said, "All that ever came before Me are thieves and robbers," John x, 8. Antagonism is expressed, all through the Scriptures, between the religion of the true God and any other.

“By their fruits ye shall know them.” Theosophy has been practised for ages in the east. What is the situation in India to-day? is it not parallel with that of the inhabitants of Palestine who, on account of their wickedness, were dispossessed of their land by the Hebrews? The theosophy, philosophy and idolatry of India have not enabled its rulers to retain the Government which, falling from their weak and enervated grasp, has been seized by the English. But let the English beware lest they follow the example of the Hebrews, and become entangled with the philosophies of the conquered races and share their woes.

Mr. DAVID HOWARD said: I always feel some disappointment in reading modern theosophists' ideas such as those we have had brought before us this afternoon. There is really nothing new, everything is to be found in what Buddha said, or Confucius, or Plato, only Plato said it better than it is said to-day. It is a reproduction of the Gnostic teaching of the time of Irenaeus; he was extremely clear in his pronouncements on Gnosticism, but did not claim to understand it, it was too indefinite. Lucretius made wonderful guesses, so could all the old alchemists, vying with the sounder guesses of Sir William Crooks to-day. Paracelsus wrote a great deal of mysticism, or humbug: Which? The sound thinkers work on clear, sound, open methods, the theosophist tries by the back door, or hidden ways to ascertain the mysteries of Science. To the old problems of the human heart were offered the old cures. Do Buddha, Confucius or Plato really answer these problems of the human heart? No one really understands their mysticism, though Christians under the guidance of St. Paul saw what Plato was aiming at, and could supply the real answer. Would not Buddha, if he had met our Lord, have seen in him the answer to his longings? We have the fuller revelation, why turn back to ancient unsatisfactory exhausted myths? We know that boiling oil was an antiseptic, wine was aseptic, but do we turn back to these from Pasteur and Lister, dare we go back from the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ, who was the Way, that Buddha could not find, the Truth that was always just beyond Plato, and the Life, for it is this life which He can give which is lacking in all these ancient systems.

Mrs. SHARPE said she had listened with great interest to the lecture and speeches that afternoon. She could not avoid feeling

surprised at some of the remarks that had been made in such a Society in this twentieth century about a system which perhaps those who had criticised it did not sufficiently understand. Surely any system of religion and ethics should be judged by the effect it had upon the lives of its adherents, and Theosophy had held the minds and hearts of millions of earnest thinkers throughout the world's history. It had been stated that the Christ was antagonistic to all forms of faith but His own, but she was convinced that it was impossible for Him to be antagonistic towards anything, even though He might not agree. There was never anyone in the world who cared less about doctrine and forms than the Christ. Various of His sayings had been quoted that afternoon: there was another beginning—"Other sheep I have which are not of this fold." He recognised as His sheep, not those who followed any special doctrine, but who partially understood and tried to follow His spirit of absolute tolerance and charity. Mrs. Sharpe said she was a theosophist of nearly twenty years standing, and could say from her own experience that hundreds even in this country had found a refuge in Theosophy, not only from the unbelief which is so common to-day, but from the illogical beliefs which are driving so many away from religion. The Theosophical Society contains members of every great religion and of almost every creed, and many Christians as well as members of other faiths have found that Theosophy enabled them to hold to Christianity or their other faith with a devotion, a certainty, a steadfastness that had not been possible before.

The Rev. W. J. STUART WEIR said: In my opinion Theosophy is explicable in the natural reaction between Eastern and Western thought. In the West the intellectual bias has always been material and the over-accentuation of that bias has given rise to materialism. On the other hand the Eastern intellect has been concentrated on the spiritual aspect of human thought. It has been mainly introspective and the over-accentuation of this bias is represented by Theosophy. The solution of the whole problem lies in the true balance between the two extremes.

Colonel ALVES asked Mrs. Sharpe what good effect Theosophy ever had on the degraded specimens of humanity; it had gained acceptance of people of respectable position; but had it ever done anything to relieve the masses? The Gospel of Jesus Christ on the other hand raised men from the lowest condition; and it is evident

that that same Gospel to-day possesses like power. The revivals in Wales and Cornwall in the eighteenth century and those of recent years all emphasize this point.

Mr. WEDGWOOD said he was a theosophist and Christian, and Mrs. Sharpe had asked him to reply to the question of the last speaker. He had been in India and had studied Theosophy at headquarters there. He had seen its effect for good on men of all classes in India. For example: a servant who had been neglecting his work, when rebuked, begged forgiveness for his shortcomings and the prayers of his mistress, explaining that if he neglected his work in this life he would again be born a servant in his next life on earth. The immense hope given by the doctrine of reincarnation had great influence for good, bringing happiness and an understanding of life to quite the lower strata of society, they know that they will have a chance of bettering themselves in future incarnation. The theosophists had schools for the outcast classes in India. It was true that Theosophy has not done much in the lower strata of society in England, that was because the Theosophical Society was of recent origin. Its membership was less than 2,000 in number, but theosophists are doing their best to work for the uplifting of humanity, and although Theosophy had exercised a great influence on contemporary thought, it was early yet to expect much marked result amongst the great mass of the people.

The speaker said he had formed the impression from what had been said that afternoon that Theosophy was looked upon as a species of spirit communication or automatic writing. That was not so.

It was true that theosophical teachings were, in the first instance, gained from those whom theosophists called the adepts, who had climbed up through evolution and reincarnation to a superhuman level, but the details were worked out by superphysical observation on the part of clairvoyant investigators. They had developed in themselves by training the psychic faculties latent in all men, so that they could investigate the higher planes of nature in the same manner as the scientist investigated physical plane phenomena. The important researches on the atoms, for instance, referred to by the lecturer, were in no sense the result of revelation, but were observations as fallible and subject to revision as any other scientific observation. Dr. Anna Kingsford was not a representative

theosophist, but had left the Society at an early stage because she disagreed with it. Theosophists did not encourage passive mediumship. Indeed, there had been quite a feud between spiritualists and theosophists; the theosophists held that instead of drawing down spirits to the earth plane to communicate through mediums, it was better to exalt one's own consciousness into the spiritual sphere, where first-hand knowledge could be gained now as of old. This could be done by training.

The CHAIRMAN, in calling upon Mr. Coles to reply, said: We have before us to-day two rival claims to inspiration; one, Theosophy, which claims to have inspired communications from above through Mahatmas, and Christianity, which claims that the Bible is inspired by the Spirit of God. He would be glad if Mr. Coles would point out the real distinction between the two subjects of theosophical reincarnation and Christian resurrection.

Mr. COLES, in reply, said: At the time of the Exodus God revealed Himself to Moses as the God of his fathers, the Patriarchs, as the God of resurrection.

The Egyptians had changed this truth of resurrection into a doctrine of reincarnation. It was a great calamity to an Egyptian if his body was not preserved by embalming, but allowed to turn to dust. When Moses and Aaron miraculously produced life from the dust of the earth, the magicians failed to do so with their enchantments, and they told Pharaoh that that was "the finger of God"—to bring life out of death was not within their power.

Reincarnation relates to this fallen creation. By resurrection there is a passing into a higher sphere of existence. The Christian who is in his spirit life "risen with Christ" is on a higher plane, and would therefore never accept the doctrine of reincarnation. Christ is the "Resurrection and the Life." He Himself, in His risen human nature, is the "Firstborn from the dead."

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD writes:—The imaginative theory known as "Theosophy" originated in the East, probably (as is Mr. Maunder's suggestion) through the corruption of the truth by the Israelites carried into captivity.

Theosophy is a mixture of good and evil. It appears to hold, in some dim way, the fact that man has fallen and needs to be restored, and that he is responsible for his conduct (karma). It affirms his future existence; it recognises that selfishness is wrong,

and bids us love our fellow men and serve them; it enjoins the assertion of will as against desire, to this extent enjoining self-control.

But the aim proposed is not the regulation of desire; it is its destruction, whether the desire be good or bad. It seeks not improvement but extinction. Theosophy is a philosophy of suicide. Theosophy fails to satisfy either mind or heart. Its fundamental postulates—successive incarnation and the necessity to extinguish all desire—are certainly not self-evidently true, neither are they proved to be true. They are conjectures and nothing more. The science and philosophy connected with Theosophy are of a doubtful and limping character.

Nor does Theosophy satisfy the heart. It fails to get rid of sin, and attacks only one kind of sin, namely, selfishness. Other sins—disbelief of God and rebellion against His holy law, falseness and deceit, sloth, etc.—it leaves out of account. In his difficult warfare against sin and supernatural enemies, man is left by Theosophy without divine aid. Theosophy does not teach him that God is Love, nor lead him to love God because God has first loved him. To get rid of pain (even if possible) is, as the supreme end of a joyless life, not a particularly noble aim. As a rushlight pales before the sun, Theosophy pales before Christianity. Not Theosophy, but Christianity, restores man to fellowship with God. Not Theosophy, but Christianity, gives communion with Infinite Love in the presence where is fulness of joy and pleasures for evermore and satisfaction.

Additional remarks by Mr. COLES:—

Mrs. Sharpe quotes the words of Christ. "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold"; but is it not in the same Gospel of St. John that the Lord says that "He is the Resurrection and the Life," and that all judgment has been committed to Him? And is it not in this same scripture that we are told that He is the "Logos" by whom all things were made? The Good Shepherd gave His life for the sheep. How is it possible for any theosophist to accept the teachings of Madame Blavatsky, Anna Kingsford and Annie Besant and then to profess to believe the teaching of Christ as given in the Gospel of St. John?

In a paper on the "Masters" of Theosophy by Annie Besant written less than a year ago, we read: "Those who are named M.

and K.H., in *The Occult World*, by Mr. Sinnett, were the two Masters who founded the Theosophical Society, using Colonel H. S. Olcott and H. P. Blavatsky, both disciples of M, to lay its foundations; and who gave to Mr. Sinnett the materials from which he wrote his famous books—the one named above *Esoteric Buddhism*—which brought the light of Theosophy to thousands in the West. H. P. Blavatsky has told how she met the Master M. on the bank of the Serpentine, when he visited London in 1851.

“ . . . And there is the ‘Venetian’ and the ‘Serapis,’ who taught Colonel Olcott for awhile, and the one visited in his Nilgiri retreat by Sabba Rao and C. W. Leadbeater—some eighty miles from Adyar, where he lives secluded. These are some of the Masters, more or less publicly known and to be known more publicly ere the present century is numbered with the past. . . . They aid in countless ways the progress of humanity. From the highest sphere they shed down light and life on all the world. . . .

“During the present century one of those great crises in the history of humanity will occur, which mark the conception of a new civilisation. He whom in the East men call the Wisdom-Truth, the World-Teacher, and whom in the West men call the Christ, will ere long return incarnate upon earth and move once more among the busy crowds of men. With Him will come several of the Masters, to aid His work and spread abroad His message.”

We see then, on the authority of Mrs. Besant herself, that the Theosophical Society is being inspired and promoted by superior beings, who are said to be the “Lords of Karma” and “The Shining Ones.”

Is it not clear then, as Dr. Schofield said, that it is now a question of the inspiration of the Word of God, or the inspired teaching of Modern Theosophy?

That many educated and thoughtful people among theosophists have been deceived by these inspired communications is indeed a more terrible indication of the dangerous days in which we are living than any other of the startling “Signs of the Times.”

Let us express an earnest hope that some, at least, who have been entangled in the meshes of the “Masters” may escape from the snare when once they realise who is the real “Logos” of Theosophy.

511TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON

MONDAY, JANUARY 23RD, 1911, AT 4.30 P.M.

GENERAL HALLIDAY (VICE-PRESIDENT), IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and signed and the following elections of Associates were announced :—

E. A. Dubois, Esq. ; Mrs. Percy Smith ; The Rev. T. P. Stevens.

The CHAIRMAN introduced Dr. Whately, who then read the following Paper :—

*THE DEMAND FOR A CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY.*

By the Rev. A. R. WHATELY, D.D.

AT the Church Congress last autumn, Professor Sorley called our attention to a remarkable fact, and—let it be added—crying need. “There does not exist,” he said, “at the present time any living systematized body of Christian philosophy.” And he went so far as to say that whereas in the realm of activity the present tone of the Christian world is “positive, aggressive, flushed with the confidence of victory, in the realm of thought it is timid, compromising, apologetic, and apologetic in the modern and popular, as well as in the literal, sense.”\* The reference is not, of course, to popular polemic or exposition, but to those Christian writers who really represent modern thought, and are really sensitive to its spirit. And who shall say that he is not right? The Christian theologian of to-day, when he preaches and when he directs his efforts and his life on the lines of his creed, treats that creed as a datum, an ultimate, a point of reference and centre of authority that, ideally at least, controls the whole machinery of his mind. But face to face with rival systems and alien currents of thought, his attitude is too often different. It is not that he hesitates; and if he is open-minded and sympathetic, surely that is all to

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\* *The Official Report of the Church Congress, 1910.*

the good. What is lacking may be easier to feel than to define. As a thinker he holds truth; as a worshipper and worker he is held by it. The Christian faith has not for him that same commanding and determinative position on the plane of reflection as it holds on the plane of emotion and activity. In this latter sphere the Ego has found its cosmocentric point; in the sphere of the higher thought, the shadow of his own subjectivity haunts him on the clearest uplands where all other shadows are left behind.

Surely there is something wanting here. Though we have been thinking only of a small part of the Christian world, and of only a certain section of the life of each individual that belongs to it, yet we must remember that neither is the individual divided into "water-tight compartments," nor yet the Church. The Christian philosophy of any given age must be related by action and reaction with the whole of life, and with the life of the Whole.

I have said "Christian philosophy." But Professor Sorley speaks, in this connection, not merely of Christian philosophy in that general sense in which it must always exist while Christianity itself exists, but of a philosophy specifically Christian, a system of thought embodying as such the central specific affirmations of the Christian creed. I think he would admit such an interpretation of his words; but it cannot be taken for granted that he would go the whole length with Dr. Garvie in his pronouncement that "Theology need not adopt any metaphysics, for it can beget its own." And again, "Christ has made such a difference, that Christianity cannot borrow, but must create its own metaphysics. None of the philosophical systems which, within the Christian era, have come into being with more or less conscious dependence on Christianity, seems to him (the writer) to be so thoroughly Christian as to justify the dependence of Christian theology upon it."\*

These remarks, I think, are absolutely sound; and they may be accepted as such without in the least underrating the value of the work which the great philosophers have done, or the large amount of truth in their systems. Indeed, a Christian philosophy, if such there is to be, must occupy not an isolated, but a central, place among other systems, and thus be better able to do justice to them than they to each other.

The subject before us is of course an immense one, and

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\* *The Ritschlian Theology*, pp. 69 and 393.

certainly I shall make no attempt even to outline such a philosophy as I have indicated. It will be enough to put before you a few considerations, first as to its necessity, and secondly as to the direction in which it will have to look for its material. These questions are so intimately connected that we will not attempt to discuss them apart. They may be combined in one formula: the relation of philosophy to the Christian Gospel.

Let us glance at the phenomena which normal and naïve Christianity, not yet worked over by speculation or accommodating theories, presents. We have two starting-points before us, the individual and the historic or social; and at both we find what claims to be a definite experience of Divine action or intervention. Speaking from the point of view of those who accept this experience as real—as I shall throughout—we have to ask whether or no such are to be called upon to translate, if they can, the doctrines which for them most directly express their faith into general abstract principles, and base them upon, or prop them against, speculative explanations of the universe. And if not, may we claim that faith, brought face to face with intellectual problems, will itself develop its own intellectual resources?

Christianity certainly came into the world as a message, a Gospel, a proclamation; and it is most significant that the Church should have so long held the pagan philosophy at arm's length, and have used abstract reasoning under protest and for the purpose merely of defining itself against the heresies. So far as this was so—and I think this is the essential truth of the matter—Christian philosophy may be said to have come into being just as the background of a geometrical pattern forms itself into a correlative pattern without the artist specially observing it, through its being defined against the design he draws upon it. The unauthorized teachers together defined and systematized the ecclesiastical doctrine in defining their own positions and pressing them upon the notice of the orthodox theologians.

Now the experience of the reality of the saving grace of God in those who recognise the reality of that experience, gives the key to the interpretation of the history. As a simple matter of fact, it is not the human greatness of Christ that lastingly stamped itself on the mind of the Church, but the divine; not His witness to the Divine sonship of all men, but the sense of the uniqueness of His own. When the individual Christian finds an objective experience the very centre and foundation of

the historic formulas of his religion, it should be impossible for him even to conceive that that religion, so formulated, had its origin otherwise than in the experience of fact; and this fact must be, in the nature of the case, at once historical and supernatural. If the experience be real, it cannot be merely incidental. It must have created on the plane of history those doctrinal propositions that create it in the individual.

The clear recognition of a corporate experience in the Church as the foundation and essence of her creed, is the outstanding feature of Loisy's much controverted *L'Évangile et l'Église*. Certainly that treatise is open to radical objections. But I think this ought not to lead us to forget the importance of the foundation which he lays. He regards, like the Modernists in general, Christian doctrine as the creation of the experience of the Church, symbols whereby faith makes real to itself its own spiritual objects. But still the question remains: what is the relation of the Church's experience to that of the individual Christian? Can the individual, troubled—like the Modernist—with modern criticism and thought, find a centre, or core, in that system of doctrine, whereby he can separate the essential and the unessential, and be true alike to reason and to faith? Or is this system delivered to him to put his own meaning into it, according to a standard furnished by his own instincts and needs? Of course there is always the visible institution, its life, and its sacraments, to anchor him to historical, social, concrete religion. But is that sufficient? Has religious truth no absolute centre? Is our own life, as the authors of the Programme of Modernism affirm, "the only absolute of our direct experience?" (p. 134).

Had Loisy started with the consciousness of Redemption as the foundation both of personal belief and of the Church's existence, he would have held a key to the interpretation of the whole system of doctrine: he would have found a principle upon which form and substance could be distinguished, not arbitrarily and subjectively, but by bringing to expression the immanent rationality of the creed itself.

I think this is a fair interpretation of the real drift of the Modernist thought in the Church of Rome. And indeed it is rather to emphasise what seems true and valuable in it, than the reverse, that I have brought it into the discussion. For it stands in sharp contrast—even though sharing some of its faults—with an immensely influential trend of thought, dominant in modern philosophy, which is designated by the terms "Rationalism" or "Intellectualism."

When Scholasticism, which had constructed its own philosophy of the Christian religion, was discredited by the advance of new ideas and secular learning, the human intellect had a task thrown upon it which was bound in due time to disclose both its resources and its limitations. If the dogmatic authority wielded by the Medieval Church had depended more on its appeal to the heart and conscience, or conversely, if the personal spiritual life that it contained had been deep and diffused enough to have captured and utilised the intellectual machinery of her universities and monasteries, then we may assume that theology, even though it drastically reformed itself, would have done so with a greater sense of continuity with the past. The Reformers, especially in England, certainly realised that their task was not merely to destroy, but rather to reconstruct on primitive models: but the Reformation was but one aspect of a great movement of emancipation of the human intellect, fraught with good and evil. The essence of Intellectualism, as it seems to me, is not its claim to criticise, but its claim to construct. I do not mean to construct truth as such, but to construct systems—systems, that is, of abstract thought which are envisaged as concrete reality. Reason, when awakened to full consciousness, and seeking to come to its own, is in a mood not merely to scrutinise the theological doctrines transmitted for its acceptance, but provisionally even to reject them, because they are already the rational construction of other people; and reason, when suddenly emancipated, seeks to do its own constructive work from the very foundation, and out of the most elementary materials.

Now this could have been wholesomely checked only by a strong sense of spiritual solidarity with the community that transmitted those doctrines. And such spiritual solidarity had been forfeited by the Medieval Church.

It is significant to note, in this connection, the attitude of Descartes, the father of modern metaphysics, himself a member of the Roman Church. Describing the process by which his mind extricated itself from mere traditional acquiescence and attained to an independent standpoint, he tells how he came to place more confidence in the simple inferences of an individual mind than in the systems constructed by many minds, and adds: "And because we have all to pass through a state of infancy to manhood, and have been of necessity, for a length of time, governed by our desires and preceptors (whose dictates were frequently conflicting, while neither perhaps

always counselled us for the best), I farther concluded that it is almost impossible that our judgments can be so correct or solid as they would have been, had our Reason been mature from the moment of our birth, and had we always been guided by it alone.”\* And elsewhere, referring to this intellectual crisis in his life, he says: “From that time I was convinced of the necessity of undertaking once in my life to rid myself of all the opinions I had adopted, and of commencing anew the work of building from the foundation, if I desired to establish a firm and abiding superstructure in the sciences.”† This procedure was of course in itself reasonable; under the circumstances, he could not have done otherwise. But now, after nearly three centuries, it is time to take account of the gain as well as the loss which falls to us through this breach with the past. Elevated from the position of a passing necessity of the age to that of an accepted principle in metaphysics, it meant simply this: that the reason of the individual thinker, however much help he might accept from previous thought, must accept no material already organized by previous thought, but must start—like Descartes with his “*Cogito, ergo sum*”—from the barest and most inchoate data he can find in his own mind. This would be all very well if philosophy were concerned with bare reason, but when we have to deal with religious systems, pulsating with life, the actual creations, under whatever disadvantages, of the self-organizing experience of living communities, the case is different. But the difference was not realized. So we come to the age of Deism and the Illumination, when reason in this narrow sense reigned supreme, and to Kant, the great forerunner of the modern Idealists. Kant excellently illustrates my account of Intellectualism. For him reason as such does not work upon rational material but upon phenomena, and by phenomena he means mere sense-material, conveying no knowledge. The thing-in-itself which lies behind the phenomena is unknown. Reason is a sort of active mechanism working in, or behind, our minds (for of course its activity must be distinguished from that of our own personal volition) which does not receive, but constructs, knowledge. Experience, which for Kant is merely sensuous, is unorganized, colourless, shapeless, dumb, till Reason has done its work upon it. To some this will seem obviously sound, because our simplest perceptions (short of bare sensation,

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\* *Discourse on Method*, etc., tr. Veitch, p. 14.

† *Meditations*, *Id.*, p. 97.

if we regard this as cognitive at all) have rational implications behind them. Experience, it may be said, does as a matter of fact convey no knowledge without the co-operation of reason. True enough, but that is not the question. Granted that the two cannot be separated, does it follow that they stand related to each other as form does to matter? May not reason live at the very heart of experience? May it not be the child of experience, and may not its highest task be, not to construct its own systems out of experience in its rawest forms, but to draw out the implications of experience in its richest forms? Personally I am convinced that this is the sound method, and the only possible method whereby a genuine philosophy of Christianity can be formed. It rests on the great intuitionist principle which I may thus formulate: *Experience is as such internally significant*. In other words, it is not to be identified with feeling or sensation, but includes entire rational systems in their aspect as the creation of spiritual instincts and as answering to vital needs. Intuitionism is not always as bold as this. It may be hard and narrow, tied down to so-called common sense Realism, but it may also be mystical, comprehensive, and spiritual. In this latter aspect, I contend, it is the theory of knowledge which must belong to any true Christian philosophy that shall arise.

The spiritual instinct, the sense of the Divine presence, the feeling after a deeper and fuller life, are now beginning to receive more of their due. Yet still we generally find, as I think, a conspicuous failure to do justice to the full significance of the higher consciousness as a plane of actual knowledge and organizing centre of thought. And one reason is that though our intuitions are introduced to balance reason, or to fructify it, or to give it more adequate material for its inferences, yet modern philosophy still fails to appreciate the *inherent rationality of intuition itself*. To go back to the Kantian era, Schleiermacher, the great champion of the emotional claims of religion, in contradistinction to the prevailing Rationalism, is like Kant in his de-rationalizing of intuition. Religion he regarded as feeling, in a narrow and exclusive sense, not, of course, in isolation from knowledge and morality, but as, in itself, non-intellectual. And so with modern Empiricism. Even the late Professor James, for instance, though he certainly defends the validity for knowledge of special religious experiences, defends them essentially in their individual character, as our own impressions then and there, of a spiritual world. In fact, the more we use them as a basis for definite beliefs, the more individual and unauthorized—however interesting in their way—they become.

Thus we are still far from the conception of rational and social intuition, the subjective correlative of historical revelation. And even if we go on to draw inferences from these psychological phenomena, supplemented by the study of Comparative Religion, we are still rationalizing, however usefully. Whether or no such methods as these are the only admissible ones, it is not my object—at least not my main object—here to discuss. Suffice it to insist that, if so they be, we must abandon our efforts to enthrone the Christian consciousness over the realm of intellect. To some good Christians this conclusion will not seem distressing, or at least they can comfortably contemplate the indefinite postponement of the synthesis. My own feeling in the matter is quite otherwise; and here let me merely observe that the consummation of which I am speaking will not need to wait for the complete articulation of a Christian philosophy, but will be attained, for all who may accept it, when the foundation is laid.

I do not believe in any attempt to synthesize Empiricism and Rationalism, or at least that any such synthesis can satisfy the demand for a Christian Philosophy. It may seem attractive to combine the apparent concreteness, the colour, the wealth of actual fact, in which Empiricism glories, with the vastness, the loftiness, the close articulation, of the great monistic cosmologies. But both methods, as I have tried to show, fail to reach to the real inwardness of the religious consciousness, and therefore it is not sufficient that the two should be balanced or correlated: we must find a deeper standpoint, and from that standpoint avail ourselves of what is true in both. Psychology cannot fill the ratiocinative skeleton with flesh and life; for psychology, as has been justly maintained, cannot deal with the real living reality of the phenomena it examines: it kills before it dissects. Christian philosophy must rest on personalism, for the Christian religion is personal to the core: and personality (for us at least who maintain, as against all forms of Determinism, that it is radically free) transcends the scope of all science, even psychological science; for science abstracts from freedom, and as Bergson has shown, can study even life only from an external and mechanical point of view. And besides, not only could not Empiricism supply the content, but no speculative system, starting from the supposed immediacy of sense data could possibly receive it. No methods can satisfy the intellectual demands of religious experience except those which bring to expression its own latent implications. Religious experience cannot be formulated *ab extra*. It cannot be rationalized from

an external basis: it can only be helped and encouraged by the removal of traditional hindrances to vindicate its inherent rationality on its own basis.

It may be well to make a few comments upon a type of religious thought, broad and spiritual, and in every way deserving of the most respectful handling, which claims to transcend the one-sidedness of these opposing methods. Rudolf Eucken, who is now becoming known in England, is the author of a philosophy distinguished, not perhaps by much thoroughness or depth of analysis, but by breadth of range, loftiness of tone, sympathy, and spirituality. He is a decided anti-intellectualist—though not, I think, free from all intellectualistic limitations—and yet on the other hand his outlook is cosmological and the tendency of his thought monistic. His key-thought is not any variety of the Hegelian Absolute, but the spirit-life or *Geistesleben*. If you read such a book as his *Geistige Strömungen*, you find it recurring like a sort of *Gloria* at the ends of chapters, as the positive complement of his various criticisms. Subjective and Objective, Realism and Idealism, History, Culture, and so forth—all these conceptions, for him, run up ultimately into the *Geistesleben*. Life, not mere animal or mere mundane life, but the life of that larger and deeper self which unites us with God and the cosmic Whole—this is the broad idea that is continually called in to correct the narrowness and one-sidedness of warring creeds. But it enters the field, I cannot but think, somewhat as a *deus ex machina*. It does not so much conciliate, as overtop, the antitheses: it does not solve, so much as cover, the difficulties.

One-sided aspects of truth are such, for Eucken, because they are one-sided aspects of life. But then, of course, the *Geistesleben* itself must make good its reality. This it does by its own self-evidence, if we set ourselves to live up to it. The spiritual side of our nature, if put into active exercise, will vindicate itself to itself. And so it is really a datum, while at the same time it is a standard for the reconciliation of essentially intellectual oppositions. But this can only yield fruitful results if the *Geistesleben* possesses in itself a standard of intellectual truth. And where are we to look for this? Surely only in concrete religious doctrines, interpreted by our own religious intuitions. For such a standard of truth, if really available for general philosophical purposes, must be social and not merely individual. And this is in fact involved in what I have contended for. But Eucken does not allow this. He does not seem to see that if religious truth

is to have speculative supremacy, and is itself based on experience, we are bound to give to the formulated theology, which is the primary expression of that experience, the priority over all other forms of thought. Of course such theology must make good its claims in terms of general philosophy: but the point is that theology must be allowed to posit its essential ideas at the outset, and philosophy, on its side, must try and do all the justice it can to those ideas as the vehicles of corporate experience, before it deals with them in their relation to logic and psychology. To be sure there must be an initial sympathy and even provisional acceptance: but this is only to say that no Christian philosophy will ever satisfy which does not spring from the heart of specifically Christian experience.

Eucken stops short of this. He does not set himself to interrogate the *Geistesleben* and to interpret its deliverances. Though a Theist, he has little to say even about Theism. Indeed, Mr. Waterhouse goes so far as to remark: "Professor Eucken's system is by no means inevitably a religious idealism, and if some future Left Wing develop it upon non-theistic or even anti-theistic principles, it will cause me no surprise."\*

As regards, then, the general relation of this philosophy to Christianity, I think there is no room for doubt. Affinity in certain points we undoubtedly find; notably in his views respecting the "negative movement," corresponding to the Christian conception of the New Birth. But the idea of a historical Redemption, in the Christian sense, could not, I think, even be worked into his system, much less drawn from it. An exceedingly friendly critic in Germany, Dr. von Gerdten, has examined Eucken's views on Christianity in a pamphlet,† and has, it seems to me, shown this clearly. It is particularly evident in Eucken's conception of history. "We must endeavour," he says, "in history to separate the past and the abiding and to extract from it a spiritual present."‡ This is relatively true, almost indeed a truism, but as the ultimate truth it certainly conflicts with the Christian belief that the Eternal has, as such, entered time. And I think it is true to say that Eucken applies this principle to Christianity all along. He explicitly refuses to identify the absolute religion with any of the historical religions. And as against this, surely we cannot

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\* *Modern Theories of Religion*, p. 258.

† *Rudolf Euckens Christentum*.

‡ *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart*, p. 253.

hesitate to agree with Von Gerdell's comment : "The Gospel is not related to its world-view as the pulp of an orange to its peel, out of which the inside of the fruit is cleanly extracted. The relation of the two is rather that of two kinds of thread, interwoven in one fabric. If we try to unpick one of these two threads from this fabric, we have thereby annihilated the fabric itself."

Another writer on these general lines, but one who has come closer, I think, to a satisfactory conclusion, is Troeltsch. He stands out definitely for a religious philosophy that shall be psychological and at the same time metaphysical. We cannot here dwell on his adjustment of *a priorism* and Empiricism. But his insistence on the significance of history and the value of concrete historical religion is interesting and notable, if disappointing in the end. In his *Absolutheit des Christentums*—a title which raises hopes higher than the argument fulfils—he shows an appreciation of the meaning of concrete historical religion as such which is in decided contrast, if not opposition, to Eucken. For instance : "The productive power of religion pulsates only in the historical religions, and, in fixing our attitude towards the religious values of mankind, it is with these that we have first to do" (p. 57). This is far better than, with many, to reduce religion to a philosophy on the one hand, and a residuum of emotion, sentiment, and cult on the other. And yet Troeltsch pulls up short of the essential Christian position. He will not allow that the absolute object of Christian Faith is realized as such in history. He leaves no room for the supreme claim : "He that hath seen Me has seen the Father." Now of course if we start from the metaphysical side: if we begin by asking whether the Absolute, or even the immanent *a priori* of Christian experience, can be conceived as realizing itself in history, the answer will not be favourable. But this is intellectualism, however concealed, and it presupposes that very view of the relation of Philosophy to historic religion which I am criticizing. If, on the other hand, we begin with the actual fact of Christ, and His self-impression as God upon a living community and upon ourselves, then the case is entirely different. God, in Theology, certainly answers to the Absolute of constructive Idealism, but it is a fatal mistake to explain the former through the latter. Theism is not the popular embodiment of philosophic Absolutism, but Absolutism is the shadow of Theism. Theology as such is less compromised by its symbols and accommodations, than Idealism by its refusal to submit to the dominant claims of Christian experience. This certainly is

what the Christian thinker must logically claim for his religion.

Troeltsch is significant for our purpose, for he is so intensely historical, just until he comes to the crucial point. Religious history is, in his view, a competition of values. It is not the unfolding, in time, of a Hegelian Absolute. The abiding eternal Reality is present, though partially, in actual experience, and makes itself felt, not merely in the organic growth of the Whole, but at the various points where new spiritual forces break in upon the scene. This is a movement of philosophy in the right direction; but a Christian philosophy, such as we are asking for, does not yet find standing-room. The idea of a historical competition, so to speak, between religions, decided by the spiritually enlightened individual as such, is premature till the question is answered: "What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He?" Christianity is an historical religion in a further sense than this. It is historical because its centre of gravity is an event, that is to say, a fact of specific experience. Not that this fact is historical first and spiritual afterwards: a mere marvel in the first place; a Divine act by inference. No indeed. It is historical and spiritual at once. Its spiritual evidence for the individual is, in fact, the deepest foundation of its authority. But this involves belief in a spiritual society possessing as such the abiding consciousness of its own historico-supernatural origin.

And here let me sum up the position adopted in this paper. A Christian philosophy, while availing itself to the full of the work of the great thinkers, must proceed from the heart of the Christian Church, and must be primarily an expression of its experience. And since that experience normally finds its centre of gravity, not in general truths, but in a specific Divine event, so the corresponding philosophy must take primary account of those central doctrines, which, as a matter of historical fact as well as of personal realization, define and assert that event. Therefore that philosophy will take its start from experience, not in its lowest and most inchoate form, but in its highest. It will not therefore be a new foundation, but will be continuous with the definite Christian thought of all ages. It will carry on that thought, not in a spirit of submission to external authority, but from a sense of inward solidarity and continuity of life and intuition. I endeavoured to show that this involves a different doctrine of experience in general from that planted by Kant deep in the soil of modern thought: and that the discontinuity of experience and reason, or de-rationalizing of experience as

such, exactly corresponds to the attitude which Reason, as represented by Descartes, endeavoured to maintain in the early seventeenth century, as against traditional teachings. Modern philosophy therefore constructs its theories of knowledge under the impetus, and on the principle, of the intellectual revolution which gave it birth. The individualism, discontinuity, and intellectualism expressed—invariably, no doubt—in the passages I have quoted from Descartes, find their expression still in the very heart of the metaphysics that worked its way from his—in Hume, in Kant, in the modern Idealists, and even in the Empiricists.

So, at least, it seems to me. And this view of the history connects itself with the position to which, on the most radical grounds, I hold fast; namely, that a Christian philosophy, based as it is on religious intuitions, cannot establish itself except in connection with a consistently intuitionistic theory of knowledge. Of course it is out of the question to enter further into the problem on this occasion; and I shall even omit my reply to certain obvious objections, with which, on commencing this paper, I hoped to deal.

It appears then that the Christian philosophy, with all its centrality and intellectual catholicity, will have to take sides in certain of the conflicts between the different schools. In the conflict between the idealistic and the realistic theories of knowledge, it will side with Realism: in that between Determinism and Indeterminism, with Indeterminism.

But first of all, and above all, we must take seriously the New Testament doctrine of the self-revelation of God to the individual. It is better to hold this fast, in face of all sorts of difficulties, even as a shipwrecked man may cling to a rock from which the waves almost detach his hands, than to snatch at compromising theories and alien support. There are many philosophies which, in respect of their best elements and their ideals, will fit into Christianity: there is no philosophy into which Christianity will fit. There is no system which must not be broken up before it can yield its materials towards the construction of the Temple of God. "He that is spiritual judgeth all things."

And what of difficulties? Surely the true path, in the highest regions of thought, is to "follow the gleam" over hill and dale, over ditch and hedge. When we are told that our views raise more difficulties than they solve—what of that? If they bring light to our souls, if they bring into our world harmony and meaning—however little expressible in words—

if they raise our lives to new levels, then the difficulties can wait. If we are patient, we shall be able to do justice to all objections, to accept all needed revision, without dimming our vision of that unutterable Truth which our logic must always serve, but can never compass. "In Thy light shall we see light."

#### DISCUSSION.

The following contribution from the Rev. A. IRVING, B.A., D.Sc., was read by the SECRETARY :—

The perusal of Dr. Whately's paper has given me intense pleasure. It is a masterly sequel to his book, *The Inner Light*. It would not be difficult to mention names of many men of European reputation, who have long shaken off the *impedimenta* of a materialistic "philosophy" and have for years seen through the fallacies of Haeckelism, Spencerism, and a good deal of what we may call Huxleyism, because they have worked their way—in the face of difficulties innumerable on the field of objective experience—to the realisation of the fact that (p. 64) "the Eternal has entered time," to furnish the pivot, on which the whole circle of Christian belief turns. I am sure that many, who have done their best to explore the depths and the wealth of the realistic teachings of Nature, and are fully conscious of the wealth of the intellectual ore to be found in that region of thought and research, yet fail to find in the sciences of Nature the answer to the deepest questioning of their spirits. To such, Dr. Whately's paper will be especially welcome. We must, indeed, "take seriously (p. 67) the New Testament doctrine, of the self-revelation of God to the individual," through the Ministry of the Spirit, as the Spencerian dogma of "the Unknowable" vanishes like a spent bubble from our mental vision; while we recognise that (p. 66) "A Christian philosophy, while availing itself to the full of the work of the great thinkers, must proceed from the heart of the Christian Church, and must be primarily an expression of its experience."

From these two propositions I venture (I hope with Dr. Whately's consent) to make the simple deduction—that the Sacramental System of the Church Catholic (that is, of "the whole congregation

of Christian people dispersed throughout the world”), while not amounting to a formal philosophy, still embodies the essentials of such a philosophy, with all its associations centred in “a specific Divine event,” and with its “inward sense of solidarity and continuity,” as was, I fancy, seen long ago by Pascal, who was a man of science as well as a thinker in the fields of Religion and Philosophy. To construct a theory of the New Testament without recognising the centrality of doctrine of the God-Man, would be about as scientific as to attempt to construct a system of mechanics without taking into account the fundamental law of Gravitation. “One centre we have” (wrote Archbishop Benson), “but the approaches to it from without, the radii of thought, are infinite.”

Mr. JOHN SCHWARTZ said :—

A strenuous business career has left me no time to study the intricate philosophical systems so ably described by our learned lecturer and these I cannot discuss.

My few remarks will be from the common sense standpoint of one who, during hours of retreat, has tried to follow the trend of modern thought. I do not concur in the quotation from Professor Sorley at the Church Congress, “There does not exist at the present time any living systematized body of Christian philosophy,” for, alas dogmatic theology seems to me to have been such an attempt, which has acted disastrously on the spiritual religion taught by Christ, which it has defaced almost beyond recognition. This fact has been driven home by the eloquence of Ruskin, Carlyle, Tolstoy, Matthew Arnold, and many Broad Church divines. I illustrate with a few extracts from Matthew Arnold’s “Religion is morality touched by emotion.” The real essence of the New Testament is “Follow Jesus,” “its natural fruits, joy, and life have been taken to flow from the ecclesiastical dogma held along with it. Let us treat popular religion tenderly. Learned religion, however, the pseudo-science of dogmatic theology, merits no such indulgence. It is a separable accretion which never had any business to be attached to Christianity, never did it any good, and *now* does it great harm.” I contend that Christ appealed to the heart, not the intellect, both by His teaching and His ideal personality. Our intuitions of the good, like those of the beautiful, cannot be argued about, but are as certain to us as those of natural phenomena on which physical science is based.

These certain moral intuitions, I consider, are limited to the simple fundamental verities as enunciated by Jesus, and do not extend to the one thousand and one vagaries of imagination of devout adherents of various religious beliefs. The touchstone of science is the universal validity of its results for all normally constituted and duly instructed minds, this applies equally to the teachings of Jesus, but is the rock on which all philosophical, mystic, and metaphysic teachings are shattered.

If I understand the lecturer aright, he contends that keeping aside scholastic theology Christians, who really represent modern thought and are really sensitive to its spirit, should make efforts to enthrone the Christian consciousness over the realm of intellect. I think that such efforts would be disastrous, and that as primitive spiritual Christianity was maimed (I almost said destroyed) by amalgamation with pagan philosophic mysticism which led to a large increase in the quantity of normal adherents, but an abysmal decrease in their quality; in like manner the attempt to strengthen spiritual religion by philosophical, metaphysical, and mystical reasoning, all of which are falling into greater discredit day by day, would undermine the rock of our salvation.

May I give a few quotations of modern views.

Professor Romanes, *Posthumous Notes*, edited by Bishop Gore :—

“The further we ascend from the solid ground of verification the less confidence should we place in our wings of speculation ”  
—“the rashness of undue confidence in syllogistic conclusions even when derived from sound premises in regions of such high abstraction.”

W. H. Malloch, *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1902 :—

“The metaphysician’s claim to transcend facts has been rejected by every thinker and discoverer of the last three generations who has ever done anything for the cause of human progress as an elaborate self-delusion.”

Sir J. FitzStephen :—

“All metaphysical verbiage is an attempt to convert ignorance into a superior kind of knowledge by shaking up hard words in a bag”—“all our words for other than material objects are metaphors liable to be understood.”

G. H. Lewes, *A Biographical History of Philosophy* :—

“Philosophy only moves in the same endless circles.”

"Its first principles are as much a matter of dispute as they were 2,000 years ago.

"Philosophy was the parent of Positive Science. It nourished the infant mind of humanity but its office has been fulfilled. The only interest it can have is an historic interest."

"Philosophy in all its highest speculations is but a more or less ingenious playing upon words."

Bishop THORNTON asked where the intuitions of a corporate Christian conscience were to be found ?

Archdeacon POTTER said that it was difficult for him to criticise quite impartially the paper, which he felt was an interesting and instructive one, as it seems to start from a standpoint which differs largely from his own. He looked on Philosophy as the Queen of Sciences, which must impartially take up the data belonging to each science, and co-ordinate them into a consistent whole. Therefore in his view it must begin, as Descartes said, with no assumption but a bare "cogito, ergo sum." A Christian philosophy, if it is to be a philosophy at all, must not be the servant of dogmatic theology, but work upwards from the very bottom, and systematise the results attained in *all* the sciences with Christian beliefs, so far as they can be found to agree. But it must discard all that will not thus work into a unity, not as untrue, but as unproved. Doubtless all spiritual truth that was really taught by our Lord would be found to be capable of this agreement, but not necessarily all that had been formulated in later periods by the Christian Church.

Real spiritual experience might be taken as intuitions. But we must distinguish between the real and imaginary. The Archdeacon then instanced the case of a lady who, replying to the question, "how did she know that our Lord was Divine, and now existent," said that she had met Christ, spoken to Him, and so on. But though doubtless she had experienced a real religious intuition of a spiritual presence, that intuition was no proof that the power present was the historical Jesus of Nazareth. It might be quite true. But the intuition did not prove it.

Therefore the speaker could not approve, what seemed to be a main thought in the paper, that we should "start with the consciousness of redemption as the foundation of the Church's existence," or "give to the formulated theology which is the primary expression of (religious) experience the priority over all other forms of thought,"

or "begin with the actual fact of Christ and His self-impression as God upon a living community." Nor did he think that a real philosophy should start by "siding with indeterminism." Christian Philosophy may end with the establishment of these beliefs, or it may not; but it must not begin by assuming them.

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD.—The able author takes the position that Christian Philosophy must be founded in Christian experience of the redemptive revelation that Jesus Christ is the Son of God—a fact made known intuitively to the individual personally by a personal God. He is thus led to say something about experience and intuition.

On p. 57 of the paper we read that "the experience of the reality of the saving grace of God in those who recognise the reality of that experience, gives the key to the interpretation of the history"; and we are reminded further (on p. 61) that "*Experience is as such internally significant.* In other words, it is not to be identified with feeling or sensation, but includes entire rational systems in their aspect as the creation of spiritual instincts and as answering to vital needs."

Undoubtedly, to restrict all experience to sense-experience is alien to science and philosophy.

The author speaks (p. 61) of "*inherent rationality of intuition.*" In this connection it may be remarked that all our knowledge comes to us either directly by intuitive consciousness, or indirectly through reasoning. Now, in every argument, we have two propositions or "premises" which, being taken as true, the truth of a new proposition (called the conclusion) necessarily follows. The premises are either given directly by intuitive consciousness, or are conclusions of other arguments. But in the last analysis it is evident that these conclusions must themselves ultimately rest upon premises supplied by intuition. Hence, all our knowledge rests, for its validity, upon the validity of our intuitions. This has been well pointed out by Hamilton, with the remark that reliance upon these intuitions is warranted, since if they were untrustworthy our good Creator would be a deceiver. Reliance is also justified by the supposition of their truth harmonising with the practical experience of daily life. Any argument seeking to prove the invalidity of intentions must be *suicidal*, for, like every other argument, it rests for its *own* validity upon the validity of those

very intuitions. In intuitive consciousness we find the basis of all our knowledge of truth.

With reference to Descartes' argument—"Cogito, ergo sum"—it may be noted that, though logically unassailable (since thinking implies a thinker), there is a psychological redundancy, for the "cogito," equally with the "sum," depends for belief upon the intuitive testimony of consciousness.

The author tells us (p. 67) that his position is open to "certain obvious objections." Undoubtedly, that cannot be true which is in antagonism to any truth, for truth is one and does not contradict itself. The individual personal experience of the redemption revelation "must be, in the nature of the case, at once historical and supernatural . . . It must have created on the plane of history those doctrinal propositions that create it in the individual" (p. 58).

The Son of God, in Whom we put our heart-trust, must be the historic Christ, the Christ of the Bible—not a false Christ, not a Christ Who is the product of a devout or of an undevout imagination. The faith must have warrant, not subjective only, but also objective, if we would adequately commend it to men and be secured against self-delusion. This is enjoined by the Bible. The Lord Jesus Christ appealed to His miracles as evidence, and Christians are exhorted to be able to give a *reason* to inquirers for the faith that is in them, for Christianity is not selfish. The personal experience, to the individual himself the strongest of all proofs, is not sufficient alone to convince other people. It needs objective confirmation. It may be said that there is such a thing as self-delusion. A man believing himself to be the Emperor of Abyssinia would not necessarily be proof that he was so. Christian Philosophy does not restrict itself to any single department—however important—of human nature. It addresses itself to *the whole being* of man, to his heart, his mind, his life.

The Rev. H. J. R. MARSTON said: He had listened to the paper with great pleasure and admiration. The lecturer was an esteemed friend and co-worker, and this added to his pleasure. He hailed with satisfaction the coming to the front of a young man, a member of the Church of England, an Evangelical, who had given to the subject really profound thought. His language was not throughout quite luminous, but this was a common failing of learned

philosophers. The lecturer had shown *the demand* existed, and this was the best answer to those who did not see the need for a Christian Philosophy. Nothing could stifle it, it must be recognised. We cannot rule it out because a Christian Philosophy was not contemplated by Christ. We may say that no one ever met the demand better than St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans; he gives there a philosophical account of sin and redemption. I concur as to the importance of giving full value to collective as well as individual experience. In reply to Bishop Thornton's question, I may say these are found in the Creeds, the confessions of St. Augustine and in the Pilgrim's Progress, they are the common property of Christendom, in such hymns too as the "Rock of Ages." These express corporate intuitions of Christian men, and in constructing a Christian Philosophy we must take these into account as well as those of the individual.

The LECTURER.—I think a written reply will be more satisfactory than the mere reproduction of my verbal reply. For the sake of brevity I must confine my attention to opponents. I would just thank Dr. Irving and Mr. Marston for their very kind personal references, and identify myself with Mr. Marston's answer to Bishop Thornton's question.

It may be well to emphasise the fact that my paper is necessarily a mere fragment and suffers accordingly. All that it contains is based on conviction formed and defined in the course of years of reading and thought, and not the mere throwing out of a few suggestions. I ask that it be read in that spirit.

My dissent from Mr. Schwartz's remarks is so absolute and radical that it is almost a difficulty to know where to begin. The idea that he and those he quotes entertain of what philosophy is, is hopelessly narrow. Not only so, but all that he says about dogmatic theology on the one hand and philosophy on the other is answered in the main argument of my paper, which he ignores. Whatever questions may be raised as to the possibility or necessary conditions of a Christian Philosophy, it is obviously futile to bring charges against it which are excluded *ex hypothesi*. That he should bring forward Mr. Malloch's remark about "the metaphysician's claim to transcend facts," alone shows that the essence of my contention has been missed. But even as to philosophy in general, the attitude he represents is such that I

cannot realise it to myself at all. There are philosophical assumptions behind all our thoughts. Philosophy—however much particular philosophers have erred—is simply reflection on those assumptions. Mr. Schwartz claims to speak from the standpoint of common sense; but common sense, any more than science, cannot support its own foundations. Its practical verifications are only valid in and for its own sphere. Even our ideas in dreams verify themselves within the dreams. The human mind *must* in the long run seek for its own ultimate data; and while I strongly maintain that these are concrete—none the less for being spiritual—the error of resting on abstractions does not lie with philosophy as such. This is the old intellectualism, that is becoming “discredited”; philosophy is becoming more and more concrete, human and vital; and scientists, I believe, are beginning to feel themselves forced back on it by pressure from within their own sphere. Philosophy does *not* “only move in the same endless circles.” It never did, and certainly does not now. In an ascending spiral, perhaps, but that is very different. Even intellectualism has done a necessary work, if only spade-work; and at bottom philosophy is but the direct expression of the mind of the generation that produces it, and is organically one with the general mass of human mentality and emotion. Every true philosopher *knows* that. As a devoted student of philosophy, I am in a position directly to deny the truth of Mr. Schwartz’s account of it. I *know* in myself its spiritual and emotional value, its integral place in the deepest life of man. To me the quotations he brings to bear are meaningless.

Closely connected with this is the question of dogma. I demur strongly to his description of it as a system of Christian Philosophy. This again is virtually answered in my paper. Moreover, religion is not mere emotion; and if it be said to rest on a few simple propositions, even these propositions, if they really deal with central needs, must have a central place in the intellect, and must thus require to be brought into relation with human thought and defined against the ideas that deny them. How could the body of systematized doctrine possibly be, as such, an accretion? How could the spiritual side of man’s nature have allowed the accretion, and fed itself on it—as it has—if accretion it be? An alliance is essentially mutual. In one aspect, the Christian “dogmas” *must*

be a witness to the struggle of the spiritual nature to express itself to itself; and it is just in that aspect—as truly concrete and empirical as it is metaphysical—that I claim its right to primary consideration.

Archdeacon Potter quite misunderstands my position. The “assumption” with which Christian Philosophy, as I understand it, must start, is simply an experiential datum, and all philosophy professedly starts from such. As to particular doctrines, the Christian Philosophy will only accept these at first for examination; though it knows that they have *some* truth because they are at least an attempt to express that central experience which is the Christian philosopher’s *point d’appui*. To co-ordinate Christianity with ordinary sciences would be to beg the question of its fundamental position in experience. Of course I quite agree that the very nature and meaning of intuition must be fixed; the case of the lady mentioned does not touch me. I cannot now go into this question, but am quite prepared to meet it, and indeed have dealt with it in print.

But I am particularly surprised at the Archdeacon’s misunderstanding of my attitude on the subject of Indeterminism. If I had made Christian Philosophy “start by siding with Indeterminism,” I should have been flying in the face of my most fundamental principles. Long reflection on the subject has indeed resulted, for me, in a most emphatic rejection of Determinism; but my opinion is that Christian Philosophy would lead us to a standpoint from which the wrong assumptions underlying Determinism would be revealed; a very different thing from the fallacious procedure of building on a preliminary rejection of it.

A cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer for his thoughtful paper was carried unanimously.

# THE 512TH ORDINARY MEETING OF MEMBERS

WAS HELD IN

ST. MARTIN'S VESTRY HALL, TRAFALGAR SQUARE,  
ON THE 6TH FEBRUARY, 1911.

THE REV. CANON GIRDLESTONE IN THE CHAIR.

The Secretary read the Minutes of the preceding Meeting and announced the following elections by the Council :—

MEMBERS.—G. A. King, Esq., M.A. ; Rev. D. M. Panton, Minister of the Gospel.

ASSOCIATES.—G. H. Wedekind, Esq. ; Miss H. Pickersgill-Cunliffe ; F. D. Outram, Esq. ; Wm. H. Poate, Esq. ; Robert Heath, Esq.

The following paper was read :—

## *THE LAST CENTURY'S WITNESS TO THE BIBLE.*

By the Rev. JOHN SHARP, M.A.

Eight facts : I. The existence of Bible Societies : II. Their constituency : III. Bible translations : IV. World-wide demand for this Jewish miscellany : V. The witness hence arising as to its truthfulness regarding Christ : VI. Self-sacrifices for the Book : VII. The witness from archæological, etc., researches : VIII. Unique influence of the Bible on individuals and peoples.

THE usual prospectus of the Victoria Institute states that the primary object of its existence is to investigate questions of Philosophy and Science, more especially those that bear upon truths revealed in "Holy Scripture." The foundation of Science is *facts*. It seems, therefore, a scientific enquiry, and one within the scope of such a Society, whether any external facts support the Bible's claim to be a communication of truths from God to man. For instance, do facts about the Bible differentiate it from all other books to such an extent that it must stand in a category by itself ? Do they postulate for it something more than human authorship ? It will be the aim of this paper to adduce some facts evolved in the last century which seem to have such an evidential value. Each of them will contribute something towards the cumulative force of the group.

In England, the nineteenth century inherited from its immediate predecessors divided opinions as to the divine authority of the Scriptures, and the duty of placing them within men's reach in vernacular versions. In the first half of the sixteenth century the publication of his translation of the New Testament into English cost William Tindale his life. In the second half of that century, as J. R. Green tells us, the people of England *became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible\** in English.

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the ever-memorable issue, just three hundred years ago (1611), of the "Authorised Version" of that English Bible. Before the century's close, John Locke published his *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690). Locke himself called the Bible "God's Word," but his essay provided a foundation upon which the Deists of the next century erected their claim that Reason and a Religion of Nature must take precedence of a problematical Revelation.

The Deists were followed in the second half of the eighteenth century by such sceptical foes of Revelation as Hume (1750), Bolingbroke (1754), Gibbon (1776), Voltaire (*d.* 1778), and Tom Paine (1794). Before the end of the century, the French Revolution (1789) gave the world a lurid sample of what might anywhere be the outcome of an "Age of Reason."

But, even in that eighteenth century, the Bible was at work. "In November, 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford began to spend some evenings in a week together in reading chiefly the Greek Testament."† Those readings bore spiritual fruit in the "Methodist Revival" which was the forerunner of the thirty million adherents of Methodism now.‡

There arose also, before the eighteenth century closed, in part out of the "Methodist Revival," and in part independently, that evangelical movement within the Church of England, which to some extent revived its spiritual activity. Every good work set on foot by a small band of evangelical clergy was aided by purse, prayer and effort on the part of some earnestly religious laymen of note. Both clergy and laity believed the Bible to be "the Word of God."§ Their united convictions led to certain proceedings out of which some of

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\* *Short History of the English People*, p. 447.

† *Short History of Methodism*, by John Wesley.

‡ *History of the Evangelical Party*, G. R. Baleline, p. 43.

§ 1 Thess. ii, 13.

those facts about the Bible emerged in the nineteenth century that must now be considered.

### I. *The existence of Bible Societies.*

No sooner had the century begun than an unparalleled tribute to the unique claims of the Bible was paid by the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Its sole object was to translate, to multiply and to circulate, at home and abroad, the Holy Scriptures. No precedent for such a concentrated and vast undertaking had ever been set in the case of any other writings accounted sacred. The Bible Society came into existence, too, amid national anxiety and distress. Men's minds were preoccupied and perplexed. On the other side of the Channel, Napoleon had an army and flotilla ready to invade England. Mutineers were to be found in the navy. There were disloyal malcontents among the people. Bread was frightfully dear. Taxation was terribly high.

But notwithstanding all this, there were men in England who had heard God's voice speaking to their hearts with authority and love from the pages of the Bible. Their own happy experience made them distressed for those to whom its pages were, from one cause or another, inaccessible. Enquiries put to 17,000 families had shown that half the working-class population in the town-area of London were destitute of the Scriptures.\*

Similarly, within ten parishes in the country-area of Flintshire, there were 1,300 inhabited houses without a Bible. In Wales and in the Highlands there were multitudes unable to obtain the Scriptures in the only language they could read.† And as for the countries abroad, tens of thousands of prisoners of war‡ from them, were within easy reach, and were willing enough to read the New Testament, if it could be had in their tongues. The founders of the Bible Society knew no other book to meet the case. To provide the Holy Scriptures in their vernaculars for people wishful but unable to get them, the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1804. Many Societies have since been established with the same object. Taking them all together, they create a distinction which no other collection of writings shares with the Bible.

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\* *History of the B. and F. Bible Society*, by W. Canton, vol. i, p. 80.

† *Ib.*, pp. 5-7 91.

‡ *Ib.*, pp. 123, 124.

## II. *The Constituency of the Bible Societies.*

It is a remarkable fact that loyalty to one Book has for over a century proved a bond of union between men and women of diverse nationalities, ranks, wealth, learning, politics and religious convictions. When the Rev. John Owen, Chaplain to the Bishop of London (Dr. Porteus), moved the Resolution establishing the British and Foreign Bible Society, he tells us that he did so under an irresistible impulse created by the sight of so many Christians waiving their doctrinal and ritual differences to give themselves with one heart and one soul to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures.\* The same unity of spirit has been a marked characteristic of the governing body of that Society, its Committee, for more than a hundred years.

So, too, the Bible-cause has been able to bring together on the same platform in happy unanimity "statesmen of the first rank and talents who" (in the words of Hannah More) "had never met but to oppose each other—orators who had never spoken but to differ."† It has formed a bond of union that has girdled the globe. Witness the world-wide observance of the Centenary Bible Sunday on March 6th, 1904, and the cordial messages which were announced two days later from King Edward VII., from the German Emperor, from the King of Sweden and Norway, from the Queen of Holland, and from Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States.

Twenty years ago, in a speech at the Mansion House, Archbishop Benson said: "This is a day in which Christians who are in earnest have their thoughts turned to the subject of re-union. How is it to begin? The scriptures are a real, sound, true beginning, and in the time to come, if it ever please God to realise to our descendants this great vision, people will, and must, point back to the Bible Society as having caught the first rays of that Day-star." No other book has proved such a basis of union as the Bible proved in the nineteenth century.

The Report of Commission VIII which collected information as to "Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity" for the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of June, 1910, says‡: "There is no sphere of missionary work in which the value of co-operation has been tested and appreciated more than in the

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\* *History of the B. and F. Bible Society*, by J. Owen, vol. i, p. 44.

† *Christian Morals*, vol. ii, p. 27.

‡ Pp. 53, 56.

translation, publication and distribution of the Word of God; and not least amongst the fruits of this work must be reckoned the friendships which have been formed between men separated ecclesiastically and diverse in nationality, but called to work around the same translation board." And again\*: "The Bible Societies have had a similar influence towards unity and joint action upon the Church at home. They are in many places the one agency which brings together practically all sections of the Church on a common platform."

The Bible Societies are, of course, only organisms through which the Bible itself, and (as the effect suggests) Someone behind it, exert this influence. One does not hear of a similar influence on Sunni and Shiah emanating from the Koran, or on Saivite and Vaishnavite from the Veda.

### III. *Bible Translations.*

A third unique fact about the Bible, which the last century brought into marked prominence, is its suitability for being translated into every variety of language, and that without losing its captivating power over men. To quote again a few words from Green's *History of the English People*: "No version could transfer to another tongue the peculiar charm of language which gave their value to the authors of Greece and Rome. But the tongue of the Hebrews, the idiom of Hellenistic Greek, lent themselves with a curious felicity to the purposes of translation. As a mere literary monument, the English version of the Bible remains the noblest example of the English tongue."†

When the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed, there was a notion in some quarters that a translation of the Scriptures into Chinese was, from the nature of that language, an impossibility.‡ This supposed impossibility has vanished. Translations of the Bible, not only into Chinese, but even into poor and barbarous languages of all kinds, have already appeared and are in use. Darwin calls the people of Tierra del Fuego "miserable and degraded savages," and their speech "scarcely deserving to be called articulate."§ But the Bible Society has printed two Gospels and the Acts in this Yahgan tongue as they were translated by the late Rev. Thos. Bridges,

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\* P. 126.

† P. 448.

‡ *History of the B. and F. Bible Society*, by W. Canton, vol. i, p. 299.

§ *Ib.*, pp. 135, 136.

and expressed by him in a somewhat augmented and specialized form of the Roman alphabet.

At a meeting in Oxford, a quarter of a century ago (November 3rd, 1885), the late Sir Monier Monier-Williams, the Professor of Sanskrit, mentioned the Scriptures in 160 languages, which he had seen displayed at an Exhibition in Calcutta, and added: "What must have been the feeling of the proud Hindu and Muhammadan in beholding this strange sight? How vast the difference of their own ideas in regard to their own sacred books! To translate the Veda or the Kuran into other languages they consider simple desecration. It is the sound and intonation of the sacred Sanskrit and of the sacred Arabic which is of primary importance and primary efficacy; the sense is merely secondary. Millions and millions who know nothing of Sanskrit are obliged to hear and repeat the Veda in Sanskrit, and millions who are wholly ignorant of Arabic are obliged to hear and repeat the Kuran in Arabic. Think of what would happen, if no Christian in any part of the world were allowed to hear, read, or repeat his Bible except in Hebrew or Greek!"\*

When the nineteenth century commenced, translators in successive generations had provided versions of Holy Scripture in some fifty languages. But it was only a portion of these that was available for practical use through the good offices of certain presses or Societies. By the close of the century, without counting some defunct or no longer needful translations, the late Rev. J. Gordon Watt tabulated 111 languages with a version of the whole canonical Bible, 91 others with a version of the New Testament, and 204 more with a version of at least one book of the Bible in them.† The numbers now grow year by year. And as in the early centuries of the Christian Church, the unique importance of the Scriptures attracted to them many skilful translators, and led to the invention of alphabets to enable their translations to be set down in writing, so in the last century unsparing efforts and large sums of money have been spent in improving earlier versions, that students of the Bible might have access to the most reliable text, and the most exact rendering of it. What the revisers of the English Bible did in one case, many a company of scholars has been doing again and again at the cost of the Bible Societies

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\* *The Holy Bible and the Sacred Books of the East*, p. 33.

† *Four Hundred Tongues*, by J. Gordon Watt, M.A., p. 11.

in versions all over the world. The one Book that can attract to itself such service is unquestionably different from the rest.

#### IV. *World-wide demand for this Jewish miscellany.*

We pass on to a fourth fact respecting the Bible which became more conspicuous in the nineteenth century than ever before. People all the world over, in ever-increasing numbers, have been asking for and reading the Holy Scriptures, as they have never agreed in asking for and reading any other book. A little consideration will show how remarkable a fact this is.

A few years back the Rev. Dr. Horton, of Hampstead, published a small volume entitled *The Bible, a Missionary Book*. His aim in it was to show that the Bible from first to last had the whole world in view, and was intended to be the great means for bringing *all* men to "the full, clear knowledge of God."\*

And yet the writers of the sixty-six documents which make up this cosmopolitan volume were all (with the possible exception of St. Luke) members by birth of that nation which has kept itself more persistently aloof from the other families of mankind than any other nation in the world has done.† They were all Jews. One never hears of Jews seeking the spiritual good of other nations by translating and circulating among them the divine oracles of which they prided themselves on being the sole possessors. And yet these Jewish writings take account of the whole human family. All men are viewed as coming within the regard and the purposes of one loving God. This feature is patent throughout in Law and History, in Poetry and Prophecy. The first book in the Old Testament records a promise made in universal terms to Abraham, the founder of the Jewish nation, thus:—"In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."‡ The first book in the New Testament gives us one of the last sayings which Jesus Christ, a Jew by birth, spoke to Jewish hearers, in these words:—"Go ye and make disciples of all the nations."§

Whence came this breadth of view in so many Jewish authors, differing in character and gifts, rank and circumstances, and living centuries apart? Was it spontaneous in writer after writer, and age after age? In any case, is not this universal outlook wonderfully in harmony with the ever-growing demand for this old Jewish miscellany which is

\* P. 30.

† Cf. Acts x, 28.

‡ Gen. xxii, 18.

§ St. Matt. xxviii, 19, R. V.

manifest in all the world? "The circulation of a hundred thousand copies of a popular novel is considered phenomenal."\* But in a year the British and Foreign Bible Society by itself can now put into circulation, and that mainly by sales, over six million copies of the Bible or parts thereof. In a century its issues of Scripture exceeded one hundred and eighty-six and a half million copies in three hundred and seventy-eight languages and dialects. Where has there been any parallel to this in respect of any other writings in the world's history?

V. *The witness hence arising as to its truthfulness respecting Christ.*

A fifth noticeable fact is being built up by the multiplying translations and an ever-increasing circulation. It is a witness to the truth of the Bible's claim that Jesus of Nazareth was not a mere Galilean peasant. The Gospels of St. Matthew,† St. Mark,‡ and St. John,§ with some variety of detail, tell the story of Mary of Bethany, who, a few nights before the crucifixion, anointed the body of Jesus with costly ointment. In recognition of her loving sympathy, He uttered the prediction which St. Mark gives us thus:—"Verily I say unto you, wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, this also that she hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her." Nearly 1900 years have since gone by, and this prediction is being fulfilled to the letter more and more widely every year through the circulation of the Scriptures. For instance, out of the 424 languages in which translations of more or less of the Bible have been issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society only in about the odd twenty-four does there not as yet exist one at least of the three Gospels that tell us of Mary's act. Could the author of that promise to her be only a Man? Can the ancient writings that report it be ordinary story-books?

VI. *Self-sacrifice for the Book.*

The nineteenth century furnished very many fresh examples of self-sacrificing devotion to the Bible. A single Bible Society—the British and Foreign—received within that century thirteen millions sterling from lovers of that Book. A large

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\* *The Witness of the Bible Society*, by the Rev. J. H. Ritson, p. 7.

† Chap. xxvi, 6-13.

‡ Chap. xiv, 3-9.

§ Chap. xii, 1-8.

proportion of this money came in small contributions from those who had little to spare out of their earnings. In some cases the donors were only removed a few steps from heathenism, and even from cannibalism.

“Three hundred miles south of Samoa, green against the blue waters shows the wooded crest of Niué. ‘Savage Island’ it was named by Captain Cook, who found it a hornet’s nest of unapproachable barbarians. With a cheery ‘farewell,’ and a prayer for divine protection, Paulo, the Samoan, and his wife were put ashore in October, 1849. Strangely enough they are not murdered straightway. . . . The fierce men with long wild hair and trappings of many-coloured feathers are held in check by a mysterious fetish—a book which the Samoans carry about with them—to which they speak, which talks to them. At length two noted braves are sent to slay the strangers. They steal up to the palm-thatched house. They see Paulo sitting quietly reading his book. They wait awhile. He still sits reading with a peaceful face; and a great fear and trembling fall upon them; they are powerless. Again they wait; it cannot be done; they speak to him and again return home. The man of the Book prevails.”\*

Forty-two years later (1891) at the Mansion House in London, the Rev. W. G. Lawes, the veteran missionary of Niué and New Guinea, reminded his hearers (including the Lord Mayor, the Duke of Connaught, and Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury) how the 5,000 inhabitants of that very “Savage Island” had sent the Bible Society £1,500 to repay it for Bibles provided for them in their own tongue.†

But gifts of money are not the only form in which the Bible has been served by self-sacrifice such as no other book has been able to command. Twenty-five years ago there was not a Christian among the thirteen millions of Koreans. A year or so ago there were about a hundred thousand baptized Church members. They are very poor, but they are intensely earnest in prayer, in the study of the Scriptures, and in personal labour to disseminate them among their heathen neighbours. During the winter of 1909–10 they purchased from the Bible Society for this purpose 600,000 copies of St. Mark’s Gospel at  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  a copy, and they volunteered to leave their homes and visit heathen villages with the books at their own charges, each giving up a definite number of working days for this purpose. At one

\* *History of the B. and F. Bible Society*, by W. Canton, vol. iv, pp. 12, 13.

† *Ib.*, p. 198.

gathering, 159 men pledged themselves to give 2,721 days in the aggregate to such work.

How unsparing of labour in trying climates have translators of the Scriptures been! What toil, and risks, and sufferings, sometimes even unto death, do not the Bible-colporteurs undergo with the sole object of placing the Bible within reach of their fellow-men, and inducing them to buy and read its message!

A colporteur in Egypt was advised by a school teacher not to go into a certain part of a village. "Why?" he asked. "Because they will beat you." "I am going there immediately," he replied. He went and was quickly surrounded by a crowd of Moslems. "Why do you come among us, the Faithful?" they asked. "I come," he said, "that you may buy and read these books, and become Christians." "Are you not afraid to speak such words to us?" "No," he said, "not even if you should seek to kill me." "Verily yours is a true religion," they said: "God will give you no small reward for being willing to labour, and to be insulted, and even to die for your faith: come and dine with us." "No," he said, "I must go round the village." In that village he sold 55 books of Scripture!\*

Among all the valuable treasures of the library in the Bible House, there are none more touching and sacred than the books enshrined there which bear silent witness to lives surrendered from devotion to the Book that reveals Christ.

#### VII. *The witness from archaeological, etc., researches.*

The nineteenth century, like some of its predecessors, besides friends, produced some active, able, and even bitter opponents of the Bible. Their lines of attack were varied. On physical and metaphysical—on historical and linguistic—on moral and theological grounds, in turn, any divine element in the Bible was denied. Grouping them under the general title of "destructive critics," it may suffice to sample these adversaries by such names as Strauss (1835) and Bauer (1845) in Germany; Rénan (1863) in France; Theodore Parker (1842) and Colonel Ingersoll (1879) in America; and among others in England, F. W. Newman (1850), some of the writers in *Essays and Reviews* (1860), Mr. Charles Bradlaugh (1862), Bishop Colenso, with his arithmetical puzzles (1862), and the author of *Supernatural Religion* (1874). They showed that the unqualified claims sometimes advanced for the inerrancy of the letter of

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\* Rev. W. Fisher in *The Churchman*, Sept. 1909, p. 707.

Scripture as it has come down to us were mistaken and untenable. They failed to show that we have not in the Bible such a revelation of God in Christ as rightly draws men to Him.

Moreover, as old impeachments were revived, or new doubts were suggested, a counter-process was in progress which has resulted in many fresh vindications of the Bible's accuracy. From the long-buried inscriptions and clay letter-books of Nineveh and Babylon—from the ancient tombs, and dry rubbish-heaps of Egypt—from excavations in the Holy Land—from old coins and fragments of broken pottery, and in other ways, relics of past ages have been unearthed which have confirmed the correctness of Bible statements. Sceptical critics have been put to discomfiture by excavators and archaeologists. The century has been made memorable by such discoveries as those of the Rosetta Stone (1799; ceded by France to England, 1801), the Moabite Stone (1870), the Tel-el-Amarna cuneiform tablets (1887), and the engraved code of Khammu-rabi (Amraphel). The debatable region in which our imperfect knowledge of facts left room for plausible subjective theories adverse to the Old Testament, has been sensibly curtailed. And as for the New Testament, researches like those of Sir W. M. Ramsay in topography, and those of Professor Deissmann in the Philology of the Greek Bible, suggest the confident expectation that, as our knowledge advances, we shall find that this later portion of the Book also rests on undeniable facts, and is no "cunningly devised fable."\*

#### VIII. *Unique influence of the Bible on individuals and peoples.*

Lastly, let us briefly call to mind some of the many facts that occurred in the last century which illustrate the unique influence of the Bible in changing the lives and characters of individuals, and nations. Striking instances of the first might easily be adduced from our English homeland. The work of foreign Christian Missions, which so marked the century, would furnish many examples of both.

Often the study of the Bible with a view to refuting its teaching has issued in changing an opponent into a friend of the Book. To quote but one example.

In his autobiography the late learned and Reverend Dr. Imad-ud-din tells us how, among other acts of worship in his earnest search after union with God, he used to spend whole nights in reading the Koran. At length, hearing that his old

\* II Peter i, 16.

friend, Moulvie Safdar Ali, had abjured Islam and been baptized, with the purpose of winning him back to it, Imad-ud-din obtained the Christian Scriptures and began to read St. Matthew's Gospel. By the time he had finished the seventh chapter, a deep conviction of the truth entered his soul. He continued his study for a year, and then gave up everything to follow Christ.\*

Often, again, a conviction of the truth of Holy Scripture has arisen in the hearts of heathen or Muhammadans while they were engaged in linguistically assisting its translators. Of this, too, a single example must suffice.

In the year 1813, the Russian Bible Society was making a translation of the New Testament into Kalmuc. It was hoped that this would also serve for another Mongolian tribe, the Buriats who live in the south-east of Lake Baikal in Siberia. Hence Buddhist Buriats remitted 12,000 roubles (£1,200) to St. Petersburg in subscriptions towards the cost of the books they hoped to obtain. In the end it was found that the differences between the two dialects and scripts made a distinct version and character for each tribe essential. Prince Galitzin asked the Governor of Irkutsk to send him two learned Buriats to assist in preparing the book for their tribe. With the consent of their own Prince and Lama two Buriat nobles proceeded to St. Petersburg and engaged in the translation. As a result, in 1818 they wrote to their Prince that they felt the Bible was "truth which may be relied upon," "the pearl of a devout heart." "We can no longer endure the want of it," they said: "We must abide by this doctrine."†

Space and time are almost gone. But surely the cumulative evidence of these eight varieties of fact out of those which the last century made specially prominent ought to reassure any whose confidence in the Bible as a trustworthy revelation from God may have been shaken by "criticism"? To quote one who was himself to some extent a "critic," the late Rev. Dr. W. Robertson Smith wrote the following:—"To thoughtful minds it has always been a matter of supreme interest to realise what proof of the truth and sufficiency of the Christian religion can be adduced apart from the internal impress of genuineness which it produces on the believing mind."‡

\* *History of the Church Missionary Society*, by Dr. Stock. Vol. ii, pp. 561-3.

† *Fifteenth Report of the B. and F. Bible Society*. Appendix, pp. 187, 188.

‡ *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 14, 15.

One who took a leading part in the grand World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh last year writes that the Bible had no place among the topics discussed at the Conference. "There was no need for that. Those present had no fear that hostile criticism could dethrone it." "Its words," he says, "never sounded so tender—so majestic—as when they were slowly and solemnly read in the intervals of prayer. Two thousand men and women bowed themselves from day to day in silent intercession. When the intense stillness was broken by words from the Old Book—calling to penitence—assuring of mercy—telling of love—arming for conflict—inspiring for service, it was felt in each heart that in the Bible 'men spake from GOD.'"

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said he was speaking for everyone present in thanking Mr. Sharp for his most excellent paper. He thought the paper should be circulated as widely as possible and asked the Secretary what it would cost?

The SECRETARY said he was sure copies could be sold at 3*d.* each. (Reduced afterwards to 2*d.* each.)

Lord BLYTHSWOOD offered to give £5 for this purpose. This was thankfully acknowledged and several orders were handed in.

The CHAIRMAN resumed: This is not a Bible Society meeting, but we wish to take a scientific view of the wonderful phenomena of the Bible and to ascertain the secret of its influence. It was a specially suitable subject for this year when the Tercentenary of the Authorised Version was being celebrated. It had been said that the Book was defunct! Yet it was circulated to-day far more widely than any other book, at the rate of several million copies a year! What are the reasons of the Bible being so translateable? Because it is a record of deeds as well as words. God had shown Himself more by what He had done than by what He had said. The Bible was not a series of theological essays, which would have been far more difficult to translate and far more dull to read. The Book was a record of how He fulfilled His promises and how He revealed His nature in actual life. This was the secret of its

attractiveness and of its translateableness. It was easy to translate into any language that Christ lived and died for man, but not easy to translate the abstract and ethical characteristics of God. The book also was marvellously adapted to the needs of man. In Dr. Wallace's recent book, *The World of Life*, the secret of success and the prolongation of type were shown to be dependent upon adaptability. Adaptation was stamped upon the Bible. So Sir Oliver Lodge in his recent book on Religion and Science pleaded with scientific men to read the Scriptures with a childlike spirit, for they were true to the heart and life of man.

Bishop THORNTON thought the paper very valuable, and the argument for recognising a superhuman element in Scripture, drawn from phenomena in the last century in connection with its translation and circulation, exceedingly strong. It must not, however, be pressed unfairly. True, nothing is known of Societies for circulating the Koran : but whereas till the nineteenth century enthusiasm for the Bible seems to have been somewhat dormant among Christians, the self-sacrificing devotion of Moslems to their sacred book (even though untranslated), and their zeal in requiring its acceptance by subject peoples, had from the first been most extraordinary ; and it would be interesting to know the lecturer's explanation of it, as Divine Inspiration in this case could hardly be inferred.

And was it safe, in recording (very properly) the unifying influence of the Bible on different Protestant bodies, to taunt (in effect) Sunni and Shiah with the failure of their loyalty to the Koran to bring them together ? might they not ask whether the Bible had unified Romanist and Protestant ?

Again, is not the paper hard on the Jews ? On the request, it is said, of a Gentile Prince, who desired it for his public library, the Jews cordially promoted the production of the LXX, improved editions of which were issued later by Gentile proselytes such as Aquila and Theodotion, and others. The proselytising zeal of the Jew (albeit unsatisfactory in result) is noticed in the Gospels ; and the number of Gentile proselytes is believed to have been very large ; while, presumably, the means of recruiting them must have been their introduction to the Law and the Prophets. That the LXX was widely known to Gentile readers is asserted by Christian fathers, seems confirmed by allusions in apostolic letters to Gentile

Churches, and doubtless much facilitated the progress of the Gospel. In view of the above facts, while it is certain our cosmopolitan Bible could never have been produced by Jewish writers save through Divine overruling, it is, perhaps unnecessarily harsh to say "One never hears of Jews seeking the spiritual good of other nations by translating and circulating among them the Divine Oracles."

The argument for recognising a transcendent, Divine power pervading Scripture seems emphasised by the fact, that its scientific accuracy and literary perfection, as a human work, cannot possibly account for its unique influence. It has its deficiencies in these respects. The paper rightly admits that "the unjustified claims sometimes advanced for the inerrancy of the letter of Scripture as it has come down to us" are "mistaken and untenable." A thoroughly human book, it is inexplicable without the assumption of a Divine Inspiration; just as our Blessed Lord was truly man, but none the less God's Son.

(The speaker had not time to develop this, and guard it from misinterpretation, and he was utterly misconceived by some present, as doubting the Incarnation, or the Special Inspiration of the Bible, doctrines which, as those who know him are aware, he has strenuously upheld for fifty years.)

Mr. JOHN SCHWARTZ did not agree with some points in the paper, and considered that the Bible was not all on one level as regards profitableness, and that the morality of some portions was positively injurious.

Mr. EVANS said: I desire to thank the lecturer most warmly for his excellent paper. Recent discoveries made in Assyria, Babylon and Egypt have again and again proved the truth of the historical statements of the Bible. That Abram really came from Babylon, is clearly proved from records in the British Museum, though at one period this was denied. In fact much criticism and suspicion are now withdrawn in view of the proof of the historical truthfulness of the Book; as for instance the Siloam Pool inscription, a cast of which is in the British Museum, which proves the statement that Hezekiah made a pool and a conduit for bringing the water into the city, hidden from the invader, and the further fact that the identity of so many of the kings of the Old Testament has been clearly established by inscriptions now in the British Museum. A previous speaker has referred to what he considers the immorality of parts of

the Old Testament, but in my judgment it stamps and condemns every form of immorality, only referring to it for that purpose. Further, these very books were admired and quoted by Our Lord. On the question of the lack of unity among Christians, where this is the case it is in spite of the Book, not because of it. If the Bible principles were followed there would, indeed, be "peace on earth," labour troubles and every ill would be removed; it is *our* fault, not that of the Author of the Book. Sir William Ramsay says that the more he knows of the Bible lands and times by minute study, the more confident he is that it is the Book of Books and is God's message to men.

The Rev. H. V. HEBERT said: A visitor at the meeting remarked upon the term *Word of God*, which Members speaking from opposite standpoints had alike employed as a synonym for the Bible. I urge in the interests of avoiding misconceptions and misrepresentations on an occasion like the present, which, from the nature of the Institute's primary objects demands accuracy and definiteness of thought and language, that due recognition be given to the following point, as an assertion which I contend cannot be gainsaid, that the expression noticed is nowhere used throughout inspired Scripture to designate the Scriptures collectively, but is a merely human and ecclesiastical phrase for the purpose, fit enough for every day use among persons entertaining in common an attitude of reverence toward Holy Writ, but no sound or legitimate basis for holding or imputing a certain range of high claims, such as would be attributable and warranted only if it occurred at all in course of the volume as its own designation of itself. Just to meet in advance any challenge of my main assertion, and supply an anticipated demand for my alternative to the denied equivalent of the form of speech in question, a single sample may be instanced, namely, that Apostolic pronouncement, "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God"; where I suggest the true sense and intention of the passage is, not the Bible, but the Gospel.\*

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\* Further, and on the same grounds, I urge proper heed to these kindred expressions: *The word of the Lord*, *The word*, *His word*, *My word*, *Thy word*, and insist that they are not used anywhere in the Bible as terms synonymous with it, or for designation of so much of its constituent books as was extant at the time, but mean invariably the Gospel, God's great and standing and general message to mankind, whenever they do not allude to some particular Divine utterance.

Rev. JOHN TUCKWELL, M.R.A.S., said:—Although not agreeing with all that has been said, I have no desire to complain of the free expression of opinion. The attacks made upon Scripture during the past century on scientific grounds have shown up more clearly than ever the supernatural element in that volume. For instance, the discoveries of science have disclosed the fact that the Creation story in Genesis i. is so extraordinarily exact that it could not have been written without supernatural knowledge. If anyone doubts that statement I am quite prepared to discuss the question, as I have so often done before, at a fit time and place.

Or take the discoveries of Archæology. The last century witnessed the extensive promulgation of what is known as the *Yaweh Elohim Theory* in the supposed composition of the Pentateuch. But the cuneiform tablets containing the story of the Deluge have shown us that the supposed “J” and “E” strata in the Hebrew are found also in the Babylonian and in almost the same order, so that if we dissect the one into these strata we shall have to dissect the other in the same way. But if any man were to apply this theory to the Babylonian story his medical man would be called in to prescribe for him. Let me remind you also of Genesis xiv. Professor Nöldeke in 1869 declared that criticism had for ever disposed of the claim of that chapter to be historical. But the Chedorlaomer Tablets in the British Museum compel every fair-minded critic to restore to it its historic character.

Take again the Evolution Theory. The manner in which that theory has captivated the educated mind is phenomenal, and the Christian faith as represented by Holy Scripture has not escaped its application. But the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments are historic—they are records of facts, and a record of facts cannot be produced by an evolutionary process. It has been more and more conclusively proved to the modern mind that there was such a Person as Jesus Christ; that He was born, lived, taught, suffered, died, and rose again. No process of evolution could produce the record of these facts; or it would be fiction and not history. Moreover the Scriptures tell us how God can forgive sin and take the sinner back into fellowship with Himself. Now unless pantheism is true and the mind of God and that of man are one, then God must have communicated this plan of salvation to man, which

really means that it has been a matter of revelation and not of evolution. We have been told that the inspiration of prophets and apostles was similar to the intuitions of the man of genius in science or letters. Even if that were so, which I for one do not admit, yet when the genius of the astronomer Adams led to the discovery of the planet Neptune there was an objective reality which was revealed to him. Similarly, whatever may have been the state of the inspired man's faculties you cannot evade the fact that objective truths were revealed through them.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, I cannot but think that whatever the attacks made upon the Bible in the past or yet to be made upon it in the future, it will ultimately emerge from them all victorious and more assured to the unprejudiced mind than ever as "The word of God which liveth and abideth for ever."

The Rev. J. SHARP, in reply, said that in the few minutes remaining he would not attempt to deal with more than some of the smaller points that had been brought forward. Most of the rest had been disposed of by other speakers, and the general sense of the meeting. He thought that some of his critics had not sufficiently noticed the exact wording of the passages to which they referred.

As regards the Jews, he was not aware of any facts showing that they had translated and circulated their Scriptures to effect *the spiritual good of other nations*. The Septuagint version of the Pentateuch was really produced *for the Jews* in Egypt and Greek-speaking lands. The copy required by Ptolemy was only for his library. Such proselytes as they made were never allowed to consider themselves on the same footing as genuine Hebrews. The versions of Aquila and Theodotion were produced for the purpose of counteracting the appeals made by Christians to the Septuagint in support of the claims of Christ by giving a Greek rendering more closely in accord with strictly Jewish interpretations.

Had their veneration for the Koran been strong enough to draw Sunni and Shiah together in a united society for its multiplication and circulation? That was his point. And similarly with respect to Saivites and Vaishnavites in India. Up to the parting of the ways, through the unfortunate decree of the Council of Trent (1546) in the sixteenth century, the Church of Rome had like the other Churches of Christendom its share in circulating the Scriptures. The great Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes was issued

(1517) with the Pope's approval. And each Annual Report of the Bible Society contained instances of some Roman Catholics who were favourable to its work.

In illustration of his expression of "the inerrancy of the letter of Scripture as it had come down to us," Mr. Sharp gave an example of his meaning from 1 Sam. xiii, 1. The Revised Version prints that verse thus:—"Saul was [*thirty*] years old when he began to reign." In the margin we are told that "the Hebrew text has, *Saul was a year old*. The whole verse is omitted in the unrevised Septuagint, but in a later recension the number thirty is inserted." Such slips in numerals were more easily made by copyists in olden times when figures were denoted merely by letters of the alphabet with a dash attached; and the numeral indicated varied immensely according as the dash stood over or under the letter.

At the close of the meeting, and in conveying to Mr. Sharp the best thanks of the Institute for his most useful paper, the CHAIRMAN referred to the criticisms that had been made, and the pain felt by those who did not admit their force. The Institute allowed its members and associates a free hand, but the Bible would always vindicate itself. It is ours to study it, pray over it, and circulate this wonderful Book.

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD writes:—Besides its marvellous history and the complete harmony subsisting between the Bible and modern science, what specially impresses me is the fact, brought before us on pp. 85 and 86 of this paper, that the Bible is "The Word of Life." It has power to transform the characters and lives of those whose hearts receive and carry out its holy teaching; it renovates the desires and purposes, and strengthens the will unto holiness of thought. There is the manifestation of spiritual vitality—all things become new.

Now science affirms emphatically that the source of life is always that which is itself living. Redi's great doctrine—"Omne vivum ex vivo"—is, says Huxley, victorious "all along the line." Thus science affirms that the Bible is living, that it is "The Word of Life." The testimony of science does not stop here. She associates herself with our late President, Sir G. G. Stokes, in the belief that the cause of all life is Spirit. Thus science tells us that the cause of Eternal life is the Eternal Spirit, that the Cause of the Bible, the one Author speaking through its many writers,

is The Spirit that quickeneth, The Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Dr. THIRTLE has furnished notes of remarks which he desired to make, but time did not permit. I suggest (he writes) that generalities against certain views of Holy Scripture are no contribution to the subject which has actually been brought before the meeting; while statements involving censure of the Church at large—either on points of doctrine or in respect of diligence or negligence in the discharge of her stewardship—are equally beside the mark. As to the insinuation that the Bible contains passages that are morally injurious, it may be classed among statements that are more easily made than sustained by proof. If the Book were really corrupting in any of its tendencies, how can the fact be explained that, throughout the generations, it has been eschewed by the impure, and its circulation has been advanced, as a prayerful duty, exclusively by consecrated followers of Christ?

Surely the literary activity of the last century has some bearing on the subject before us. If anyone tells me that there is a great demand for some book, I immediately conclude that the said demand expresses a judgment in favour of the book. If, again, it appears that many other works have been written in order to explain a book and enforce its teachings, then to me it is beyond dispute that the thought-provoking book is one of special significance and influence. Now the Bible is a book for which there has been a phenomenal demand, and moreover one that has occasioned the writing of a multitude of other works. These statements are beyond question, and they have a distinct bearing upon the subject in hand:—in other words, they bear witness to the Bible, and their testimony is such as cannot be disputed or set aside. I suggest, in sentence-form, some arguments that are easy of substantiation:—

(1) Every copy of the Scriptures in any language, as translated, printed, and published, presupposes a demand on the part of men and women who are ready to purchase and distribute the same. In thus accepting and passing on the Book, these men and women bear witness to their esteem for it, their love for it. Their witness finds expression in money and labour—sometimes the former, sometimes the latter, and again sometimes in both.

(2) Every act of the Church of Christ, which—doubtless in

varying senses—claims to be the custodian of Scripture, bears witness in some degree to the Book. Clergy, ministers, and teachers of all orders give to the Book a supreme place, or at least a place of its own; and in many ways they bear witness to the greatness of the Book, and their conviction as to its truth.

(3) Every edition of the Text of Scripture, in whole or in part, whether of the Hebrew Old Testament or the Greek New Testament—and the work of the last century along this line was of the utmost importance—is a constructive witness to the Book. These works—involving a tremendous amount of labour on the part of scholars, and a great outlay of money on the part of patrons and publishers—would never have been issued but for the certainty of a demand on the part of the Christian public. The demand is an expression of regard for the Book—testimony as to its exceptional character and great spiritual influence.

(4) Every volume produced during the century having for its object the explanation of the Book—grammars, lexicons, concordances, in the languages of the original text, or of the early versions that have a special bearing thereon—make deposition on this subject. In some cases such works represent the labour of many years—undertaken and carried through in order to meet the demand of Christian people for help in the study of the Book; and the meaning of all this also is found in the fact that a large and educated public bears witness to the Book by laying out money and applying the mind to study and research.

(5) What, moreover, is to be said of the output of elementary books prepared for schools, and manuals for colleges; of works of introduction and of systematic commentaries; of volumes of devotion and spiritual meditation, as these are issued in never-ending profusion from the printing press? We must admit that there is a marvellous demand for these books, and that demand expresses a testimony eloquent and persistent—a witness to the Book, its unique character, and its essential relation to the highest concerns of the life of man.

Thus the activities of the Bible Societies, in this country and in other lands—and we may also include the great University Presses, and many publishing houses—as they meet a need for copies of the Book, and stimulate in the hearts of people a desire to know its contents, not only prove the greatness of the Bible, but likewise

demonstrate the existence of that Christian witness which, in turn, promotes the ever extending circulation of the Book.

The Master said, "The Seed is the Word." There are hosts of men and women who believe in the Seed. Their acts show their belief; and their belief eventuates in a practical witness to the Bible. As followers of Christ they hold that the Book is ordained of God to perform a certain spiritual service; and that the world of men needs to come under the influence of the Book. They act out their conviction. Some, as colporteurs, go on daily rounds, in the home-land or abroad; others, as collectors of funds, do their part in another way. As combined, these activities express, in organised form, the witness which is registered in the reports of Bible Societies and missionary agencies. The witness in this case is direct and not indirect; it is of those who know, as distinguished from those who are ignorant and unappreciative of the message of the Bible. And in speaking of this witness I would not for a moment controvert the contention that witness is also borne along other lines, *e.g.*, from the results of archæological research, and the influence of the Book upon the minds of barbarian people, and so forth.

The growth of mission labour in various lands shows with how much greater emphasis the witness of the Christian community throughout the world is borne to-day than was the case a century ago. "The little one has become a thousand." Does anyone ask why all these exertions in the literary world should have for their subject the book which we know as the Holy Bible? The answer is, because in the last century, more than ever before, through mental conviction and spiritual experience, hosts of men and women found this Book to show the way of Salvation as revealed to a needy world in the life and work of the Lord Jesus Christ.

## 513TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1911.

THE REV. PREBENDARY FOX IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following elections were announced :—

MEMBERS : The Rev. The Lord Blythswood, M.A., and J. B. Braddon, Esq.

ASSOCIATE : The Rev. J. A. Lightfoot, M.A.

MISSIONARY ASSOCIATES : The Rev. A. R. Cavalier and the Rev. Wm. Fisher, M.A.

The CHAIRMAN introduced Mr. Baylis as one whose academic and clerical experience had given him the advantage, not common in his profession, of being qualified to form a well-trained and balanced judgment in regard to the mutual relations of religion and science.

As a graduate at Oxford in Natural Science, Vice-Principal of Wycliffe Hall, in charge of a large town parish in the north, and for the last eighteen years a secretary of the Church Missionary Society, he was exceptionally competent to deal with the subject before the meeting of the Institute.

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### *THE RELATION OF SCIENCE TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.* By Rev. F. BAYLIS, M.A.

THE relation between Science and Christian Missions would seem to be small if we were to judge by business discussions in a Missionary Committee Room.

Had there been, during the last eighteen years, any serious discussion involving this relation in the Committee Room of a certain Missionary Society, which is one of the largest in the world, the writer of this paper could hardly have failed to know of it. Yet, so far as his memory serves, there has been none such.

There may be gathered, from this absence of discussion, a strong presumption that science is in no serious way a difficulty to Christian missions. But it would be a mistake to infer that the inter-relations are beneath notice, or of less than vast importance.

At least we are dealing with two of the great contemporary living forces of the world, and it would be strange to find they had no bearing on one another.

*Missions revolutionized by Applied Science.*

In missionary circles it is recognised that we have now arrived at "the decisive hour of Christian Missions." The Church of Christ is face to face with a world that is being transformed within a short generation. It is not difficult to show that applied science is one of the most potent factors among the forces which (*a*) are changing the world; and also among the forces which (*b*) give to the Church her present opportunity; and which, (*c*) at the same time, limit that opportunity.

(*a*) The world is a changing world, because the great peoples of the East and the backward races of other lands are assimilating, at an astounding pace, the inventions and the knowledge of the West.

Everyone knows something of the course of events which transformed Japan in so short a time, bringing it into rank with the civilized West. The eyes of the world have been drawn upon it. Even the Missionary Committee Room is aware of the march of science in Japan. For it is not long since a letter told us of the new Bishop of Hokkaido, a missionary well known and loved among the people of his diocese, receiving in mid-ocean on his way out a wireless message of welcome from his little flock in the Northern Island. Japan is up to date.

But China is treading the same path. The change that is coming must be stupendous from the enormous population and area of the Empire. The change is coming apace—much faster, we are told, than it came in Japan. What the magnitude of it means may be illustrated by the saying that while "Japan has now nearly six millions of youth in her schools and colleges . . . the same proportion will some day give China over fifty millions."\* "The day is coming, and that very soon, when China will have more students than any other nation in the world."

As to the pace of progress, Dr. Mott says,† "China has made more radical adjustment to modern conditions within the past five years than has any other nation, not excepting Korea. Those who have studied the great changes that came over Japan will remember that she made no such advance in the first ten years after she began to adopt Western civilization as China has made during the past five years. Sir Robert Hart, the

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\* Mott's *Decisive Hour of Christian Missions*, p. 17.      † *Ibid.*, p. 7.

eminent civilian and sagacious observer of things Chinese, in commenting on the recent changes in China, said that during the first forty-five years of his residence in China the country was like a closed room, without a breath of fresh air from the outside world, but that the past five years reminded him of being in a room with all the windows and doors wide open and the breezes of heaven sweeping through."

Telegraphs, railways, and factories are cited as making astonishing progress, and the closing words of one of Dr. Mott's paragraphs will serve to symbolize the revolution that applied science is working in China: "In many cities the rushlight has been superseded by the electric light. The fear of 'boring into the pulse of the dragon' is being lost by those who are anxious to exploit the enormous mineral wealth of the country."\*

It must not be supposed that China stands alone, though it is such a conspicuous instance, in this kind of revolution. All the backward races, with remarkably few exceptions, are passing through the same experience. Steamboats, railways, telegraph systems, and motor-cars are to-day parts of the environment of well nigh the whole human race, and in many cases the fact is all the more significant because it means a sudden jump from all that was simplest, most "primitive" as men are apt to say, to much that is of the most modern and marvellous in the science of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

(b) For our present purpose we need now to notice how Christian Missions are affected by the changes that are taking place so rapidly. The applied science that produces these changes can be claimed as immensely favouring the progress of Missions. Partly this is so in a quite direct sense. The printing press, the railway, the steamboat, the bicycle, the motor-car are all agencies by which science helps to bring the missionary to his field; to put into his hands the printed Bible, the chief material agent in his work; to minimize the waste of his time and strength in service; and to give him in a thousand ways the victory over the adverse circumstances of his task. In these days, when a tourist can get from Mombasa, the port of East Africa, to the capital of Uganda in three or four days by rail and steamer, and can cable home the news of his safe arrival in a few minutes, and can be off in a few hours on his bicycle to any part of the country, it is hard to realise how things were only fifteen years ago, when the first ladies reached Uganda by a weary three months' march, and when it was no strange thing for a

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\* Mott's *Decisive Hour of Christian Missions*, p. 10.

mail party to be cut to pieces by some turbulent tribe, and for letters to be missing for many months.

Perhaps as powerfully in an indirect way science helps the missionary by the prestige it inevitably gives him. Sometimes it is merely as one of the people of the wonderful West that he is great among his hearers. But at other times it is because every article of his simple kit, every convenience of his daily life witnesses to an ignorant people of the wonderful power and science of the white man. Some of the simple people of Uganda were on one occasion a little tempted to discredit the good news of a missionary, but one of their number challenged his fellows to dare to doubt what came from men of such wonderful wisdom. "See," he said, referring to some lightning conductors erected to church and house, "these are men who can put up a hand into the sky, and catch the very lightning and dash it down into the ground so that it cannot do any harm. How can we doubt the wisdom of what these men tell us?" This is, of course, not cited as in any wise the basis on which the missionary likes his message to rest, but it shows the prestige that goes into the mission-field with the commonest scientific knowledge from our homelands.

Men with eyes to see the great events of world history have been telling us of recent years that the greatest happenings are those where mighty peoples are awakening to *Nationality* as their chief need and possibility, as the thing for which they must let go the old unifying forces of religion to find the new forces mightier still. Think of this in Japan, China, India, Turkey and other lands. It shows us the crisis of missions. Then dwell for a moment on the obvious course of national progress for these peoples. It is in their eyes above all things necessary for them to get the material civilisation, in a word, the science of the West. Their faces are all turned to Europe and America. The very lands that want to send them Christian missions are the lands from which they are hoping and expecting to receive light and leading.

A believer in the Providence of God will not fail to find his faith strengthened by all he can learn of the synchronising, in the world's history, of the age of missions and the age of applied science. It is possible to argue with some force that God meant the science of our day to serve great purposes of His in "turning the world upside down" as part of His agency in extending to all the world the Kingdom of His Christ. It is *prima facie* evidence that missions and science come of the love and wisdom of one and the same Lord.

It must, however, be acknowledged that there is something of another side to all this influence of Applied Science. There are manifestly evil uses to be made of some of our inventions, and Anti-Christian propaganda as well as Christian, can use the prestige of the West. There is little need, however, to dwell upon this, if it be always recognised that the Missions are likely to be the hottest field of battle, between the forces for and against the religion of Jesus Christ. We are safe, too, in the conviction that the balance lies overwhelmingly with that which tells in favour of Christian Missions.

(c) In one direction, however, there is a serious menace for missions in the march of Science. It lies in the fact that the day of opportunity is made so short. That missions are at the "decisive hour" is because, for a little time, the nations are plastic, receptive, dependent. It is but for an hour. For Science, like Christianity, when once revealed is the heritage of the whole human race. It has a greater army of apostles, a more unflinching support of energy and means behind it, and seems to find in its agents motives almost equally compelling with those which make the missionary. Who that believes God to be the "God of Knowledge" can for a moment regret this enthusiasm and progressive force? Yet it would be intensely grievous to see the fertilising tide of material knowledge sweep over the great Eastern world, to see it spend its force, and leave stranded far behind the sister blessings of the Christian faith, which then might have a far less hopeful opportunity.

Not many years ago it seemed entirely in accordance with the facts for Archbishop Temple to speak of three marked stages in the history of Christian Missions. First, the age of the Early Church, when the Church with all the power and all the knowledge of the world ranged against it, in the Roman Empire, none the less won the day. Second, the later age when the Church with all the true enlightenment on its side, but with all the power of the world against it, in the Western Barbarian nations, again won the day. Third, the present era, when the Church with all the wisdom and all the power on its side, has the task of winning the other two-thirds of the human race, the great non-Christian peoples of Africa and the East. The Church with all the wisdom and all the power on its side! Is that true even now? Will it not become less and less true every year, one ought perhaps to say every month because the change is so rapid? The march of science tends to cut the day of opportunity, in this respect, very short.

It might be out of place to make on these grounds, and in

this paper, a missionary appeal. But it will not be out of place to put in a reminder that Science and Christianity are, in our view, revealed by the same Lord, and that it is of His providence that we are living in the generation which is meant by Him to be the great epoch of the spread of both. Should it not be a matter of real concern to us to see that the advancing tide of Missions may keep pace with that of Science?

*Science in Medical Missions.*

Thus far the relation traced has been that of dependence by Missions on modern Science as a powerful ally. In at least one direction it is possible to show the relation *vice versa*. Here we may claim that missions have paved the way along which science moves to bless the world. It is in Medical Missions.

At the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in June, 1910, the Hon. W. Jennings Bryan made the following notable statement\* :—

“My presence at this Conference . . . is due to the fact that on a trip round the world I had a chance of visiting a number of mission stations and a number of colleges. . . . I was impressed by the fact that there is no organisation among men working altruistically for people in other lands except an organisation with religion at the back of it, and under it, and around it.”

Since he was taking part in a discussion on Educational Missions, Mr. Bryan naturally turned to an educational illustration and said :—

“There is no organisation that can cultivate an enthusiasm for education alone, sufficient to make the people who belong to it go down into their pockets and give money for people they do not know, but Christianity itself.”

He might almost equally well have used the illustration we have before us, that of surgical and medical science.

Doubtless Mr. Bryan's assertion would be made too sweeping if it were made to mean that only missionaries carry the blessings of Western enlightenment to the uncivilized nations. It is not to be forgotten that to a very large extent the Western races, when they undertake to govern more backward peoples, do provide schools and hospitals and all manner of blessings for their subjects. Yet even in such cases they often wait for Christian Missions to be their pioneers in this beneficence. And

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\* *Report*, vol. iii, p. 434.

further, it is here to be noticed that there are vast populations who are not subjects of Western races. Some of them, as they awake, do and will, no doubt, seek and obtain for themselves the gain to be had from Western science, including medicine and surgery. Sometimes they will acquire these things at their very best, and at high cost, as witness the Japanese Military Hospitals. Yet the broad fact stands true, that for vast regions of the world, where the blessings of medical and surgical science are most needed, where, until they arrive, their place is taken by unspeakable cruelties and abominations, it is in the main to Christian missions that the suffering multitudes must look for the boon of imported science.

It is one of the things for which Christendom may be most sincerely thankful, that in the Church's Medical Missions Science is giving of its very best, to vast populations in China, on the frontier of India and beyond it into the country of the wild hill tribes, in many a city of the great Moslem world and among the suffering tribes of Africa.

Here is an instance, told some years ago by a missionary from China, and once heard not to be easily forgotten :—

The Christian missionaries, trying to get a foothold in a great fanatical city, opened a Medical Mission. Something of their aim and methods was understood by the many young *litterati* of the place. With cruel ingenuity they set themselves to baffle the doctor. They sought out all the hopeless incurables they could find, and brought them round to the Medical Mission to confound the skill of the missionary. Even on that footing he was not altogether beaten. He could at least put some of them to bed and teach them, and be kind to them for a few days or weeks, while he waited for his opportunity. At last he scored his first point. The *litterati* made a mistake, they brought a supposed incurable, with some eye trouble, if memory serves, and the doctor could and did give some real relief. Thus began a new era. They began to realize that this Western Science could do wonderful things, and it was kind. Progress, however slow, might have been expected from that day. But an altogether unexpected incident occurred. Not far from the hospital, down by a river side, a terrible explosion took place at a powder factory. Many poor people were killed, many more dreadfully injured. The doctor, on arrival, found that for a number of the mangled sufferers, the kindest thought of the Chinese was to throw them at once into the river. Shortening their pain was perhaps one motive; a stronger one, may be, the relief of the survivors from a terrible burden

which they could not bear, of cases beyond their skill. The doctor thought he could do something if allowed, and with difficulty persuaded the people to let him have a few cases to treat in his hospital. In the end he succeeded with a fair proportion of his patients. The people were astonished, grateful, subdued. They could not do enough to honour the loving skill they had witnessed. This man must be the official doctor for their wounded soldiers, and the very *literati* who had done their utmost to thwart his first efforts, when no doubt their best name for him would have been, say, "Foreign Devil," came to him when his furlough was due, to make sure about the continuance of his work, and brought a fine address inscribed "to the Angelic Healer from over the Seas."

The gift was very definitely the gift of science, but the channel for it was opened by Christian Missions. To a very large extent this is still for China, for the Moslem world, and for other great tracts of the world the relation between Medical Science and Christian Missions. Science, as a power for good, owes its opportunity to Missions.

It may be worth while, however, to notice here, too, that this relation is, to a large extent, a passing phase of the world's history. The Missions will not long have the privilege of being the first and chief channel for this sort of beneficence.

Dr. Duncan Main, who has himself done yeoman's service in Hangchow as a medical missionary and trainer of native medical students, said at the Edinburgh Conference\* :—

"There is no medical education in China" (none, *i.e.*, as the context shows, in the normal course of things in China, no "qualification" for doctors). "There is no greater need to-day in China than for medical education. . . . Those of us who have been engaged in the medical education for more than a quarter of a century have had our hearts almost torn to pieces by the suffering, the agony, the awfulness of what was called Medical Science in China. The demand is tremendous, the demand is everywhere . . . the Government wants medical men, the railways want medical men, and they all want them. The demand from the Government is so great that we cannot keep sufficient men to carry on our own work." (This refers obviously to the trained native assistants.) The Government comes forward and says, "we will give you £15 and the Missionary Society are only giving you £1. . . ."

It is clear that the day is upon us when China will, in one

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\* *Report*, vol. iii, p. 432.

way or another, staff itself with trained doctors. At present the chief and the best channel is the Christian Mission, but the Missions' day of opportunity may not last long. While they have their day they are doing splendid service to science, by opening its door of usefulness.

Seeing that this is so, it may be permitted to missions to plead for one measure of special consideration in the medical schools.

From homes and schools where they are brought up in the Christian religion, there pass into the hospitals a number of young men and women to whom the experience must inevitably bring a severe testing of the faith of their childhood; particularly is this the case with young women. To some of them who are led to this experience by their sense of a Divine call to the Mission field it may be the most heart-searching period of their lives. No true friend of both religion and science would, of course, appeal against any freedom for fair give-and-take influence of each upon the other. The religious belief which cannot find room for science, truly so-called, does not seem worthy of its name. But the faith may be a tender plant. Its growth and vigour may be quite adequately tested and hardened by the inevitable interchange of ideas and opinions within the circle of student life. It might experience both a disastrous and an unfair struggle if it had to maintain itself against anything that seemed to come with the voice of authority, from the staff of teachers. Now, happily, there is good reason to believe that the noble body of scientific teachers are most honourable in this respect. They would have no desire to raise *gratuitously* doubts and difficulties for a believer in Christianity: and if occasion arises for any utterance on points in dispute they would be careful that when they speak *ex cathedra* it is only upon subjects which are within their proper province. The appeal is made that such care should be deliberately made universal.

Let it be felt that the convictions of the would-be missionary are, at least in this one respect, a precious possession for the whole medical profession. They may prove the most open channel by which its best may be given to the most needy of the world's sufferers. Let, then, the path of the missionary be looked upon as one where only malice or folly could think of deliberately placing a stumbling block. To embody this appeal in a paper before the Victoria Institute will, it is hoped, ensure it against any appearance either of enmity against science, or of fear lest true science be found in conflict with true religion.

*Missions and the Science of Morals.\**

While it is possible to trace, as has been done above in outline, mutual dependence of missions and science, it cannot be supposed that this relation is the whole of the story. It must be admitted that it is quite possible for some branches of missionary work, to enter into a sort of rivalry, if not a still less happy relation, with some forms of science. An example which comes most readily to mind is that of anthropology both as a theoretical science and even more where it is in any considerable degree an *applied* science. In the mission field of to-day the anthropologist is a sort of younger brother of the missionary. The non-Christian races and particularly the backward ones, occupy the attention of both. The missionary has often in the past been the best informant of the anthropologist, and sometimes his best pioneer in getting access to a shy or savage tribe. Sometimes, however, he is a formidable and yet possibly useful, critic of anthropological facts; and he would like to be the means, by his wonderfully enlightening gospel, of cutting short the life history of the so-called "primitive" conditions in which the backward races are still found.

It might appear, then, to be a case of parallel approach to great problems of human life and history, and it might be expected that mutual helpfulness and sympathy should result. Perhaps so. But there is one element in this case that is not usual. The place which has to be found for the knowledge of God makes a difference here which does not usually arise. The Science it may be admitted is no more anti-Christian or non-Christian than any other Science; but it is a very remarkable case of the inevitable limitations of Science on the religious side.

What we contrast with Missions is anthropology as it tries to read on scientific principles the riddle of the nature and history of man as a moral and religious being. Taking this problem on scientific grounds, just the same grounds, *mutatis mutandis*, as are taken by physics, chemistry, biology, and other branches of science, a theory of the evolution of morals, and even of the evolution of religion, holds the field to-day.

In Mr. Hobhouse's *Morals in Evolution*, which will serve as a good sample of books on the Science of Morals, recorded facts about standards of moral conduct and about the basis of these

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\* The writer apologises for reproducing on this subject part of an article in the *C.M.S. Review* for April, 1907.

standards in religious beliefs, or in philosophy and reason, are the materials used. A bewildering maze of moral customs among savages, in ancient beginnings of great civilisations, and at various stages of subsequent culture, are grouped somewhat after the manner of biological orders and genera. And, just as in biology fossils and living creatures are brought into one tree of life, with evolution as the secret of its history, so here, ancient races and modern, savage and civilized, are characterised and located by what is held to be an observed evolution.

Looking for the basis of morals, the author examines leading features of religious development. His position here is most important. He takes a long stride beyond the limits of science merely physical, but (and this is the essential point for our present purpose) he still stops short of any field of enquiry above and beyond man. Human institutions, and the ideas which men have as the basis of their institutions, are his study. We are shown "the character of the primitive conception of spirits," we meet the savage who "invents beings who are not mere spirits behind the objects that surround him, but are genuine mythical creations." At every turn gods and spirits are spoken of as being what the worshipper imagines them to be. Here are a few instances. "Often, as we know, the gods retain traces of their lowly origin." . . . "They control the great forces of nature and the main functions of life." . . . "They have their wives."

It is of course abundantly manifest that Mr. Hobhouse does not assert such things for our acceptance. It is a perfectly legitimate way of speaking of unreal beings so long as it only occurs where author and readers are agreed about the unreality. But the trouble is that, on the principles of his science, the Author has to go on upon the same lines when he deals with Judaism and Christianity, and he does. He seems to use the same sort of phraseology upon the same basis, as if Jehovah, too, were only what His worshippers imagine Him to be. "Yahveh was the God of Israel just as Chemosh was the god of Moab;" "He is not wholly without fear of the men that He has made"; "He is in magic fashion dangerous to His worshippers." There are a few pages about Christianity, but even that is discussed as a merely human matter; Christians teach and practise so-and-so. Only very rarely is anything said about the Founder Himself. His name does not occur in the index. The question of His Being is left entirely out of sight.

Something like this, it would seem, is what the Science of Morals and of Religion must be. It is easy to see how much it

must stand in contrast with the study of the same problems by the missionary. His business is to adjust relations, if he may, between living men and a living God. Before all else he looks for tokens of the presence, the working, the grace of the living God in the morals and religion of all the races of mankind. He wants to carry the knowledge of God revealed in Jesus Christ, and he watches keenly for any tokens of "broken lights," fragments of that knowledge, which are to be found already among his hearers. It must be very difficult for him to stand on the platform of the scientific anthropologist. Having the conviction that man is just as truly linked with God, the Superhuman, as he is with physical nature, he cannot but feel all the time that to follow the Science of Religion, as here outlined, is to work in a darkened workshop. The true light of heaven seems deliberately shut out; he would be examining man in unreal conditions because God is not recognised. The limitations are not the same as when, life being extinct, the body is dissected; but they are, he feels, parallel limitations, for to him man without God is no more the real human being than is the body without life.

Here then is a notable case in which missions bring men to the side of certain students of Science, whose work must deeply interest them, may greatly enlighten them so far as it goes, and yet must seem to them most gravely limited, if not spoilt, just by the fact that it is scientific.

Is it not just because Science is what it is that the Science of religion and of morals must be so unsatisfying?

Dr. Jevons in his *Religion in Evolution* truly points out that it is of the nature of the conclusions of science to be commonly in need of "correction," of subsequent adjustment, that is, to considerations which deliberately were left out of sight while science did its work; and he clearly indicates the existence of God as among those omitted considerations.

"Science and the theory of evolution are built upon the understanding that science must go on its way quite unhampered by the question whether there is, or is not a God. As far as science and evolution are concerned that question is not raised; it is assumed that we do not know, and for the purposes of science do not require to know. And so long as we adhere to that assumption, the position of science remains unmoved."

Perhaps it may seem that in spite of any peculiar disadvantage attaching to this theoretical science, the Christian missionary may go his way unhindered by it, if not able to gather from its studies much light and guidance for his own work. Largely

that is true, and no doubt some very valuable work, done for missionary purposes in the way of comparative religion and comparative ethics, owes a great deal to the parallel studies of the scientific anthropologist.

But, as was suggested above, there is more trouble when the science comes to application. Where, then, does that happen? It is of course a familiar fact that the theoretical scientist is often not the man to apply his theory. The writer of books on anthropology may be a very different person from the man who, somewhere, applies to practical life the results of the science of religion or of morals.

The sphere of application which will be noticed here is that wherein the attempt is to be made to make men and women moral without religion. There seems a grave danger of that perilous enterprise being undertaken on a large scale.

Commission V of the Edinburgh Conference said,\* "The modern missionary situation is profoundly affected by the fact that Western education is being given, and will be increasingly given, throughout Asia and Africa *apart from the Church of Christ*. We are confronted by the fact that the children of far more than half of the human race may within the next generation be educated without any reference to those spiritual truths which are the only real and permanent support of social order and personal morality. What has happened in Japan must come to be the case in India and China, most probably in Turkey, and, in time perhaps, throughout Africa. The Japanese Government have created a complete system of universal education. While moral instruction is required in all secondary schools, the entire system is, and must be, non-religious, for where modern education is given non-Christian religion cannot live. . . . No one who knows what part even the poorest religion has played in sustaining social bonds, in affording sacred sanctions for the crudest code of morality, can view this situation without the deepest anxiety."

We see too the civilised West deliberately educating and influencing India, Egypt, and many parts of Africa on almost identical principles.

It may be fairly held that in such cases, at the best, the proposal is to apply on a grand scale scientific ethics.

The case of Egypt affords a most interesting example, and it can be well studied in the frank discussion of the problem by Lord Cromer in his *Modern Egypt*†. Setting before his country

\* *Report*, p. 7.

† Vol. ii, pp. 564, 130, 132.

the aim of producing and leaving behind in Egypt, "a fairly good, strong, and—above all things—stable government," Lord Cromer pictures the English statesman as confidently expecting to be able "to benefit the mass of the population"; and, as to his principles, he says he "will in his official capacity discard any attempt to proselytise, he will endeavour to inculcate a distinctly Christian code of morality as the basis for the relations between man and man. He is indeed guided in this direction by the lights, which have been handed down to him by his forefathers, and by the Puritan blood which still circulates in his veins." That is the science of morals applied at its best. It is not Christianity, for the attempt is to keep the highest known morality, which is Christian, without the specific Christian basis.

So far as it is right to judge of this problem as one of ethics without religion, it will come within the scope of Dean Wace's excellent paper on that subject read before the Victoria Institute on May 21st, 1900; a paper dealing it may be remembered with the theories of "the Society of Ethical Propagandists." With characteristic fairness and wisdom the Dean showed, not indeed that the loss of the Christian faith must mean the ruin of all morals, but that the highest morality may well be dependent on the truth of the Christian revelation, and he closed his paper with these words, "If that theology could not be maintained, it would, indeed, be unworthy of human nature to say that all morality must go with it. But it would be true that the highest glory of morality, and its profoundest source would be removed."

Whether the non-religious Ethics can succeed was interestingly discussed in a chapter of *Ecce Homo* on the "Nature of Christ's Society." The following are a few sentences from that chapter.

"Christianity then, and moral philosophy are totally different things, and yet profess to have the same object, namely, the moral improvement of mankind . . . Each has its function, and philosophy undertakes quite another sort of moral improvement than Christianity. The difference may be shortly expressed thus:—Both endeavour to lead men to do what is right, but philosophy undertakes to explain what it is right to do, while Christianity undertakes to make men disposed to do it."  
 . . . "Some machinery is wanted which may evoke the good impulses, cherish them, and make them masters of the bad ones . . . Philosophy has no instruments that it can use for this purpose. There exists no other such instrument but that personal one of which Christ availed Himself."

If we allow some very considerable margin for improvements in the science of morals in the forty years since *Ecce Homo* was written, and if we thankfully admit that much practical experience has been gained in the meanwhile by honest labour, nevertheless we must still conclude that, standing one against another, the science of morals cannot claim to show a proved success, while Christian missions are more and more able to claim that they show no proved failure—no proved failure, that is, of the Christian religion to provide an adequate moral standard and power for all those peoples who truly live by the “grace and truth” of its Founder; and in *e.g.*, Korea, Uganda, Tierra-del-Fuego, the Southern Seas and the Arctic home of the Esquimaux they have some most encouraging cases of success in the conquest of new territories. For much of the world, there must be, sooner or later, this choice between Christian missions and this limited Science, and the former are not well satisfied to leave the field to the science of morals. They are rivals. Further, if the Science should in any case be favoured by the powers that be to the hindrance of missions, the latter will, as in a measure they already do, protest against unwise exclusion or unjust restriction.

*Missions and Marvels.*

It has not seemed important to point out how much the Christian Missionaries have done for Science as explorers, collectors, and pioneers. Such help is incidental and not rendered by reason of their Christianity. But there is one direction, at least, in which the Mission, by its very nature, opens up a special field of enquiry for Science and submits some striking phenomena for explanation.

It is, of course, true that even in the familiar circumstances of our home life the service of Christ occasions remarkable tokens of a Divine providence, and of the fact that our daily life is lived close upon the borders of a world of mystery. Here, at home, we are in touch with the living God, and where He, the Infinite, is found there is sure to be mystery. But to a degree far exceeding the common experience of the Christian in England, we are assured that Providence and Mystery are manifested in the Mission Field. There is obvious reason to expect this, if it be true that Missions are the extension of the Kingdom of God by a process of conquest over “World rulers of this darkness,”\* as St. Paul said they were in his

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\* Eph. vi, 12.

day. The mission-field is then the most likely place to find experiences parallel, in the conflict between light and darkness, between good and evil, to those of our Lord Himself and His Apostles.

It seems to the writer certain beforehand that no such marvels will be found as will compel belief in the intervention of God. Not even the miracles in the Gospel records do that, and they were not intended to do it. It would therefore be of little use to set out a series of instances of supposed special providences, of wonderful answers to prayer, of spiritual revivals, of demon possession and exorcism, if the idea were to find an argument for the existence and working of God which could not be refuted. After very severe sifting of its authenticity, a story must always be open still to any possible efforts to explain away what may be subjective belief only, or delusion, or coincidence; and it would be only to court defeat to offer an instance supposed to be able to defy doubt on all such points. The suggestion is not that these events and experiences prove anything. It is that they occur with such frequency and with such remarkable features as to demand the attention of anyone who maintains that "miracles do not happen," or who would dogmatically assert that the human race comes nowhere into experimental touch with the super-human. It may perhaps just be added that, for what it is worth, this evidence would generally be presented from the mission-field as betokening evil influences beyond the human, quite as really as the super-human good.

#### *Missions and the Teaching of Science.*

There is one broad aspect of mutual relations not yet referred to, which calls for recognition as of growing importance. It is the place of science in the general enlightenment of Africa and the East, and its bearing on missions.

There is little to be said here save that the relation is, on the whole, a quite happy one.

Christian missions mean propaganda for the best religion, and it has been well said by Prof. Gwatkin\* that "the word of science to religion seems everywhere the same. The highest ideal may be true, but the lower must be false. So science has been a destroying spirit and has filled the temple of truth with ruins. But the things she has destroyed were only idols.

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\* *The Knowledge of God*, vol. ii, p. 278.

Religion—the highest ideal—she has placed on a firmer throne than ever.”

Commission V of the Edinburgh Conference said, “The atmosphere of historical knowledge, of even elementary science, still more of advanced metaphysics and psychology, of astronomy and natural history, is fatal to any faith in the gods and modes of worship of the non-Christian world.”

So far therefore as missions require to break down the power of the non-Christian religions they find in science a powerful ally, an irresistible force rapidly doing for them this part of their work.

This could not be a truthful statement of the case if science had at all the same bearing on the best religion, on Christianity itself. But there is no evidence that it has. There was at the Edinburgh Conference evidence, on all hands, that the mission authorities, by conviction and experience, are assured that their cause is not hindered but served by giving the very best of Western knowledge, science included, to all the world; and further, it is just because missions are Christian that the leaders see they must undertake to give their best.

Dr. Hawkes Pott, of Shanghai\*, said, “The need of efficiency (in missionary education that is) has been put before you on the ground that we are faced with Government competition. . . . That opinion seems to me not to place the need of efficiency upon the highest ground. When the Christian Church takes up the work of education, it is bound to give the very best, because the Christian religion, of all religions in the world, recognises the fact that all truth comes from one source . . . and it is not only our privilege but our bounden duty to give all the truth which the European mind has thus far been able to apprehend.”

To the same point Professor Moore, of Harvard, said, “We need a Christian system of education . . . held in absolute respect . . . because of its educational value, because of its educational integrity, and because it commands intellectual respect in every regard.”

And Bishop Roots,† of Hankow, appealed “to the Universities of the West to unite their forces as Universities in bringing to the Chinese people the very best that we have in our Western education.”

The principle, embodied in its report‡ by the Edinburgh

\* *Report*, vol. iii, p. 428.

† P. 436.

‡ P. 198.

Commission on Education, that since "Heathenism is a debased form of life, accompanied by distorted views of material phenomena," therefore, "in the educational policy of missionary societies, emphasis should now be laid . . . upon systematic study of nature," is in general the principle of Christian missions.

It is a claim as true as it is splendid, that Professor Gwatkin makes\* for our religion, that "it is a plain matter of history that modern science is the nursling of Christianity"; and his suggestion is a notable one that "Christianity is the only religion which could become quite supreme without limiting the field of science."

Christian missions are, on ever new ground, maintaining this happy relation with all useful branches of scientific education, and presumably as the demand grows, so will the supply, if only the ranks of missionaries with scientific qualifications can be at all adequately recruited. It is a great appeal that the missions make on this account to our Universities. Perhaps it is a little surprising that up to the present the extent has not been greater and the standard higher of science teaching in the mission-field, whether in Government or mission schools. But a recent enquiry at the Student Volunteer Offices for a possible science teacher for a mission school elicited the remark that just at present it is especially science teaching that is in demand. The scientists with the Christian missionary spirit seem likely soon to be, as would naturally be expected, the most needed men and women in the Church of Christ. Commission V of the Edinburgh Conference, on the Preparation of Missionaries, came across the need of scientific knowledge for modern missionaries, and strongly advocated an element of science in the training of all missionaries. They quote one missionary as saying,† "I do not think any missionary should be allowed out who has not some grounding of knowledge of the constitution of the physical universe in which we live. Such knowledge is being diffused all through the east, and it is deplorable when a missionary's ignorance is shown up thereon. 'If you cannot tell me of earthly things, how shall I believe when you tell me of heavenly things?'"

It has been intended in this paper to avoid the discussion of mutual relations between science and religion as such. Christianity has been as far as possible always viewed in the one aspect

\* *The Knowledge of God*, vol. ii, p. 272.

† *Report*, vol. v, p. 111.

of its extension in our own day, among foreign non-Christians. It must, of course, remain true that Christian missions have their share in all the general influences of science upon religion, and upon Christianity in particular. These are matters not seldom discussed and not without their great encouragements, yet with some distresses and difficulties for the Christian pastor and evangelist. Non-Christian and anti-Christian writings of men of some mark in the world of science are not without their effect at home, and it is the same in the mission field.

"China is being flooded with translations of Agnostic literature. The effects produced at home by the works of Haeckel, Huxley, Grant Allen, and the publications of the rationalistic press are being reproduced in China. In Manchuria a 'No God' society has made its appearance, founding itself upon the Agnostic literature of the West."\* But these conditions, though new and of serious meaning in the East, are left on one side here, as being sure to arise everywhere as civilisation makes progress, and not special in any way to Christian Missions.

For the same reason nothing has been said of the splendid help to the cause of Christianity afforded by the utterances by men of science, of their sincere faith in Christ. It may suffice to allude to the notable series of testimonies collected by the Rev. G. T. Manley from such men, and set out by him before Indian students.†

This sketch of the relations between science and Christian Missions has been offered for the reader's consideration, at the request of a representative of the Institute. It cannot claim to have gone beyond the obvious and the superficial. Nevertheless it may perhaps serve the purpose of inviting some little more attention to a really important matter, viz., the crisis, now reached in the world's history, for all that is being done to extend the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. It may attract afresh the notice of a few to the tremendous meaning for the whole world of a transformation which is taking place, in which it is difficult to say whether it is science or missionary enterprise which has played, and which yet has to play the greater part. It should also be for what it is worth some testimony to the fact that as allies, with full mutual trust, science and missions can best make the way that God intends for them in His world.

\* *Edinburgh Report.*

† *The Views of Modern Science, C.M.S. 1d.*

Together they should work, so long as science does not make this impossible for itself, as perhaps it sometimes may, by too rigidly adhering to methods, and by submitting only results which are of little worth until "corrected," for the very existence and working of God. Together they should work, and as both under His richest blessing should they contribute to the fulfilling of the prophecy of two scriptures that "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."\*

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Baylis had used the word science in a broad and popular sense, as expressing the study and knowledge of natural phenomena; but he had recognized that there was also a Science of ethics and not less a Science of religion. True science in its enquiries should neglect no phenomena whether natural or supernatural which affect the subject of its research or its conclusions. Research remains unscientific if it fails in this respect. The Chairman had long felt that the argument which Mr. Baylis had used in his very temperate observations upon the limitations of some anthropologists, might be applied with equal reason to many of the conclusions of the Biblical critic. They were very much what an apostle had described long ago as "words which man's wisdom teacheth." They are the products of human reason rising no higher than the plane of human thought, inconclusive till "corrected" by the recognition of spiritual facts.

Referring to the lecturer's remarks about the influence on the mind of ignorant people produced by applied science, he could confirm what had been said from the experience of his two sons in West Africa. The native savage, attracted and impressed by a magnet, a watch, or a gramophone, is often the more willing to listen to the missionary's message. On the other hand if Missions owe something to Science, he was convinced that Science owed as much, if not more, to Missions.

Bishop THORNTON was invited from the Chair to make a few remarks. He said: I really have nothing to challenge in this paper though I have examined it most critically. It has filled me with

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\* Is. xi, 9; Hab. ii, 14.

admiration, and my own experience fully confirms certain curious phenomena Mr. Baylis has referred to. Science ought to take cognisance of the manifestations of spiritual power whether evil or good; they are very real, and no one sees more of them than the missionary. I am sure we are all deeply indebted to Mr. Baylis for his admirable paper.

The SECRETARY read the following communication from the Rev. Canon DODSON, Principal, S. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh R.S.O., Lincs. :—The subject is an interesting one, wide and varied, and lies along a hitherto little-trodden path. I gather, from the speaker's handling of it, that he intends the term "Science" to be treated in a pretty comprehensive sense.

1. I should like to emphasise what Mr. Baylis says (on p. 103 (c)) about the warning suggested by the forward march of Western scientific knowledge in the East, for it would be unsatisfactory work to observe effects without drawing out what is their lesson. Repeatedly I had it said to me in India by non-Christian students of the College in which I formerly worked there, "I am no Hindu, my studies of Physical Science here have made that impossible, but I have nothing in place of my old belief." As nature abhors a vacuum, we may feel sure that *something* will come in to fill that void; and *there* lies an illustration of the "menace" to which Mr. Baylis refers. If we are, and cannot help being, responsible for this destructive process, we are surely no less bound to the conduct of a constructive enterprise—to anticipate *other* constructions; and surely the only constructive undertaking worth the labour of the double work is that represented by Christian missionary effort. Hence the present "decisive hour" in this direction.

2. Whilst Science is thus dissolving ancient systematised creeds amongst the more civilised non-Christian peoples of the East, other departments of scientific research have—especially in recent years—immensely enlightened, uplifted, and strengthened our Christian knowledge. This of course, in spite of natural suspicion in earlier days, but inevitable in the long run, since both Science and the Christian system deal with the working of the same God. It seems to me, *e.g.*, that the amount we owe to scientific research for a truer understanding of the Old Testament cannot be too gratefully acknowledged, and because "of the *Old Testament*," therefore also of the *New*; this increase of truth means increased strength; and

for the missionary in daily contact with rival faiths, almost more than for ministers in lands where Christianity is more or less established. I wish I had time to draw out this point into instances.

3. In another direction Science has greatly strengthened ability to represent Christianity as a continuously *historical* religion, which is not only founded and built up throughout on historical facts, but which alone gives one persistent unifying meaning to the whole history of mankind in every locality, type, and age. This is a contribution of almost equal value for missionary work whether amongst a people like the Chinese, with a constitutional reverence for history and continuous historical relationships, or amongst the Brahmins of India, who have so recently become keenly alive to their losses through neglect of the historical faculty hitherto.

4. However antagonistic Science may at one time and in certain minds have thought herself towards many of the Christian doctrines, it is not so now : the leaders of Science in the present day recognise the limits to scientific research, and largely acknowledge that those limits bring us to a line where they find Christian truths to be probable and possible—which is well-nigh all that the Christian apologist claims to show. Here, then, again we find a sisterly relationship between Science and Christianity—and therefore a valuable assistance from the former to the work of the missionary among the more literate non-Christian races. Indeed it is for work among the more intellectual peoples that the relationship of Science comes in more especially, rather than for that among the more barbarous. At the same time, as Mr. Baylis' paper points out, amongst the latter—no less than the former—the contribution of Science enters with full force into the work of Medical Missions ; and I would add, in many branches of what are called Industrial Missions also.

5. For his own personal equipment, apart from his presentation of the Christian system to others, Science has brought much aid to the missionary : *e.g.*—

- (a) One of his occasional temptations amidst specially backward races lies in the opinion so often hastily adopted by the globe-trotter or the worldly-minded employer of native labour, that the barbarous peoples may, after all, be of a different species from ourselves. But here Science—now well-nigh unanimous on the subject—comes in with steady

finger to point him once more to his Bible-doctrine of the unity of the whole human family. And, similarly, from its insistence upon the unity in the Universe it supports his faith in a single Creator with a single mind for all His creatures. It is not *all* missionaries who are attacked in this particular way—each has his own personal difficulties in the mission-field—but *some* are.

(b) Science has largely helped to develop the scientific mind in the practical principles of missionary organisations and workers. The widespread idea in the minds of many business people—which, even though probably out of date, lingers on because it often requires time for impressions (as sometimes for persons) to realise that there is no longer reason for them to usurp the whole field—that much missionary work has been planned, financed, and conducted on unscientific lines has not been without justification in the past. But Science, or its anthropological side, has—though it did not create it—so enormously developed the study of comparative religions as to have practically shifted the standpoint of missionary policy on to a new, and much surer, foothold.

(c) In the same personal connection with regard to the missionary, must be noted the priceless contributions of Science towards the physical health of the missionary as a man. Thus the change brought about in the health-record of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa during recent years, though the enforcement by its Medical Board of the suggestions of modern Science as to the sanitation of dwellings and their surroundings, the frequency of furlough, the standard of health to be reached before return from furlough, etc., can be described as nothing short of a revolution. In the same way tells the value of inoculation against plague, amongst Indian missionaries. And I understand that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has so strongly realised the value of inoculation against typhoid as to have considered the possibility of enforcing, and to have decided upon the advisability of urging, it upon all its missionaries.

Owing to the extreme brevity (only two days) of the notice that

I might possibly make any contribution to the discussion of Mr. Baylis' interesting paper, and owing to heavy pressure of immediate engagements at the moment, I am conscious that the above are but disconnected remarks, possibly of little or no service, and certainly poorly expressed; and it is therefore a duty to add that, if in my haste I have so worded any of them as to suggest anywhere an impression of inconsistency with any principle of the full Christian position, such impression does not represent my mind, and I would wish to cancel any wording or reasoning which may have seemed to warrant it.

The SECRETARY also read the following from Dr. C. F. HARFORD:—

I am very much obliged to you for sending me the interesting particulars about the Victoria Institute. I have the greatest possible sympathy with the aims and objects of the Institute which I think was never more needed than at the present time.

It seems to me that a great aim of a large number of theologians of the day seems to be to accentuate the possible divergencies between scientific and philosophical thought and revelation. I consider that this is wholly unscientific on their part and needs to be met by co-operation on the part of scientific men.

I hope that in the discussion at the meeting it may not be forgotten that in medical matters Missions have done a great deal for science. Our Medical Missionaries all over the world are contributing to science, and in a Society of which I have the honour of being one of the Secretaries, the Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, we particularly value the co-operation of Medical Missionaries and have had many papers from them. Perhaps too the fact of Livingstone College training ordinary Missionaries to go out and help to spread the effects of science concerning health all over the world may be regarded as in some sense a contribution of Christian Missions to science.

Mr. SCHWARTZ said: I congratulate the lecturer on the broad, tolerant, and moderate paper which he has written. Such extracts as "Science and Christianity are in our view revealed by the same Lord." "Man is just as truly linked with God the Super-human as he is with physical nature." "Before all else he (the missionary) looks for tokens of the presence, the working, the grace, of the living God, in the morals and religion of all the races of mankind," are all

very admirably put, but do not appear to support the contention that Christianity alone is inspired and that other religious systems are the reverse. I fully admit that the teachings of Christ are indeed the supreme revelation of God, as suitable for the low-type savage's guidance, as they are for our late noble Queen Victoria ; but the pseudo-Christianity of pre-Christian Paganism and post-Christian metaphysics now offered to the heathen has not in my opinion obtained even the moderate amount of success claimed by our fair-minded lecturer. The contention that "Christianity is the only religion that could become quite supreme without limiting the field of science," and description of Heathenism as a "debased form of life" is perhaps hardly fair ; it is true of original Christianity, but must we refuse it to original Buddhism ? As Sir Edwin Arnold forcibly expresses it in the introduction to *The Light of Asia*. The extravagances that disfigure the record and practice of Buddhism are to be referred to that inevitable degradation which priesthoods always reflect upon great ideas committed to their charge. The power and authority of Gautama's original doctrines should be estimated by their influence not by their interpreters. This is also largely true of Christianity likewise, the Christian middle ages, nay, parts of Spain and Southern Italy to-day, are little above the "debased Heathenism," and are certainly as superstitious and anti-scientific. "That science helps the missionary by the prestige it inevitably gives him" that he is described as the "angelic healer from over the sea" is true, but is it quite honest to take advantage of the superstitious linking of the magic-medicine man with religion, to inspire, awe, and deceive ? If done frankly in Christian brotherly-love and following the example of Christ it is wholly admirable, but let there be no trading in superstition. The author's statement that "missions are likely to be the hottest field of battle between the forces for and against the religion of Jesus Christ" is undoubtedly true, but I think that he will frankly admit that there are many orthodox people at home who, like Canon Taylor, do not support missions as at present carried on, and many ecclesiastics and laymen abroad who hold aloof from them.

I read last Saturday in the *Edinburgh Review* that in Uganda "Missionaries taught that polygamy was wicked and tried to introduce monogamy which, unsuited to the past habits and present civilisation of the people, has led to a great deterioration of

feminine virtue, and has been attended with effects no less appalling than sleeping sickness."

Our lecturer also refers to the "part that even the poorest religion has played in sustaining social bonds and affording sacred sanctions for the crudest code of morality."

With respect to morals I am an humble student of anthropology and I fail to see why the natural evolution of morality from crude beginnings should not fit as easily into modern conceptions of an ultimate inspired revelation through Christ as physical evolution has been made to do without destruction of Faith. I thoroughly agree with our lecturer that a philosophical basis of morals is unsuited as motive power alone.

Mr. BAYLIS in reply said: I owe an apology to the meeting for not making it clear that my quotation on the top of p. 116 from the *World's Missionary Conference Report* only refers to the lower forms of heathenism; I do not think it would be fair, and it was not intended, to apply it to all.

The remark which the last speaker took exception to, as to Christianity being the only religion which could become quite supreme without limiting the field of science, is Professor Gwatkin's, and I believe it to be perfectly true. It is impossible for all the old religions of the East to hold their own in face of the progress of modern science.

I shall be happy to reply to Mr. Schwartz's strictures on the work in Uganda by sending him full evidence direct from the field which will correct his statements, and I hope satisfy him that missions have been a real success there, as I have said. With regard to another point he has raised I wish to say that so far from monogamy being a failure in Uganda, the native parliament in Uganda has passed a law requiring monogamy, and the first prosecutions for bigamy have lately taken place.

514TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

MONDAY, MARCH 6TH, 1911, 4.30 P.M.

D. HOWARD, ESQ., D.L., F.C.S., F.I.C. (VICE-PRESIDENT),  
IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following elections were announced :—

Member : The Rev. C. C. B. Bardsley, M.A., London.

Associates : T. F. Victor Buxton, Esq., M.A., Herts.

The Rev. P. Rose, Worcestershire.

Hon. Member : The Rev. F. Baylis, M.A., Surrey.

The CHAIRMAN introduced the Rev. Isaac Gregory Smith, LL.D., who then read the following paper :—

*PSYCHOLOGY.*

By Dr. GREGORY SMITH.

Dr. GREGORY SMITH said (in substance, the Lecture was without MS. or notes) :—

I CONSIDER it an honour to be here ; but I must apologise for my age, which is almost nearer 90 than 80 ; I trust to your tolerance and leniency. I do not apologise for the subject. It is one of deepest interest to everyone practically. We all remember from early days how urgent the question was, "What is this house in which I live ? What is Self ? What am I ?" The little world in man is the most wonderful of all wonders. His environment is very interesting, but the question of Self touches all men more nearly. The study of psychology is the foundation of ethic, and ethic is the foundation of religion. We are apt to leave the subject too much to books, to separate it from actual life. If you have

been students, whether of ancient or modern works, on the subject, am I not right in saying, that just in proportion as a philosopher takes the subject actually, he has a lasting hold upon you. The greatest of all philosophers, Aristotle, in the keen analysis of character and motives which lead to action, is unrivalled; personally, I have derived much also from Locke and the Scotch school of thought. Let us not mix psychology in our minds with ontology or transcendental metaphysic. These soaring aspirations after the unknowable lose touch with what is actual in our lives.

Let us now pass from the general question to the particular. Do you remember the old saying, "Cedit quæstio"? We often misunderstand it. It does not mean "This settles the matter"; it is really the beginning, not the end. Someone projects something, throws it down for discussion. This is the office of a lecturer. He suggests a question for consideration. I am trying to do this to-day. You will supply what is lacking on my part, and correct what is amiss. We must not forget that psychology is progressive. How can it stand still while other sciences are moving on? It is a vital question. We are face to face with materialism, which is making tremendous strides. What would be said of a general who attempts to defend an indefensible post? You younger men far than I will see materialism claiming for itself a great deal of what we have regarded as spiritual. We ought to know where we stand, and draw the line between that in man which is material and the Will. We have called mind and matter two separate things. Let us look carefully at this. In the laboratories it may be shown by-and-by that the mind moves like a machine, goes like clockwork. But the will intervenes; it controls, unless indeed it abdicates its true functions. It exercises supreme authority. I avoid the word "demonstrate." If you get beyond numbers, there can be no demonstrative proof. We must be content with the limitations of our probation and we shall be wise to fall back upon Bishop Butler's wise advice, "Be content with what is probable."

You remember Wordsworth's fine "Ode on Immortality"? Speaking of our birth into this world he says,

"Trailing clouds of glory do we come."

But is it so really? All that we have at starting on the journey of life—a scanty equipment, yet capable of almost endless possibilities—seems to be this; mentally, the sense, that a thing is or is not; emotionally, that a thing is either to

be sought or shunned. What Grote has said of thought, that it is "glorified sensation," is true also of desire. Hope, fear, joy, sorrow, etc., all the many tinted passions, which play so large a part in life, are the outgrowth of the baby's immature cravings for whatever catches its eye; and as intellect and emotion spring out of sensation in the first instance, so they are continually nurtured as they grow by contact with things outside themselves. It would take too long now to try to show in detail how thought and emotion are evolved and stimulated by material objects, and how they seem inseparably connected with the varying phases of brain and heart. Those who are expert in physiology can tell us best.

Memory, imagination, logic, as Grote has well said, are not separate faculties, but only different functions of the mind. All testify to the material character of their origin and gradual development. Memory and logic are obviously each a chain of many links. Imagination, the synthesis of mind and emotion, mechanically calls up a series of pictures following one another like the slides in a magic lantern. The sequence of thoughts, the sequence of emotions is, normally, regular as the tickings of a clock. It is a long way from a child's first glimmerings of perception to Shakespeare's "Hamlet" or Goethe's "Faust"—a long way from a child's first cry for food and warmth to the insatiable cupidity of a Napoleon. But in both cases alike the inception and the fulfilment are material. *But the Will chooses, whether the thought, the desire, shall be permitted or not.* I have a book in the press on this subject. Time forbids more now on this part of our subject.

The Will—this is the question of questions—is it free ?

Let us begin by conceding all that we are bound to concede to the determinist and admit that emotions and intellect can react upon the will. The Czar is a despot, but he is influenced by those around him. So the Pontiff in Rome. The will, in like manner is swayed by thought and emotion, and yet has to decide. How far those and other circumstances, in any instance, have exercised a constraint over the will is often very difficult to define. The will may be swayed to and fro by the force of these passing winds; yet every moment we are choosing. If two billiard balls are launched towards each other with equal force and meet, what follows from the impact ? A labouring man going home passes a public house where he can have a drink, and the temptation comes. A little way ahead he sees the light in the window of his home drawing him there. Both motives are strong. He does not stand stock still

like the ass between two bundles of hay equally attractive, which could not decide which to attack and died of starvation. The will must decide. When your watch goes wrong, it knows not regret nor remorse; but *we* know that the right thing has not been done, and that the responsibility lies with us for not doing it.

My last words must be of a different kind. If we grasp this important truth, that our mental and emotional faculties are not the Self, it is easier to imagine the life beyond this. The rich man does not take his money there. Apply this thought to persons more gifted than others mentally. If these were part of the personality and not the robe which wraps the person, would not those who are not clever be grievously handicapped as compared with others? Again, we have to estimate ourselves and others rightly. Can we do it fairly and reasonably unless we bear in mind that the intention, that is the will, is the main factor in the sum? We must make allowance for drawbacks and disadvantages. Circumstances which seem to be part of us are yet not the Self, but only belong to it. The choice which the Will makes, the decision between right and wrong is what man is responsible for. "Judge ye what I say."

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said: We have all listened with very great interest to this suggestive address. We have heard of progressive psychology, but let us consider what progress really means. I would warn those who are younger than I am against the temptation to think that a new nomenclature is a new science, a mere restatement is not real progress.

The problem of psychology is an old one, and I really doubt if there is much progress since Aristotle, Aquinas, and Locke dealt with it.

For myself no advance of materialism can rid me of the feeling that came upon me in my father's garden that I, a small boy 65 years ago, was *I*, that I was not the garden and not anyone else.

A fuller knowledge of the physical machinery of thought may dim our apprehension of the individual will behind the brain, but it is still there.

A man driving a horse over a common evidently goes where the stronger of the two wills directs ; a train weighing hundreds of tons seems governed by merely physical laws as it rushes onward, but the fate of the train and all the passengers is governed by the judgment and will of the man in the signal box who, with a touch on a lever, turns it right or wrong at a junction.

Lieut.-Colonel ALVES said : I want to ask the speaker two questions. First, what is ontology, and second, what is the soul ? I have a fairly clear idea of what spirit and body are, but what is the soul ? In Genesis ii we are told, "Man became a living soul," but in the Bible even fish are spoken of as living souls, and we have the expression "Love the Lord thy God with all thy soul," as different from heart, mind, and strength. What is the soul ? Is it generated through union of spirit and matter, or is it the combination of these two ? Without doubt the proportions of a person's brain affect his feelings, making him, as regards this life and the next, either cheerful or despondent, without any real reason for either of such feelings. The material element in man affects unquestionably his "soul's" views of things, and must not be confounded with the things themselves ; nor must we confound the corrupted spirit of the natural life, the property of every man with the Divine Spirit, the property of regenerated man alone.

Colonel Alves subsequently communicated the following :—

It seems to me that the Church generally has fallen into error from deriving its idea of the "soul" from heathen philosophy instead of the Bible, making it for all without exception, either the essential individual existing from eternity to eternity, or else something implanted in each individual at or before birth, being specially created for the purpose by the Almighty, and, of course, absolutely sinless.

This doctrine leads, I think, to one of two conclusions :—(1) Pure Pelagianism, or, (2) Evil lying in matter, tainting the sinless soul. Neither conclusion is scriptural.

Our Lord's incarnation is spoken of by many as a "great mystery." It seems to me to be the solution of a great mystery. In His case, the Holy Ghost quickened the form from which grew the material part of His human nature ; and in this material part, derived from His mother, herself a sinner and needing a Saviour, resided no sin.

We know also that "in Adam all die," and that Eve is "the mother of all living." Is it not then to be inferred that by the fall, the natural spirit of human life became tainted, this taint affecting the material—otherwise untainted element.

The heavens had probably become unclean before Adam's creation, by reason of Satan's fall; the natural breath of life passing through Divinity would, for Adam, become purified, rendering him sinless; but, not being itself Divine, leaving him in a condition in which he was liable to fall, "aseptic," not "antiseptic."

If, as I am inclined to think, the "Soul" is the combination of Spirit, natural for all men, and Divine also for Christians only, with the body, all separated at death, the Divine Spirit alone being reunited to the Christian's body in Resurrection, the command to sanctify the "Soul" (set it on the Lord's side) becomes intelligible instead of mysterious.

These remarks are not given as dogma, but to promote thought and enquiry into the matter from Holy Scripture, which alone can throw any light on this particular branch of the subject of "Psychology."

The Rev. JOHN TUCKWELL, M.R.A.S., said: We have all listened I am sure with very great interest to this paper. Like the last speaker, I could not help feeling that there were many questions I should like to have had answered. May I say how the matter presents itself to me? All our psychology and all our philosophy must begin with self-consciousness. It is our self-consciousness which gives the denial to pantheism, and it is our self-consciousness which determines our personality and individuality. How early self-consciousness begins in the infant mind we do not know. Probably very early. Then from self-consciousness we proceed to the discovery of many other faculties possessed by the self-conscious being. But in order that these faculties may be exercised upon the external world, we are endowed with a physical organisation. The power, however, to receive impressions and to produce effects resides in the person, the *ego*; it is the *ego* that sees not the eye, and the *ego* is able to exert itself in proportion to the strength or efficiency of the physical organisation. Our reason, imagination and memory appear to be dependent upon organic conditions.

I should like to have heard from our lecturer what the "new psychology" has to say concerning the evidence for spiritual

existences apart from material organisms. What is the value of the alleged evidence of spiritism? Then there is the question of the so-called "subliminal consciousness." Wherein does this differ from what used to be called "unconscious cerebration" or the unconscious growth of ideas in the mind? In the sphere of religious experience is what we call conversion, the uprushing of the sub-conscious self? And if so, how does this affect what we have been accustomed to regard as the work of the Holy Spirit? Does it put conversion into a new category? A man awakens suddenly to the idea that he may become a painter or an author, he determines and determines successfully that he will. Does such an uprush of conscious capability belong to the same category as religious conversion? Personally, I do not think so. But I should like to have had the difference discussed.

In dealing with the will the speaker was not so clear as one could have wished. There is a danger of confusing the will with the person. The will is a faculty just as is the reason, the imagination, or the memory. There is an *ego* behind the will. The Greeks distinguished between the two by the use of the verb *ἐθέλω*. Strictly speaking, the question is not that of the "freedom of the will," but are we free to will? The will is the faculty or power of self-determination.

Eventually, I suppose it is only the physical that is dropped. Everything affecting the *ego* remains. The old Romans believed that the soul was stripped and brought before Rhadamanthus the judge, and upon the naked spirit were seen the scars left by every evil thought, word and deed. The thought is a very terrible one. Here, however, we get into mysteries which we are unable to fathom. But we are "fearfully and wonderfully made."

Bishop THORNTON asked: Does Dr. Smith consider that man has a consciousness of God, and would this also come to him through sensation?

The Rev. J. M. TURNER said: I have come here by kind invitation in the attitude of a learner, and I could have wished Dr. Gregory Smith had spoken for hours instead of minutes. He has spoken of the connection between sensations and perceptions, but I should like to know the connection between them and the conceptions of the human mind, for this I think makes the great distinction between the animal and the human.

Herbert Spencer, in taking up the theory of evolution, tries to bridge the gulf between the animal and the human, but this seems to me to be a failure.

As regards the physical side, he traces out a connection nicely enough, but in his attempt to trace out a connection psychologically, the result does not appear so satisfactorily.

I should like some criticism of this attempt to apply the theory of evolution in the sphere of psychology.

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD said: We shall all agree that, by his able and suggestive address on psychology, the speaker has well deserved our thanks. Some statements, however, call for criticism:—

I cannot agree that “thought is glorified sensation,” even though to the proposition be attached the justly honoured name of Grote. Sensation can never pass into thought. Besides sensation, there must be (in order that thought may be possible) the fundamental mental equipment including the intuition of causality—that every change implies a cause. The first thing a child does is to seek some cause of some sensation. This action, by the child, is thought.

With regard to ethics and religion, the speaker seemed to think that religion is founded upon ethics. The reverse is the fact. Moral conduct is impossible without character, and character is impossible without thought. The empire of true ethics—the ethics of the supreme moral law—extends to thoughts, purposes, aims.

I agree with the learned doctor as to the will. This is the person willing—not the same thing as the man himself, but the man making choice and determining. Character is formed by successive choices of will as to how we act in our environment, whatever that environment be. Character, which is the one thing that we carry away into the future world, is the dynamic resultant of a series of will choices. Our primary environment is of course independent of our own arrangement, but we may afterwards modify it and be responsible for doing so, or for not doing so.

Something was said about imagination and emotion. These things are not independent of will. A foolish boy grows up with a depraved vicious imagination, because he chose to be idle and to regale himself with impure literature. In presence of distress and suffering, I may choose to give vent to emotions of pride and arrogance, or to those of pity and compassion.

Dr. GREGORY SMITH replied as follows :—

To Colonel Alves' questions.—There is too frequently a careless use of the word soul. It is a remarkable instance of the vagueness and confusion of thought. "Soul" is used sometimes for the heart; at other times as the immortal part of us. Scientific men say that there is a parallel action of mind and brain, and again of emotions and the heart. The word soul needs definition. Ontology is transcendental metaphysic. It concerns itself with what things really are in themselves, not what they appear to us.

We are more concerned with the relative than the absolute.

To Mr. Tuckwell.—A child has to distinguish itself from surrounding things, this is the beginning of consciousness. Unconscious cerebration is a remarkable fact and indicates that mind acts mechanically.

To Bishop Thornton.—We must go back to the same beginning of thought. The little child looks up to its earthly father, and so ascends to the thought of a heavenly.

To another speaker.—The inquiry whether I am the will or I use the will, is not a question of great moment. The character is the personality. We can recognise evolution in the gradual formation of our being, but the real self is a spark of the light eternal.

Subsequently Dr. GREGORY SMITH writes :—

Professor Orchard's profound remarks required more time than was at our disposal; may I refer him, Mr. Turner and other speakers, of whose remarks time prevented me from taking particular notice, to my book on *Practical Psychology*, Bennett and Co.

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Bishop WESTCOTT in *The Gospel of Life*, chap. viii, says :—"Man, made in the image of God, is an indivisible being. We naturally, even necessarily, speak of 'body' and 'soul' in such a way as to imply that man's soul is the real 'self,' complete and separable from his 'body.' Yet careful reflection will show that such language simply expresses an abstraction. There is undoubtedly an antithesis in man, an organism and something which works through the organism. But the living man, the self, is not a part of this antithesis: he consists in combination of both parts. He can no more conceive himself remaining without the one factor than

without the other. It is not necessary for us to enter on any discussion of the principles of biblical psychology. We may at once admit that as far as the constitution of man falls within the range of his own observation, we have no more reason to expect to find in the Bible a revealed system of psychology than to expect to find there a revealed system of physics. But Scripture distinctly recognizes different elements in man corresponding with his different relations to being, and leads us to look for the preservation of all in future. It lends no support to the famous utterance of Plotinus, who thanked God that 'he was not tied to an immortal body.' It lends no support to the view that the body as such is the mark of the soul's fall. 'May the God of peace himself' (St. Paul writes in his earliest epistle), 'sanctify you wholly; and may your spirit, soul and body, be preserved entire, without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He that calleth you, who will also do it.' 1 Thess. v, 23." [EDITOR.]

## 515TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

MONDAY, MARCH 20TH, 1911.

DAVID HOWARD, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT, OCCUPIED THE CHAIR UNTIL 5.30, WHEN THE REV. JOHN TUCKWELL TOOK HIS PLACE.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed. The names of two associates, elected by the Council this day, were announced, viz. :—

Miss Churchill and Miss Dreaper.

The CHAIRMAN, in asking Dr. Pinches to read his paper, said that no introduction was really needed, as Dr. Pinches was personally so well known, and his work still more widely. The Chairman also referred to the wonderful fascination of these cuneiform writings, and commended their study to the Members of the Institute. Dr. Pinches then read his paper.

*THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED VERSION OF THE STORY OF THE FLOOD.* By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S.

IN all probability there is no phenomenon of nature described in the Old Testament which has attracted so much attention as the account of the Deluge, though many may say, that the sun standing still at the command of Joshua would be found to enter into competition with the great cataclysm of earlier date. Since the reading of the first Babylonian version of the Flood-story by the late George Smith about thirty-six years ago, however, interest has centered rather in that wide-spread catastrophe than in the cause of the great Israelitish leader's victory; and this interest in the account of the Flood has rather increased of late years in consequence of the discovery of other versions—a second one by George Smith when engaged on the *Daily Telegraph* Expedition; another still, to all appearance, by Father V. Scheil, a few years ago, and still a fourth, by Professor H. V. Hilprecht last year.\*

\* See *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series D; *Researches and Treatises*, edited by H. V. Hilprecht; vol. v, *Fasciculus I, The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story, and the Temple Library of Nippur*, by H. V. Hilprecht; "Eckley Brinton Coxé, Junior, Fund," Philadelphia; published by the University of Pennsylvania, 1910. *Der neue Fund zur Sintflutgeschichte, und der Tempelbibliothek von Nippur*, von H. V. Hilprecht; Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1910.

The most complete version of the Babylonian account of the Flood is the first one here referred to. This document forms the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh series, and, as fate (or Providence, if you will) would have it, this portion of the legend is more perfect than any of the remaining tablets—twelve in number—of the series. Layard, Rassam, G. Smith, have all contributed, by the fragments they discovered, to its completion, and the last-named recognised and adjusted, with infinite patience, practically the whole of the fragments (one little piece only fell to my share during the time of my employment at the British Museum) of which that eleventh tablet is composed. It is pleasant to think that one of our own countrymen was able to do such a good piece of work, and thus lay the foundation of a really trustworthy text of these important documents, besides attending to numerous fragments of tablets in almost all the other sections of Assyro-Babylonian literature.

Before proceeding to speak of Professor Hilprecht's recent discovery, however, it would perhaps be well to place before you a very brief outline of the contents of the Gilgamesh series in general, in order that you may understand how it comes that the story of the great deluge—the very same deluge as that related in Genesis, finds a place in it. Gilgamesh is the Babylonian hero, king of Erech, whose name was at first read Izdubar and Gištubar. The reading of Gilgamesh is furnished by a Babylonian bilingual list excavated by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam (we had to deplore his loss only last year) about thirty years ago, and the pronunciation, as we have it, is therefore authoritative. This hero has been identified with the Gilgamos of Aelian, in his *De Natura Animalium*, xii, 21, where he is described as having been the grandson of Sevechoros or Sacchara. The daughter of this Babylonian king had been confined by her father in a citadel in order that no offspring of hers should take her father's kingdom, as the Babylonian sages had predicted. A son was born to her notwithstanding this precaution, and the daughter's guards, to save themselves, threw the child down from the tower. A sharp-sighted eagle, however, saw the falling infant, and flying beneath it, caught it on its back, and let it down safely in a neighbouring garden, where it was found by the caretaker, who, noticing the beauty of the child, took a great liking for him, and brought him up. It was he who, under the name of Gilgamos, became king of the Babylonians. Aelian points out, however, that this is not a unique instance of this kind of legend, another being the

story of a noble Persian who was likewise saved by an eagle.

There is nothing of this in the Babylonian legend of Gilgameš, but the details of his infancy may come to light at any time, for the version which we possess refers mainly to his manhood, unless there were references to his childhood in any of the numerous gaps which the earlier tablets of the series, in common with the others, display.

The first tablet of the Gilgameš series begins with the words which form a kind of title by which the whole was distinguished—the ancient method of naming books. The words in question are: “He who saw all (things)” ; and to this is added, “the Record of Gilgameš,” this second phrase being something of the nature of a real title in the modern sense of the word. The beginning of the text is extremely imperfect, but where it becomes again readable, we have what is apparently a description of the hero, who knew the wisdom of the whole world, saw secret and hidden things, and brought news of the time before the Flood, travelling a distant road, and suffering dire fatigue (?). All his journeyings and toils were apparently inscribed on stone, and record of them thus left for future ages.

Gilgameš, as we learn in the course of the narrative, was king of the city called *Uruk supuri*, or “Erech the walled,” so-called, apparently, on account of the enclosures which surrounded it. To all appearance, when Gilgameš assumed the reins of power, Erech was in a state of depression, and the walls were so ruinous that enemies from without were able to besiege the city for three years, when

“The gods of Erech the walled  
turned to flies, and hummed in the streets ;  
the winged bulls of Erech the walled  
turned to mice, and went out through the holes.”

What enemy it was who besieged the city so long does not appear, but it would seem to be probable that the Elamites under Humbaba, whom the hero afterwards slew, are intended.

After this the text is mutilated, and the sense difficult to follow, but in this mutilated portion there would seem to have been a further description of the hero, who is said to have been “two parts god, and the third part man.” To all appearance there was none in all his realm like him, and also no companion suitable for him, though he collected to him all the young men

and maidens in the land. The goddess Aruru was then called upon to make another in his likeness, who could be his companion, and this resulted in the creation of Ea-bani, or, as the Sumerian inscription of his name has it, Enki-du. It was long, however, ere that physically and mentally peerless being, who was a kind of wild man of the woods, was caught and induced to enter Erech and take up a position at the court. After this, the pair did various things together, one of their exploits being the defeat and killing of the Elamite Hunibaba. Later on the hero attracted the attention of the goddess Ištar, who wished him to marry her. Her reputation at Erech was so bad, however, that he refused to have anything to do with her, the result being that Ištar, in her anger, sent a winged bull against them, and Enki-du succeeded in slaying the animal. This brought about more misfortunes for Gilgameš, the severest being the sudden death of his companion, whom he mourned with bitterness; and possibly to distract himself, he set out on his long and celebrated journey, apparently to ascertain whether there were any means of bringing his dead friend to life again. Wonderful were the things which he saw on the way—the scorpion-men guarding the gates of the sun; the goddess Siduri sitting on the throne of the sea; and probably many other adventures befel him, though these are lost by the mutilation of the record. At last, however, he falls in with the sailor Sur-Šanabi, who was to take him to the Chaldean Noah, Ut-napištim, or, according to another text, Uta-naištim, from whom, apparently, he hoped to gain comfort, counsel, and the aid he sought.

Gilgameš and Sur-Šanabi started together, and after passing through a forest, embark in a ship, and reach at the end of a month and ten days, "the waters of death." Other events are recorded, and in the end Gilgameš sees Ut-napištim, the Babylonian Noah, afar off. They converse together, and Gilgameš explains to the Patriarch the reason of his visit, and relates his adventures. In the course of the conversation, Ut-napištim refers to the continuity of the things which take place on the earth, and says that Mammitum, the maker of fate, has set, with the gods, death and life, but that the days of death are not known. Replying, Gilgameš refers to the appearance of Ut-napištim, whose features were not changed—he was like Gilgameš himself, and he begs him to relate how he stood up and sought life in the assembly of the gods. In answer to this Ut-napištim says that he will tell him the story of his preservation.

There was once an old city on the banks of the Euphrates called Šurippak, and the gods dwelling within it decided in their hearts to make a flood. One of the principal gods, Nin-igi-azaga, better known as Ēa, the god of the sea and of fathomless wisdom, communed with the others, and repeated their decision to the earth, calling upon both field and farm to hear and to understand the words which were announced to them. To the Šurippakite (Ut-napištim), son of Umbara-Tutu, however, he made a special recommendation, namely, to destroy his house, and build a ship; forsake riches, and seek (eternal) life; hate gain, and save life (the lives of the living creatures of the earth); and take the seed of life, of every kind, into the ship. Instructions as to the building of the vessel follow, and Ut-napištim was told to launch the ship, when built, into the deep. Promising obedience, he asked what he was to say to those who questioned him as to the work upon which he was engaged, "Thus shalt thou say unto them," was the answer: "Know, then, that the god Ellila hates me—I will not dwell in . . . and I will not set my face in Ellila's domain. I will descend to the deep, with (Ēa) my lord will I (constantly) dwell. As for you, he will cause abundance to rain down upon you." In the succeeding lines something is said about a storm, and the raining down of a heavy downpour.

A description of the building of the ship, and its provisioning, follows, but this portion is mutilated, and therefore difficult to translate. Its bulwarks seem to have risen ten measures, and a deck is apparently mentioned. Its interior was caulked with six *šar* of bitumen, and its outside with three *šar* of pitch, or bitumen of a different kind. Oil for the crew and the pilot is referred to, and oxen were slaughtered, possibly as a sacrifice to the gods on the completion of the vessel. Various kinds of drink are described as having been brought on board, plentiful (such is apparently the word to be supplied here) "like the waters of a river." In this, to all appearance, we have an indication of the Babylonian character, for they were great lovers of intoxicating drinks. This description ends with a reference to certain details of the construction—holes for the cables (seemingly) above and below, etc.

Ut-napištim then collected all his goods and chattels, and entered the ark or "ship" as it is called in the Assyrian text. His silver, gold, the seed of life, his family and relatives, the beasts of the field, the animals of the field,\* and the sons of

\* Cf. also Professor Hilprecht's fragment, p. 146, line 21.

the artificers—all were sent up into the ship. Šamaš, the sun-god, then appointed a time, and the “bringer of gloom” caused a heavy downpour to rain down. Fearing to look at the storm which had now burst upon mankind, Ut-napištim entered into the midst of the ship and shut the door. The “great house,” as he calls the ark, was then given, with its “goods”—meaning, apparently, all its contents, animate and inanimate—into the charge of a pilot or sailor called Buzur-Kurgal.

When the morning dawned, a dark cloud arose from the horizon, in which Rimmon (Adad) thundered, and in front of which the gods Nebo and Šarru went. That the ark had moved from its first position is indicated by the words which follow, which state that “the throne-bearers” went over mountain and plain—probably the alluvial plain of Babylonia which they were quitting, and the mountains of the northern tract which they were nearing. Here follow several fanciful statements about the gods, which we shall probably understand better when we know their attributes more fully—Ura-gala (Nergal, god of death) dragged at the cables, Ninip or Nirig, god of war, cast down destruction, the Annunnaki raised their torches, illuminating the earth with their brightness, whilst Rimmon’s destruction reached even to heaven, and everything bright turned to darkness, in the midst of which the storm sought the destruction of the people. Brother saw not brother, and the people were not to be recognised in the cataclysm which had fallen upon them. Even the gods feared and fled, mounting up to the heaven of Anu, the god of the heavens. There the gods, kennelled like dogs, crouched down in the enclosures. Then spoke Ištar, the counterpart and representative of Merodach’s spouse Zēr-panitum, the “seed-creatress,” making her voice resound: “All that generation has turned to corruption. Because I spoke evil in the assembly of the gods, when I spoke evil in the assembly of the gods, I spoke of battle for the destruction of my people. Verily I have begotten man, but where is he? Like the sons of the fishes, he fills the sea.” The explanation of this strange speech in which the goddess expresses her discontent probably is, that as she was goddess of war as well as of love, a glorious death for her people on the battlefield would have satisfied her more. The Annunnaki, or gods of the heavens, shared Ištar’s grief, and crouched down in lamentation, covering their lips. The next section is best reproduced in the Patriarch’s own words:—

“For six days and nights the wind blew, and the storm and flood overwhelmed the land. The seventh day, when it came, the

storm ceased, the raging flood, which had contended like a whirlwind, quieted; the sea shrank back, and the hurricane and deluge ended. I noticed then the sea making a noise, and that all mankind had turned to corruption.\* Like a bay (?) the shore (?) advanced. I opened my window, and the light fell upon my face—I fell back dazzled, I sat down, I wept: over my face flowed my tears. I noted the region—the shore of the sea—for twelve measures the land arose. The ship had stopped at the land of Nišir. The mountain of Nišir seized the ship, and would not let it pass.”

For six days the ark rested there, and at the end of that time Ut-napištim, it being then the seventh day, sent forth a dove, a swallow and a raven. The first two came back to him, not finding a resting-place; but the third, seeing the floating corpses, fed on them, and did not return. This portion of the account is rather difficult to understand, but probably the Babylonian writer did not regard the plucking off of a leaf † as sufficient proof that the waters were shallow enough for the animals which were in the ark to find safe and sufficiently dry resting-places. The raven, however, according to the Babylonian version, “ate, waded, croaked, and did not return.” The water having receded so that the raven could go about, it was to be supposed that there were sufficiently dry tracts for most of the animals which were with him in the ark, and also for Ut-napištim and his family. Coming forth, therefore, he made an offering on the peak of the mountain, ‡ pouring out a libation, and setting incense-vases in sevens, with incense of cane, cedar, and myrtle. The sweet savour which arose from this offering attracted the gods, who clustered around the sacrificer like flies, so content were they to receive again the homage and the incense-offering of a human being. Then came the goddess Mah, the great mother of mankind, raising on high the great signets which Anu, the god of the heavens, had made for her. She conjured the gods not to forget these dreadful days for ever; and though the gods might come to the sacrifice, Enlil (Ellil or Illil) was not to come, for he had been inconsiderate and made a flood, consigning her people to destruction.

It has been supposed, and probably correctly, that the signets raised by Mah, and the lapis-stone of her neck, which she refers to, was the rainbow, set in the sky as a sign that such a visitation should not come upon the earth again. Enlil, the god who

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\* Lit. “clay.”

† Gen. viii, 11.

‡ *Ziqqurat šadi.*

had made the flood, however, was to all appearance unmoved by this demonstration made against him by the goddess, for seeing that some of the condemned race of mankind had been saved, he was exceedingly wroth, and filled with anger against the gods who had enabled Ut-napištim and his family to escape the general destruction. Ninip (or Nirig) then spoke, pointing out that it was Êa (AÊ) who had done the thing—*i.e.*, warned the Babylonian Noah that a flood was coming, and thus enabled him to build the ark and escape from the catastrophe. It may here be noted as a curious point in Babylonian mythology, that Enlil, “the god of lordship and dominion,” should have been conceived as ignorant of what was passing on the earth. Professor Hommel and other Assyriologists have already pointed out that the name of Êa was in all probability connected with Jah, and this would seem to be a confirmation of that theory, for Êa, who revealed the coming of the Flood to the patriarch, is mentioned by Ninip as one who knew every event; and he, therefore, was the Babylonian prototype of the great Omniscient One.

Êa himself then spoke, uttering what seems to be an admonition to the god Enlil, telling him that he had not been considerate, and had made a flood; the objection apparently being, that such a visitation was calculated to destroy all mankind, which the gods did not want. Should it be needful to destroy the inhabitants of the earth on account of their wickedness, wild beasts, such as the lion and the hyæna; or famine, or pestilence, would sufficiently lessen their number, and serve as the instruments of the gods' wrath. And here occurs a little quibble on the part of the god Êa, who pleads that he did not reveal the decision of the great gods—he simply caused Atra-hasis (Xisithrus, another name for the Babylonian Noah) to have a dream, and then he heard the decision of the gods, without its being communicated to him.

Next comes the deification of the patriarch, which took place at the hands of the god whom he worshipped, namely, Êa, who went up into the ship, and taking the hand of Ut-napištim and his wife, touched them and blessed them, saying: “Formerly Ut-napištim was a man, now let Ut-napištim and his wife be like unto the gods, even unto us; and Ut-napištim shall dwell afar at the mouths of the rivers.” Thither was he transferred, and there Gilgamesh visited him, and heard this wonderful story, the personal narrative, according to the Assyro-Babylonians, of the hero of the great Flood, when all mankind was destroyed, and he only, by the favour of the god whom he worshipped, and

as a reward for his faithfulness, was spared, with his family and those who had helped to build the ark—spared to carry on the race, and tell the story of his deliverance.

After this comes the account of what was done to Gilgamesh to free him from some malady from which he was suffering. After the mystic ceremonies performed for his benefit, the Babylonian patriarch told him of a wonderful plant which made the old young again, and Gilgamesh, on his way to his Babylonian home in company with Sur-Šanabi, the sailor or pilot, gets possession of one of these desirable things. Stopping at a well, apparently to perform a religious ceremony, a serpent smells the plant, and afterwards a lion comes and takes it away. The hero greatly laments this loss, for he had not benefited by its possession, but the lion of the desert had gained the advantage. Whether, in consequence of this, there was any legend in existence of one of these kings of the Plain of Shinar having renewed his youth, and preyed upon the people, is unknown; but the Babylonian poets are hardly likely to have carried the legend any farther. This section, which forms the eleventh tablet of the legend of Gilgamesh, ends with a reference to his return to Erech, and the rebuilding of the walls of the city.

Of the twelfth tablet only a comparatively small portion is preserved, but from it we learn that the hero still lamented his friend Enki-du, whom he had lost so long ago. Being unable to obtain his resurrection, and thus again enjoy his companionship upon earth, he is at last favoured with a sight of his friend's spirit, which arose from the earth like a mist. At the request of Gilgamesh, Enki-du describes to him the place of the departed spirits, where he now dwelt. It was a place of misery for those who had not found favour with their god, but an abode of happiness for the blessed, and for the warrior who had fallen in battle. It was needful, however, that the body of the dead should have been duly buried, and not lie on the ground without a caretaker. The description of the world to come is dramatically and poetically given, and it is with this that the twelve tablets of the Gilgamesh series come to an end.

As the story of the flood is related to Gilgamesh by Ut-napištim, it is told in the first person. The fragment of another legend, afterwards discovered by the late George Smith, was at first thought to fill in the wanting lines where the entry into the ark, as related by the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh series, is referred to. This, however, is not the case, as we now have the account of that entry told in quite different words, on fragments which Smith himself joined to the main tablet.

The fragment discovered by Mr. Smith,\* moreover, appears in the form of a separate legend referring to the flood alone, and the narrative seems to be related in the third person. The first paragraph gives the instructions of the god Êa to Atrā-ḥasis (not Ut-napištim in this version) to build the ship, enter therein, and close the door, taking into the midst of it his grain, furniture, and goods; his family, relatives, the artizans; the beasts and animals of the field, as many as the god should send to him, and his door was to protect them. Atrā-ḥasis answers, apparently stating that he had not (= never) built a ship, but apparently expressing his willingness to do so now, and seemingly asking that its form and plan should be shown to him. The question naturally arises, whether this may not be a portion either of the legend published some time ago by Father Scheil, or whether it may not belong to the new fragment published by Hilprecht, and of which I shall presently treat.

Turning to the version first published by Father Scheil, which is now in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library at New York, we find an exceedingly fragmentary text. The first column mentions someone who "did not go," and has the word for "royal insignia," or "regnal years." There is also a reference to "their cry"—perhaps the cry of the people, the pronoun being feminine, and the word *nišu*, "people," the gender of which is feminine, may have stood in the gap. After this "mankind" is spoken of. A few lines lower down we come upon the phrase, "May Rimmon (or Hadad) cause to be slain," followed by fragments of words and doubtful phrases, of which no connected sense can be made. The second column is in a more perfect state, but it cannot be said that the record it contains is more satisfactory. There is a statement about (apparently) killing and destroying, and a phrase asking that destruction may be caused to rain down in the morning. Ruin was to be made great, and a cry caused to ascend on high.

At this point the tablet is broken, and the text is wanting until the seventh column is reached, when Êa appears, asking why the deity referred to in the text wished to kill the people. After this comes a reference to the promised deluge, from which Êa seems to state that he intends to free his people. Everything, however, is doubtful, and the four lines of the last column (the eighth) of which two are imperfect, do not yield

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\* It belongs to the *Daily Telegraph* collection.

any real information, though Atrā-hasis, the Babylonian Noah, is again referred to, and the speech which he was about to make will be found on the next tablet, when it is discovered. From the colophon we see that this version was written in the reign of Ammi-zaduga, the date being that corresponding with his eleventh year, 1800 or 1900 B.C., that in which he built Dûr-Ammi-zaduga at the mouth of the River Euphrates.

It is therefore refreshing, after such a mutilated and therefore unsatisfactory tablet as this, to come to the little fragment found and translated by Hilprecht, imperfect as it is, for one can at least find a certain amount of information in it—trustworthy and untrustworthy, according as the lines are well preserved or otherwise, and the words certain as to their meanings or the reverse.

The fragment in question was found in a low stratum in what is known as "Tablet-Hill," at Niffer, identified with the Biblical Calneh—one of Nimrod's cities, where the excavations made by the Americans have had a considerable amount of success. It measures only 9.6 cm. by 6 cm. ( $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches by  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches). Its greatest thickness is  $\frac{7}{8}$  of an inch. The colour of the tablet is described as being dark brown, and the clay unbaked—as is frequently the case with tablets from Babylonia. Originally it was inscribed on both sides, but one of them is so damaged, that the writing has completely disappeared, the ends only of three or four lines being visible on the edge. As the obverse and reverse are generally easily recognized on account of the former being flat and the latter rounded, Professor Hilprecht has come to the conclusion that the well-preserved side is the reverse. The characters are archaic, and, in his opinion (in which he is supported by several well-known Assyriologists), it belongs to the period between 2137 and 2005 B.C. As already stated, however, it is a mere scrap, having only the latter parts of fourteen lines of writing. I give herewith a transcription of the fragment according to Professor Hilprecht's reading of the text, compared with an excellent photograph which he has sent me:—

- 1— . . . . . sa a-si-ri-ia . . . . -ka
- 2— . . . . . a-pa-aš - šar
- 3— . . . . . ka-la ni-ši iš-te-niš i-za-bat
- 4— . . . . . - ti la-am a-bu-bi wa-ši - e
- 5— . . . . . -a-ni ma-la i-ba-aš-šu-u lu-kin ub-bu-ku lu-pu-  
ut-tu hu-ru-šu
- 6— . . . . . <sup>isu</sup>élippam ra-be-tam bi-ni-ma
- 7— . . . . . ga-bi-e gab-bi lu-bi-nu-uz-za

- 8— . . ši-i lu <sup>19u</sup> ma-gurgurrum ba-bil-lu na-at-rat na-piš-tim  
 9— . . . -ri (?) zu-lu-la dan-na zu-ul-lil  
 10— . . . . . te-ip-pu-šu  
 11— . . . . . [ka-a] (?) u-ma-am ši-rim iṣ-ṣur ṣa-me-e  
 12— . . . . . ku-um mi-ni  
 13— . . . . . - ka (?) u kin-ta-ka (?) . . .  
 14— . . . . . u (?) . . . . .

## TRANSLATION OF PROFESSOR HILPRECHT'S NEW FRAGMENT.

- 1— . . . . . of my descent (?) . . . . thee,  
 2— . . . . . I will loosen,  
 3— . . . . . all men together it shall sweep away.  
 4— . . . . . before the deluge cometh forth ;  
 5— . . . . . as many as there are, I will bring overthrow,  
 destruction, annihilation.  
 6— . . . . . build a great boat, and  
 7— . . . . . all divisions shall be its structure.  
 8— . . . . . that . . . . let it be a houseboat carrying what has been  
 saved of life.  
 9— . . . . . cover with a strong deck.  
 10— . . . . . thou shalt make,  
 11— . . . . . beast of the field, bird of the heavens,  
 12— . . . . . like (*or* instead of) the number (?)  
 13— . . . . . and thy family . . . . .  
 14— . . . . . and . . . . .

Free rendering with attempts to fill in the gaps, partly in accordance with Professor Hilprecht's indications:—

[*Note.*—These completions make no pretension whatever to do anything more than give a connected sense pending the discovery of a more complete copy of the inscription.]

[On the day] of my descent(?), [which I have announced to] thee, I will loosen [the confines of heaven and earth; I will make a flood, and] it shall sweep away all men together; [but seek thou lif]e before the deluge cometh forth; [for over all living things], as many as there are, I will bring overthrow, destruction, annihilation. . . . Build a great ship, and let its structure be [as one which is] all divisions. [As for] that [ship], let it be a house-boat carrying what has been saved of life . . . . cover (it) with a strong deck. [The ship which] thou shalt make, [enter into it and bring therein ever]y beast of the field (and) bird of the heavens—[all of them] instead of the number [which I have fixed,] and [thou shalt bring therein] thy family . . . . and(?) . . . .

It cannot be said that the fragment is of any great extent, but, as Professor Hilprecht has remarked, if we had wished to choose the portion which we would have liked to be preserved, it is just this part; though all scholars would naturally add, that whilst desiring these very lines we should have preferred them to be complete. The photograph sent me has enabled me to examine the text of the reverse very carefully, and when doing so, I have thought that certain doubtful characters might be read differently—whether my suggestions are improvements upon his readings time—and a duplicate—alone will show.

In the first line the characters certainly look to me like       *ša a-ši-ri-ia*. The meaning of *ašīru* here is doubtful. I have regarded the word as coming from the root *ašāru*, "to descend," but as there are about three roots which resemble this, the meaning, in the absence of a clear context, is doubtful. Moreover, I am not satisfied with the form, which is that of a participle.

In line 2 the completion is that of Professor Hilprecht. He gives the probable Assyrian words of "the bonds of heaven and earth" as being *uṣurāt šamē u ērṣitim* or *kippat šamē u ērṣitim*.

In the third line he restores *ābuba ašakan-ma*, "a flood I will make, and."

Professor Hilprecht's suggested restoration of line 4 is *u atta-ma še'e* (or *bulliṭ*) *napišti*, "and thou then, seek thou (or save thou) life." The *-ti* of *napišti* occurs after the break.

In line 5 the first traces look to me like the aspirate , and if this be the case, the completion of the line is more difficult than seemed at first glance. Professor Hilprecht speaks on page 52 of his book of the word *gab'āni*, "heights," and this may be the word to restore here. In that case some such completion as "over all the high places, as many as exist, will I bring overthrow, annihilation, destruction," might be suggested. The difficulty in this, however, would be, that there are no high places (*i.e.*, natural hills) on the Babylonian plain, the "high places" of the Babylonians being the artificially-constructed *ziggurāti* or temple-towers—indeed, Ut-napištim, the Babylonian Noah in the Legend of Gilgameš, calls the Armenian mountain-peak, on which he made sacrifice on coming out of the ark, a *ziggurat šadī*, "high place of the mountain," as we may here translate it. It remains to be seen whether any other word was ever used for these heights which the Babylonians constructed in connection with the worship of their gods. *Gab'āni* would be a masculine plural, and correspond nearly in meaning with the Hebrew גִּבְעוֹת, *gibeah*, the name of several

cities situated on hills. Other completions are possible—*pir'āni*, “seeds”=“offspring”; *ma'āni*, “mighty ones,” from *ma'u*, etc. *Ubbuku* is the Pu'ul of *ābāku*, “to overthrow”; and *luputtu* (from *lapātu*) is practically a synonym of that word. *Hurušu* is possibly for *hurrušu*, from *harāšu*, “to grind,” “crush.”

The different expressions for “ship” in lines 8 and 9 are noteworthy. The usual word is *ēlippu*, “boat,” and in the eleventh tablet of the Gilgameš series it is also called *ēkallu*, “palace”—literally “great house,” and *bītu*, “house,” simply. In Professor Hilprecht's new fragment, however, it is called a “ship,” literally a “great boat” (*ēlippu rabētu*). What kind of vessel the *ma-gurgurru* was, and wherein it differed from other ships, is doubtful. The root *gur* is Sumerian, and means “to enclose,” or the like, and Hilprecht's explanation of the word as meaning “houseboat” seems very probable—indeed, a gigantic structure which was to be a ship and a dwelling-place is just what would be expected. It is not improbably connected with the non-reduplicate form *ma-gur*, Semiticised as *makurru*, “shrine” or “ark” of a god. In any case, these two words would seem to be the equivalents of the Hebrew תִּבְיָה *tebah*, “ark,” “shrine,” “coffin,” borrowed from the Egyptian.

*Gabé gabbī* in line 7 the translator of this fragment renders as “total height”—“total height shall be its structure.” In this case it may be supposed that a numeral preceded—“(so many) cubits in total height,” or the like. This is naturally a possible rendering, and I have nothing to say against it. Nevertheless, it seemed to me that an alternative might be suggested, especially as *gabé* may be for *qabé*, whose singular is rendered “stable,” “fold,” “pen”—a good meaning for such a passage as this. But I am not satisfied that the rendering is the right one, notwithstanding the excellent sense which “all pens let its construction be” would make.

Professor Hilprecht has some interesting remarks upon the nature of the “strong deck” (*zulula dannā*) in line 9, with which the craft was covered in. He quotes a similar line in the Gilgameš version: *kima apšī šāšī šullil-ši*, “like the abyss, as for that (boat), cover it in”; and also the second Nineveh version: [*šulul-ša*] *kima kippati šamé lū dan eliš*, “let its covering be strong above like the vault of heaven.” All this suggests a structure like a domed roof, possibly circular, even though the boat itself may not have had the same form; though it is noteworthy that circular boats have been used on the Euphrates and Tigris from time immemorial.

Though I agree with Professor Hilprecht with regard to the

rendering of the two words *kum mini* remaining in the twelfth line, I am inclined, on reflection, to regard the phrase of which they formed part as differing somewhat from his conception of it. His rendering is "two of everything instead of a number," and here again, with the instinct which has carried him through many a difficult passage, he may be right. Nevertheless, it is best to be cautious, and complete the phrase as though it referred to a change in the intention of the deity—the preservation of every living thing instead of a selection only.

I see traces of 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎠, *ka*, as the fifth character of the last line, making "thy family," instead of "the family."

In conclusion, I give the comparisons with the version in Genesis which, with one exception, Professor Hilprecht has suggested:—

Nippur Version.	Gen. vi. 13–20; vii. 11.
Line	
2. . . . "I will loosen."	vii. 11. "all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened."
3. . . . "It shall sweep (or 'take') away all men together."	vi. 13. . . . "behold, I will destroy them with the earth."
4. . . . "life (?) before the deluge cometh forth."	18. . . . "but with thee I will establish my covenant."
5. . . . over] "as many as there are, I will bring overthrow, annihilation, destruction."	17. "and behold I do bring the deluge upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; everything that is on earth shall perish."
6. . . . "build a great boat, and"	14. "make thee an ark."
7. . . . "its structure shall be all divisions."	14. "rooms (Heb. nests) shalt thou make in the ark."
8. . . . "let it be a houseboat carrying what has been saved of life."	16. "A roof shalt thou make in the ark, in its entire length thou shalt
9. . . . "cover it with a strong deck."	cover it; and the door of the ark thou shalt set in the side thereof; with lower, second and third stories shalt thou make it."

10. . . . " [the boat] which thou shalt make,"
11. . . . [bring therein ever]y "beast of the field, bird of the heavens."\*
13. . . . thy (?) . . . "and thy family."
19. "And from every living thing, from all flesh, two from everything shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female."
- vii. 3. "of the fowl also of the air."
- vi. 18b. "and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee."

There is no doubt that this text of the Flood contains a goodly number of parallels with the version in Genesis, and the learned Professor may be congratulated on the discovery which he has made. Though only an isolated and imperfect fragment, it is not only exceedingly important in itself, but it also gives promise of more material of the same character. From this we see, moreover, how rich Assyro-Babylonian literature was in Flood stories, as it seems certainly to have possessed three, and may even have had four. But this is not to be wondered at—the Assyro-Babylonians certainly had at least three Creation stories, all of them of considerable interest, though their differences are much greater than are to be found in the versions of the Flood which form the subject of this paper.

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN: Our thanks are due to the lecturer for his most interesting account of a very curious fragment. Particularly interesting because it was a further evidence of the existence of traditions which were freely floating about in Babylon a very long while ago, all variants of a still older story. This does not imply that they were not true. On the contrary, they bore evidence to the undoubted antiquity of the Genesis account of the flood. It is impossible to imagine anyone centuries later writing such descrip-

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\* This is to all appearance the only Assyro-Babylonian version of the Flood mentioning birds.

*Note.*—The verbal form *lakîn* in line 5 may be translated either "I" or "he will bring" (lit. "set").

tions and giving them the curious local terms which show alike their antiquity and source.

Mr. MARTIN ROUSE, B.A., said: I have been away from this country for three years, and am very glad to be once more at a meeting of the Victoria Institute. I am particularly glad to be present on this occasion, and to hear Dr. Pinches' views concerning this fragment of a fourth and most ancient version of the Assyrian story of the Deluge, and his comments upon it and reviews of the other versions.

In comparing the much later but more complete version discovered by Mr. George Smith with the Bible narrative, I would first point out that whereas, according to Sayce's rendering, Ut-napishtim brought into his ship his family and his *concubines*, at the end the god Éa took his hand and that of his *wife*, and uttered a decree that thenceforth they two should be like gods and dwell in a heavenly abode. Thus the truth breaks through the corruptions with which Eastern voluptuousness has overlaid it, and Noah appears as in the Bible "perfect in his generations."

Again, when the Flood had made havoc of all mankind outside the ship, the goddess Ishtar is said to have raised this bitter lamentation, "I have begotten man, but where is he? Like the sons of the fishes he fills the sea." It has been suggested, and this episode bears out the inference, that the Egyptian Isis, first queen of Egypt and the world, is identical with the Babylonian Ishtar, and that both names are modified forms of Isha, the earlier name of our first mother, of whom Adam said, She shall be called Isha (woman) because she was taken out of Ish (man).

The Assyrian story notably displays its inferiority to the Biblical in the undignified flight of the gods to remote corners of the universe where they "kennelled like dogs," and in the dissension of the gods during the catastrophe Ishtar disapproving of a Deluge because it wrought a too wholesale destruction, whereas Bel, or Enlil, could not endure that even one family should escape. On the other hand, certain unique details show the two stories to be of one event—the smearing of the ship inside as well as outside with pitch, the sending out of the raven and the dove to test the redrying of the ground, the offering of a "sweet savour" to Heaven by the good man just after his exit from the ship, and the appearing of some beautiful phenomenon in the sky in token of Heaven's acceptance.

This obviously means the rainbow (but is called signets, or seals, as though displayed to ratify a covenant—that covenant which God made with Noah and his sons that He would never again destroy the earth with a flood).

But again it is clear that if the good man was prudent enough to send out the dove once and it came back to him because it could find no dry ground to rest on, he would, as the Bible story tells and as the Assyrian story does not, have sent the bird out a second time, ere he ventured forth himself with his family and his great living cargo. And then, too, whereas the “seven days’ rain” of the Assyrian poem were wholly inadequate to flood the whole earth or even the whole habitats of man, the Bible first says that “the fountains of the great deep were broken up,” and then that rain fell during “forty days.” (The thought that Êa or Aê may be a form of the divine name Jah is strengthened by the title that Ea elsewhere receives of “the wise and open of ear.”)\*

The Babylonian story is approached in clearness and detail by the traditions of the first doings of mankind recited by the Masai of East Africa at their annual convention in the hearing of the German Resident.† And, as it had been previously stated, that this world-wide tradition was unknown to the negroes, I might add that a Mr. Hewitt, who had worked among the raw heathen, of the Upper Congo, told me that the Ballolo recount that Khangî (God) and his wife made man and his wife and put them into a beautiful garden, and that they disobeyed some command of his and were turned out, while Khangî sailed down the river and was never more seen by men; and that a great while afterwards, when men had become very numerous and very wicked, Khangî destroyed all but a very few with a mighty flood. And, lastly, I would say that among the North American Indians, legends of the flood are so abundant that the late Mr. Owen D. Orsey, whom as Vice-President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, I had heard lecture upon a group of six Indian languages, told me that every Indian tribe that he came across possessed the tradition.

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\* Pinches, *O.T. in the Light*, p. 18, cf. 21.

† See an article in the *Contemporary Review* for 1901 by Professor Emil Reich.

Rev. JOHN TUCKWELL, M.R.A.S., said: I should like to give expression to what I am sure will be the feeling of all present of deep indebtedness to Dr. Pinches for his very valuable paper. He has grouped together the various records of the Flood, discovered in Babylonia, in a most concise, luminous and interesting way. It may have seemed surprising that so much could be got out of so small a fragment. Its similarity to the Genesis account is certainly instructive. It indicates the great antiquity of the Genesis story wherever it came from. Professor Hilprecht's opinion that the story upon this fragment goes back, at least, as far as 2000 B.C., appears to be well-founded. But the story was apparently a very old one then. Hence it must go back far beyond the time of Moses, and gives the quietus to the attacks of those critics who endeavour to make the Hebrew account a matter of comparatively modern times.

Another point indicated by the two records is that the Hebrew account was not derived from the Babylonian. The Hebrew account has no local colouring. It gives no indication of the part of the world where the ark was built. Possibly in some inland region now submerged. Who knows whether it may not have been in what is now the bed of the Mediterranean sea? The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep might certainly refer to the ocean overflowing the land. But in the Babylonian accounts there are many indications of Babylonian thought and custom. The part the gods play; the structure being a ship, not an ark; the pilot being put on board natural enough for a people accustomed to the use of ships. A pilot is of service because he has been there before, but a pilot in a Deluge!

It is interesting to observe that in both cases we have what purports to be a personal narrative. The writer speaks of what he saw and experienced. As Dr. Pinches has pointed out, there are no "high places" in Babylonia, so that even the Babylonian account could not have originated there. The mountains or high places must in both cases have been those which the writer observed, not all the high mountains everywhere all over the world. Hence it leaves the question of the extent of the Flood to be settled by the geologist.

Professor Prestwich, many years ago, in a paper read before this Institute, pointed out that there were indications along the northern

shores of the Mediterranean Sea of a great diluvial catastrophe within the human period which must have swept, at least, over the whole of Europe and carried away every living thing. He found great masses of bones of carnivora and herbivora mingled in inextricable confusion which had been washed down from the higher lands to the sea-level. No doubt there are evidences of similar catastrophes everywhere, though not all of the same period.

Another interesting question raised by this fragment is the dissection of the Hebrew narrative by modern critics into Jehovistic and Elohist elements with any number of additions by the Redactors. But the Babylonian story contains both these so-called elements and even into this little fragment a bit of the Jehovist's narrative has found its way in the reference to the "bird of the heavens." Is it credible that the Babylonians should have had so detailed an account of the Deluge containing the "Yaweh-Elohim" elements 2,000 or 3,000 years before Christ, and that the Hebrews should not have made up their story containing these same two elements until about 500 B.C., or the time of the exile. The fact is the exile is a deep pit into which the critics conveniently pour their difficulties, and the sooner this "Yaweh-Elohim" theory is given up the better.

Miss O'REILLY asked: Are the gods referred to in this story the angels ruling the elements?

A speaker asked if the Gilgamesh Epic might possibly be a zodiacal myth.

The Rev. E. SEELEY, in seconding the vote of thanks, asked for explanation of an apparent contradiction between the newly-discovered tablet which states that the same god (Ēa ?) who caused the flood, also revealed it beforehand and commanded the building of an ark; whereas on another tablet (quoted pp. 141 and 142) Illil (or Enlil) is mentioned as the causer of the flood, and Ēa as the causer of deliverance by means of an ark. This may perhaps show that the newly-discovered tablet agrees in this respect more closely with the Hebrew record than with the other Babylonian tablets.

He drew attention to the statement in Genesis that all the mountains under the whole heaven were covered; which he thought affirmed the universality of the flood. He added that some years ago it had been suggested at a meeting of the Victoria Institute, that the sun might have become hotter for a while and melted the

polar ice and snow, and also caused much greater evaporation from the seas, resulting in the tremendous rain mentioned in Genesis, and the greatly increased weight of water on the wide expanses of land resulting in depression of the land, the sea rushed in and magnified the subsidences.

He then referred to a quarry near Weston-super-Mare, mentioned by Professor Prestwich, at which the workmen told him (Mr. Seeley) that they were present when the fissure containing the mingled bones was opened and they said emphatically, "It stunk us out." The remaining presence of such decomposing matter with such bones seemed to indicate that the date of the collection and of its sealing up with clay could not be more remote than the date of the Deluge on a reasonable estimate. And if, as Professor Prestwich affirmed, such collections of bones in rock fissures (not caves) have already been discovered from Britain to Asia Minor, the cause, if one and the same, must have been very widespread.

Dr. HEYWOOD SMITH asked whether the lecturer thought that the title "makurru" referred to could have any relation to the word "Maru," used by the Japanese to indicate a merchant ship?

Mr. TUCKWELL, who had now taken the chair as Mr. Howard had to leave, called attention to the fact that Professor Tindall in his volume, *Heat, a Mode of Motion*, had remarked that enormous accumulation of frozen vapour at the two poles producing enormous pressure and maintaining glacial movements, necessitated a proportional evaporation in the equatorial regions.

Mr. MAUNDER desired to thank Dr. Pinches for his most admirable and instructive paper, and especially for the clearness with which he had pointed out how far the translation of this interesting tablet was established, and how far it was conjectural. A former speaker had asked whether the Gilgamesh Epic might be a zodiacal myth; the hero representing the sun in his progress through the 12 signs. The eleventh tablet on this theory described the Flood because Aquarius was the eleventh sign. But as he had already explained in his book, *The Astronomy of the Bible*, certain of the southern constellations bore evident reference to the Genesis narrative of the Deluge, and equally to the supposed "Priestly" and "Jehovistic" components; yet the constellations were designed about 2700 B.C. At that period Aquarius was the tenth sign, not the eleventh; it did not become the eleventh sign until after

700 B.C., much later than any date which they could assign for the present Deluge Tablet.

With regard to the question as to the source from whence the water of the Flood came, it was quite clear that no amount of rain could by itself account for it. If, however, they supposed that there was a considerable subsidence over a large area of the land surface of the world, and that the sea rushed in, followed by the rising of the land again later, then the Flood in one sense would be merely local. Yet such an event would certainly give rise to a succession of gigantic waves in the oceans, which would sweep round the entire world, and might supply the evidence of sudden devastation, alluded to by a former speaker, as shown by many coastlines. Professor Delitzsch, in his *Babel and Bible*, regards the Genesis account of the Flood as derived from the Babylonian, and he said that the Babylonians divided their history into two great periods, the one before and the other after the Flood. Then he adds a remark which is quite incompatible with this, viz., that Babylon was in quite a peculiar sense the land of deluges, being exposed to terrible floods of a special kind, due to cyclones and tornadoes. But it is clear that if the Babylonians were continually having floods, they would not be likely to date their history from the Flood. Whilst in floods of that description, a big ship like the Ark would be a veritable death-trap, seeing that it had neither rudder nor steam. Every one remembered the story of the great cyclone of Samoa, from which the "Calliope" was only able to escape because she possessed such powerful engines that she could make her way out to sea in the very teeth of the hurricane.

Dr. PINCHES then replied fully to the comments and the vote of thanks which had been given :—

I am glad to see Mr. Rouse back again at a meeting of the Institute, and to hear his remarks upon the paper which I have just read. I do not remember having said anything with regard to the Babylonian Noah and his slave-wives, nor have I ever written upon the subject; and in any case I should feel inclined to doubt that rendering (for *salat-ia*, "my kinswomen," or the like). With reference to Ištar and mankind, her children, I cannot believe that that goddess is the same as Eve. The derivation of the name and its connection with Isis (late Egyptian *Ise* for an earlier *Iset*) and *Ishah*, the Hebrew for "woman," present serious difficulties,

notwithstanding that an Aramaic docket represents *Ištar* by *Iš* simply. I admit that Professor Hilprecht regards the animals as having been sent to the Babylonian Noah by twos, but that is his own idea as to the completion of the fragment. I have already suggested an alternative rendering. The reading of the group formerly transcribed *Bél* as *Enlil*, *Ellil*, or *Illil*, is based upon Aramaic dockets found on tablets from Niffer. Enlil was the same as the older *Bél*, who, like other gods of the Babylonian pantheon, gave his name to Merodach; and Merodach could therefore be styled *Enlil* or *Bél*, notwithstanding that he was an entirely distinct divinity.

Turning to the identification of *Éa* or *Aé* with *Jah*, I cannot help admitting that this is not satisfactory. The first syllable of his name, *é*, is the same as is found in the word *ékal*, "palace," a word which has gone into the other Semitic languages in the form of *hékul*, with the meaning of "temple." It is therefore improbable that the sound of *y* was ever heard at the beginning of the name, and the old transcription as *Hea* instead of *Éa* may therefore turn out to be more correct, and this would carry it a step farther away from *Jah*.

I have often wondered whether the legends of floods among uncivilized nations were really of any great value. When I was quite young I remember reading somewhere about a story of the Flood among a North American tribe, which, as it afterwards turned out, they had simply obtained from the missionaries.\* Such legends ought, therefore, to be accepted with a certain amount of caution.

I quite agree that the new version contains many parallels with the account in Genesis. If all the words on the fragment are

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\* See the *Races of Mankind*, by Robert Brown, M.A., vol. i, p. 143: "An eminent ethnologist once told me that, after great trouble, he had, at least as he thought, got hold of a tradition of the flood among the north-west American Indians, but he could only get it bit by bit out of the old man who was the repository of this and other such-like lore. It cost my friend many blankets and other presents, and the labour of hours to write it down from the aboriginal language. At last he came to the finale. 'Now what was the man's name who got away with his wife in the big canoe?' The old Indian could not recollect, and went in search of another who knew the name. The two came back in pride, and related to my breathlessly eager friend, 'His name was *Noah*?'<sup>b</sup>" (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. No date.)

attributable to the same personage, then the God who sent the Flood was also the God who prepared Noah for it. This is naturally a most important point in the parallel with the account of the flood in Genesis. I am not sure that I was right with regard to the rendering "pilot"—the word used (*malahū*) might just as well be translated "sailor"; but the argument is nearly as strong, and shows that the Babylonian mind ran, as the Rev. J. Tuckwell has indicated, upon things maritime.

The question of the date of these legends of the Flood is of considerable importance. Father Scheil's fragment shows that that document at least is as early as 1800 B.C., and the date of this cannot be disputed. Also it is worthy of note, that the story itself must be earlier—perhaps much earlier—than the dates of the documents which have come down to us.

In answer to Miss O'Reilly's question, "Are the gods the angels?" I fear the answer must be in the negative. To the Babylonians the gods were not angels. All the gods—or, at least, the principal gods—were identified in some way or other with Merodach. Thus, the Moongod (Sin) was Merodach the illuminator of the night; Enlil was Merodach of lordship and dominion, etc.

As to the possibility that Gilgamesh was a mythical character, Mr. Maunder has already answered this question from the astronomical point of view. There are inscriptions, moreover, which refer to him as a real historical character, as the legend of the hero implies. Coming to the universality of the Flood, I remember reading as a boy a reference (I think it was in an edition of Goldsmith's *Natural History*) to this catastrophe, and the difficulty felt of finding enough water to cover all the earth. With regard to this it was stated (I believe by the editor, in a footnote) that a certain scientist had found enough, and more than enough, in the tail of a comet! Either in this same or in some other work the author (or editor) did not think it needful to assume that the Flood covered the whole earth. All that the account in Genesis implies was, that it extended as far as Noah himself could see.

In conclusion, I thank you not only for the attention and interest which you have shown in the subject of my lecture, but also for the cordial vote of thanks which has been so heartily proposed and carried. It is gratifying to feel that one's efforts are appreciated.

# THE 516TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING

WAS HELD IN

THE LECTURE HALL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF  
ARTS, BY KIND PERMISSION, ON MONDAY, 3RD APRIL,  
1911, AT 4.30 P.M.

THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON OF LONDON TOOK THE  
CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting were read and confirmed. The names of two Associates, Major Henry Pelham Burn and Wilson Edwards Leslie, Esq., elected by the Council this day, were announced.

The Rev. Canon Girdlestone was then invited to read his paper.

## *INDICATIONS OF A SCHEME IN THE UNIVERSE.*

By the Rev. Canon R. B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A.

**T**HE universe is practically infinite and eternal. To know it you must study things material and immaterial; things past, present, and future; things below and above; things good and evil. If a philosopher could live a million years and were in a position to estimate all movements physical and spiritual, and if he understood the bearing of each part on the whole, he would have taken a step in the direction of the scheme of the universe; but he would have even then to say, Who is sufficient for these things? Meanwhile undeterred by difficulties, astronomers are photographing the heavens and studying the ways of some hundreds of thousands of stars; physicists are forming theories to account for the *minutiae* of material existence; and biologists are probing the beginnings of life, animal and vegetable. These students of nature meet together (*e.g.*, in the British Association) and go over the border into one another's domains; they compare results, detect analogies, and as a consequence they proclaim with one voice the Unity of Nature.

This is something. It testifies to the power of the human mind to detect oneness of principle beneath the manifold presentations of sense, and to get above the transient into the sphere of the permanent—or at least the comparatively permanent.

It is evidently an attribute of man to speculate, to observe, and to draw conclusions. If you pay a visit to the Zoological Gardens you will notice the anxious and careworn faces of apes. They look as if the problems of existence were too much for them. But it is all facial; nothing comes of it. It is not so, however, with man. If he has not innate ideas he certainly has innate tendencies and capacities reaching far beyond the struggle for daily existence, pushing backwards and forwards in time, and onwards and upwards in space. Some men are born explorers; they do pioneer work in Africa or New Guinea, in Mars or Sirius, or perhaps they devote a lifetime to the habits of a particular beetle, microbe, or element. Every phenomenon has a history. What led up to it? and what follows after it? The answer never completely satisfies us, but it stimulates us to further research, and then, when we seem nearer our goal than ever before, we have to hand on our torch to others, and we die.

To put it shortly (as Mr. George de Tunzelmann says in his late work on the *Problem of the Universe*, chap. xxiv), mind is always unifying nature. Every man has a vested interest in the world and a share in the universe. He is not a mere lump of organised matter, but is gifted with energy, will, intelligence, purposive action, which put him *en rapport* with the First Cause of nature. Man is God's prime minister upon earth. It may be true that the protoplasm of a mushroom is physically indistinguishable from the protoplasm of a man, but there is that mind-stuff in the man associated with the brain cell—but not secreted by it (as Haeckel vainly teaches)—which is intended to fit him for his high office. The passage from moneron to man is a very extended one, and an unseen hand has been engaged on it all the way up. Evolution is meaningless without Elevation. It is God who lifts up at every step and stage, and He has not finished yet. His Word stands for the expression of His mind and purpose, and the processes of nature are the letters which spell out the Divine message, and it is our business to decipher these letters. For a late and full development of this thought let me refer to Dr. Wallace's last and best book, *The World of Life*, in which, after forty years of reflection, he has advanced to the position that the elements, the cells, the processes of germination, growth and variation, the cosmic changes which contribute to variation of species—all imply an infinite and absolute Creator of all that exists or can exist. All is planned by His mind and effected (primarily) by His *fiat*.

Of course all this sounds anthropomorphic. When we talk of a scheme we are importing the idea of mind into the universe, whilst to talk of chance is to import mindlessness. If variations which are casual, *i.e.*, unintentional to the creature which embodies them, prove to be important links in a long chain leading up to a fixed species, then as we look upon such species we say there is mind here, only not the mind of the clay, but of the potter. We hear much of town-planning at present, but there is universe-planning also—many mansions, but one house. In warfare a good general leaves nothing to chance. He has his objective, and everything must lead up to its completion. So it must be in the work of the Divine Commander. A little girl imagines life in a doll because she detects signs of life within and around herself. Her mistake is that she (unconsciously) argues from the greater to the less. But a grown up man argues from the less to the greater. He says, "Every building is made by some one. He that built all things is God." He sees and feels the marks of variety, order, progression, vitality, persistence; and above all he detects a harmony between the inner and the outer world, and recognises that whilst his body is of earth his mind is of heaven, and he—the mystic self—is the bond of union between the two.

It is the conviction of modern science that all nature was originally invisible. "The things which are seen are not made of things which appeal to the senses" (Heb. xi, 3). They may perhaps be reduced to one imponderable, ethereal, or electrical substance which we could hardly call matter. Whatever it was, there must have been plenty of it disseminated through what seems to us infinite space. Lord Kelvin, writing of the bulk of the universe, suggests that the total amount of matter in the known universe equals a thousand million times the mass of our sun; hence you are to picture to yourselves a thousand million suns disseminated in minute particles or atoms uniformly throughout this gigantic sphere and gradually falling together in nebulous masses. At first the density would be imperceptibly small, and as they shrank together they would take nearly 17,000,000 years to reach a sixth of the density of water (supposing the particles came together with the velocity of light). At length, there would be nebulae—then solar systems—then worlds. Collisions would give rise to heat, and light, which would be radiated away through the ether, the cooling of condensing masses would give solid bodies, collisions between which would yield meteoric stones. Here is the story of creation written by a devotee of physical science and of Biblical

truth. Other writers, *e.g.*, Professor Oliver Lodge, reduce all material existence into electric *ions*, and thus as Mr. Balfour said in his British Association address (Camb., 1904), "Two centuries ago electricity seemed but a scientific toy, now it is deemed to be the reality of which matter is but the sensible expression, each atom being a store of intrinsic energy, and matter itself not so much explained as explained away."

This invisible, inaudible, impalpable, imponderable substance was originally brought into existence by a higher Power in sufficient quantities to people all space with worlds and their inhabitants. To us it seems practically eternal, but it may be the continuous product of mind-force, according to the grand saying, "my Father worketh hitherto and I work"; and consequently it is still theoretically dissoluble. The elements of which the universe is composed may still melt with fervent heat, and as in the beginning God created, so in the end God may destroy. Energy is conserved, but it is also dissipated. The forces of nature may be locked up as if in a box of infinite dimensions, but God has the key, and in Him all things consist.

Our ideas of time and space are evidently at fault here. Geological time and stellar space are as nothing. I must not go into the controversy between Lord Kelvin and Professor Huxley on uniformity in geology, in which the latter protested against the limits laid down by the former, who held that earth was fluid a thousand million years ago. It is more important to affirm in Lord Kelvin's words uttered in 1906, that "Science affirms creative power and makes everyone feel a miracle in himself"; he adds "we are forced by science to believe in a directive power—in an influence other than physical or dynamical or electrical forces."

In all that I have been saying I have been appealing to your mind. But what is mind? Who can tell? Confessedly "two worlds are ours." Our researches into nature are incomplete without an enquiry into the spirit world. Where is it? Wherever there is spiritual personality, human or superhuman. It is vast in some sense, for it includes millions of beings known and unknown to us, but the laws of time and space are not fully applicable to it. To God, whose home it is, darkness is no darkness, distance is no distance, and a day is as 1,000 years; He fills the celestial universe with His presence. All our English prepositions involve locality, and we are obliged to use such words as "up," "down," "within," etc., in reference to the spirit world though only partly applicable. We look up to heaven as Christ did, but this is not absolutely necessary, for

the whisper of our spirit reaches His spirit in a moment. Praise, prayer, love, submission to the dictates of conscience, and all other foundations of true character, belong to the spirit world. God himself is spirit, invisible, impalpable, infinite, eternal, the fountain of all force and goodness. The word "spirit" in most languages is only an illustration drawn either from the movement of the air or wind which are the simplest signs of an unseen force, or from the act of breathing, which is the simplest expression of feeling.

What is the bond of union between these two worlds? It is the human personality, that which is conscious, thinks, feels, strives, and which takes in and gives out energy in two directions, above and below. It floats like a cork on the water; its lower surface in relation to the material world, its upper in relation to the pure air of heaven. Owing to the poverty of human language the word  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ , or soul, has to do duty both for this mysterious personality, and also for its capacity for dealing with things earthly through the agency of brain, nerve and sense, a capacity which we treat now under the words psychology and physiology. But there are (in some persons lying dormant and in others in full activity) energies and inspirations which draw out ourselves, souls, minds and activities in the direction of the spirit world, which is described as "that which is above," as contrasted with that which is of the earth.

The order of human nature seems to be first the physical, cosmic or psychical, then the spiritual or hyper-cosmic; and the nomenclature of the first has to do duty by way of illustration to the second. Which of the two is final, permanent and supreme? Can there be any doubt? We appreciate physical excellence, but we pine for moral perfection, and above all—in our best moments—for union with the Author of our existence. The physical, which practically means psychical, is the scaffolding, but moral and spiritual character is the real building, with a view to which the scaffolding is erected. Scaffolding is costly; it takes a long time to prepare; it is all arranged for a definite purpose; and when that purpose is attained it is taken down, though marks and indications of it may sometimes be detected on the surface of the completed structure. The things of time and space are not useless; they supply working models and types, but after all the things which are seen are temporary, the things which are not seen are permanent.

It is believed that the embryos of all animals (and plants?) pass

in a few days or weeks through stages corresponding with the whole presumed course of ancestral evolution, and this is supposed to have needed millions of years. I sometimes wonder whether all these millions were really necessary for the production, say, of the first man. I also wonder whether shorter stages of existence between an ovum and an infant could be devised by a professor of embryology which should be simpler and should have no reference to the supposed line of ancestry from an amœba. At any rate, the physical universe has been built up in slow stages, and while pronounced very good it may be regarded as incomplete at present, but it is making its way towards completeness.

We should all accept some such scheme as is thus indicated if all went well with the human race; but it does not. Evil mars the divine handiwork and frustrates the divine purpose. It is simply appalling in character and extent. We have not only to face hardship—that might be good for character—but we find ourselves a prey to godlessness, selfishness, lust, cruelty, and a thousand other vices, all branches of one tree which the Bible characterises as sin, *i.e.*, failure or a missing of the mark. We did not personally invent this evil thing. The tendency or proneness to it is an inheritance, and we trace it back to an early catastrophe described clearly in Gen. iii in language which every child can understand.

Let us not spend much time in wondering who the enemy was who sowed tares in the divine field, but rather let us ask whether the Being who brought all things into existence has recognised the failure of His plan, and has taken any steps to bring order out of disorder, to restore the lost, to liberate the captive, and to renew man's adoring love for his Creator.

With this end it would be vain to look to such ethical and social teachers as Buddha and Confucius, to such an analyst as Aristotle, or to such an idealist as Plato. We find ourselves compelled to look to the smallest of all lands, Canaan, and to the most stubborn of all peoples—Israel. We have to study their sacred books which are so candid and yet so hopeful, and then to concentrate our attention on one Being. His character, His teaching, and His beneficent labours do more to give us an idea of God than we can get in any other way. But His public and unmerited death, when only thirty-three, is a shock to our moral sense, until we learn that it was submitted to—tasted—for a reason, and was immediately followed by a risen and glorified life, which has brought light, life, and hope to the door of every human heart.

Now, no religion commends itself to our reason and conscience which does not deal victoriously with evil. We could not dictate time or means, but we ought to be able to recognize the Conqueror if He came, and to appreciate His work when it is finished. Only God could send Him, or shall I say, lend Him, and appoint the programme.

The Christian believes and knows that God gives us the victory over evil through Jesus Christ. It is true, we do not yet see all things put under His feet. Quite the contrary. But we see a beginning made in the life, death and resurrection of Christ? We see that He is practically now saving men, helping them by the gift of His Spirit to live a pure unselfish life, bringing them to God, to self-respect, to hope. Thus we have got a scientific test of the mission of Christ.\* We have a glimpse of the purpose of God in a reclaimed human race. We have a prospect not of *no* heaven and earth, but of a *new* heaven and earth. A spiritual Kingdom is already set up amidst physical and debased surroundings. The senses tell us of these, but the God-sent Spirit gives us a share in the other. Time and space, history, Providence, prayer, praise, conflict, suffering, are all turned to account. Spiritual stones are being fashioned for a spiritual Temple, and the problem of the universe is, to the Christian, an open secret. It is described by those who ought to know as "the bringing of many sons unto glory" (Heb. ii, 10), or in other words, their being conformed to the mind and character of Christ, "that He might be the first born among many brethren" (Rom. viii, 29).

We thus arrive at the following conclusions:—

- (1) Judging the unknown by the (comparatively) known, we have every reason to believe that the Universe is One.
- (2) Interpreting the elaborate mechanism of Nature by

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\* The appeal to Conversion as a proof of the mission of Christ is an ancient one. Thus Origen (born c. A.D. 180) writes, "The whole habitable world contains evidence of the works of Jesus in the existence of these Churches of God which have been founded through Him by those who have been converted from the practice of innumerable sins. The name of Jesus can still remove distractions from the minds of men, and expel demons, and also take away diseases, and produce a marvellous meekness of spirit and complete change of character and a humanity and goodness and gentleness in those who do not feign themselves to be Christians for the sake of subsistence or the supply of any mortal wants, but who have heartily accepted the doctrine concerning God and Christ and the Judgment to come." (Origen, 29, and Celsus, 1, 67.)

- the analogy of human products, the Universe, though apparently working automatically, has intelligent Force and Purpose behind it.
- (3) The alternative view—that nature is the result of Chance and has no Mind at the back of it—is untrue to the dictates of human intelligence and deprives us of the possibility of adoring a Being higher than ourselves.
  - (4) If the gulf between a human inventor and his work is vast, no human being can expect to grasp the height and depth of the Divine Author of the Universe which includes man himself. Yet we find ourselves driven to search for Him.
  - (5) The problem is more severe because while we have instincts in the direction of goodness and righteousness, we find ourselves entangled in a web of evil, physical and moral and all the World cries out, Who shall deliver us?
  - (6) Help has come both for the relief of the speculative mind and for the liberating of the enslaved soul from the very Being whom we regard as the original Author of the Universe. We have life, light, liberty in Christ, the Son and Word of the living God.
  - (7) To sum up. The physical element in the Universe is subservient to the moral and spiritual. Evil cannot form part of the moral scheme in its completeness, but it is being over-ruled to draw out the depths of the divine character, which is infinite love, and which is manifested in the mission of Christ.

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said: I am sure we are all very grateful indeed to the Canon for his very thoughtful paper. I will not attempt to say very much myself about it, but it appears to me that we may regard the Almighty Being from whom everything else proceeded as the summary of all the necessary truths and laws of existence, physical and moral. These laws are necessary. We cannot possibly imagine that this self-existent summary and origin of law is unconscious. If we do so, then we have the terrible alternative of the production of everything by blind chance. There is, therefore,

this omnipotent, omnipresent Being. We must think of Him as having a desire to cause a reflex of Himself so as to be surrounded by beings capable of acknowledging and appreciating Him, but differing from Himself individually. His thought was reflected in the ether or ions. Then began the elementary processes of chemical affinity. The fact that the results of these processes were orderly and progressive, shows that they were not the result of chance, but of plan and law. Here we are confronted of course with the very prominent effects of failure and imperfection in the progress of development. It appears that the Almighty mind would not force perfection, else all would have been perfect but uninteresting. The atoms were allowed to arrange themselves according to laws, principles and ideals—but with freedom and without compulsion. This led to an endless and invaluable variety. This was finally the case with man, no compulsion, but a large amount of freedom, and the result of the conflict of good and evil demonstrates every day of our lives the persistent tendency of good to prevail. We see the grand processes of the universe going on at the present moment. There are the vast nebulae and the clouds of cosmic dust. When some burning star blazes forth it seems to be a world which has come to an end. We recognize that there is much that is mysterious and many difficulties that we can never solve, but there is enough to convince us of a loving and almighty Mind in which we can put our trust.

Mr. HOWARD said: It is most important in considering this valuable paper to note the absolute necessity which there appears to be in the human mind to acknowledge a guiding force in nature. The habit of the human mind of trying to grasp the whole, to rise from the particular to the general is inherent, and there seems no escape from the necessity of viewing the Universe as a whole and governed by intelligence or at least by law. It is quite true that you may go no further than the philosophers who spoke of *ὁ ὅλος* rather than of *τὸ πᾶν*, but the idea of unity you must have.

Now some have thought that evolution might explain creation without a Creator, but we find laws of evolution recognised by the very people who would escape from the idea of first cause. What is a law without a law-giver? And if it is anthropomorphism to speak of an intelligent law-giver is it less so to speak of laws at all? Our whole conception of law is human. And why should we

so dread the accusation of anthropomorphism, if we are made in the image of God in a sense that is not true of the animal, must not that higher intelligence so given be the only means of arriving at any idea of God, however imperfect. Of course, our words and ideas are imperfect, our best expressions are derived from imperfect analogies and necessarily imperfect. And as for the certainty of science, the expressions we use are just equally imperfect and bear etymological analysis even worse than those of Theology. And the ideas they express are incessantly varying. What are atoms, what is ether, what is light, what is force ?

Mr. MARTIN ROUSE, B.A., said : Blind nature is represented by one of its greatest forces ; the ocean, although at work for ages, produces no organism or mechanism, but only a few rounded stones ; a single man by his intellect thinks out and builds up a clock. A tree is a machine far excelling a clock, in that every year it winds itself up and makes fresh wheels, in the shape of leaves, flowers, and fruit in and by means of which its sap is drawn up and rotates ; so a tree must have taken a far superior intellect to design and construct it. How infinitely superior, then, must have been the intellect which has stored within every such machine a large number of like machines, ready after a few years to do the same work, and within each of those machines a large number more, and so onward to a thousand generations.

At the completion of the house in which God's glory was to abide, Solomon exclaimed, "But will God indeed dwell on the earth ? behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee." Yet in the same prayer he appealed to Jehovah for both present and future help in the words, "Hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and when thou hearest forgive and do." It is clear, then, that the Heavenly Father is said to be everywhere, because His knowledge of all that goes on in His universe is perfect, and His power perfect to deal with all, but that there is one part of the universe remote from us in which He sits to control every part. And His attendant spirits do not, as some men imagine, move from one part to another with the rapidity of thought ; for Gabriel, whose usual station is before His throne,\* being commanded "at the beginning" of Daniel's long prayer and confession to bring comfort

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\* Cf. Luke i, 19.

to the prophet, and being "caused to fly swiftly," touched him "at the time of the evening sacrifice,"\* evidently a good while later. With the rapidity of light is a far likelier estimate of an angel's progress; and perhaps we may venture to think that of God's own movements.†

It has been suggested by Mr. R. W. Newell, the American preacher, on the strength of several allusions in Holy Writ, that God's dwelling-place lies within the circle of the pole stars, to which the earth's axis always points, slowly rotating around it in 26,000 years: he cites Ezekiel i, 4, where the glory of God with its attendant cherubim is seen coming from the north; he also cites Psalm lxxv, 6, where we read, "Promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south, but God is the judge; He putteth down one and setteth up another"; and he cites Isaiah xiv, 13 (R.V.), where to Lucifer the inward thought is ascribed, "I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; And I will sit upon the mount of congregation in the uttermost parts of the north." And to these evidences one may perhaps add from Job xxxvii, 22 (R.V.), "Out of the north cometh golden splendour; with God is terrible majesty."

Whence comes the present day aversion to anthropomorphism? In Genesis i we read that the triune God said, "Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness," and this could hardly have referred to the intellect of man, since not to speak of its finite character it did not include the knowledge of good and evil which God possessed; and again in the description of Jehovah's glory, given in Ezekiel i, we read, that above the cherubim and their crystal canopy was "the likeness as the appearance of a man" seated upon a throne.

After the melting points of rocks had been ascertained Lord Kelvin reduced his estimate of the earth's age to twenty-four million years.

Lieut.-Colonel MACKINLAY said: I am sure we all unite heartily with our Chairman in thanking Canon Girdlestone for his excellent and suggestive paper.

The reign of law seen in nature is also to be recognised in the political world. A kingdom grows in power until it becomes

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\* Dan. ix, 21, 23.

† Cf. Matt. xxiv, 27.

paramount for some time in all the earth, but after a while it waxes old, as does the individual, and another takes its place. Laws have ruled these changes.

But the history of the Jews is a standing marvel; long dispossessed of their land they have remained a scattered people, many of them endowed with very great powers of intellect in statesmanship, business, arts, and sciences. Who can doubt that they have a great future? But why are they thus preserved? In the Bible we are told that they were divinely selected, and their present condition was long ago prophesied.

In the Scriptures we meet with grand unities. All creation and rule is ascribed to one God. No local god, or gods of the different forces of nature are recognised. In its spiritual teaching also a grand unity pervades the Book, written as it was in different ages; for instance, it is explained in the Epistle to the Hebrews that the arrangements of the ancient Tabernacle refer again and again to the Lord Jesus Christ. Consistently throughout the Bible it is taught that all men have sinned, that one Saviour died for us, one Mediator between man and God is pointed to throughout. A grand unity pervades the whole.

In Heb. i, 2 and 3, the One by whom the worlds were made is spoken of as the One who made purification for our sins. A grand Unity, supreme in both the physical and spiritual spheres.

Observing then the thread of unity in God's world of nature, we naturally look for a similar harmony in His spiritual revelation, we are not disappointed in our expectation.

The Rev. E. SEELEY said: Both the last speaker and the Canon showed us that Christ's work glorifies the scheme that they see in the Universe. May I suggest that the Scriptures authorize speaking much more confidently than they have spoken.

St. Paul's epistles tell us of "the Eternal Purpose of God" (Eph. i-iii, Col. i, and I Cor. ii, 7).<sup>\*</sup> This assures us that there is "a Scheme in the Universe," Divine and wonderful.

Why did Christ come? was it really to undo a failure of God's Plan, as many think?

Those who so regard it fail to see the grandeur of God's Scheme in the Universe.

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<sup>\*</sup> More fully treated by E. Seeley in a volume in the library of the Victoria Institute entitled *The Great Reconciliation*.

When did God plan the Atonement? St. Paul tells us, "Before the foundation of the World." It was before the creation of man, and therefore before and not after the Fall.

The statements correspond with the acts of God: for after the Fall, instead of destroying the pair of sinners and beginning afresh, He let them live a mortal life and become the parents of a fallen race. From this we may infer that He intended that the human race should have the experience and discipline of conflict with evil.

"The Eternal Purpose" that included the creation of man and the incarnation of Christ that He might be the perfect Man and the true "Image of God," and the Saviour to raise up for God a people like Himself; included also Christ's conflict with evil, His sufferings and death, His victory, His atonement for sin, and His glory.

So it seems also necessarily to include the permission of the Fall and the subjection of the human race to "the bondage of corruption," in order that Christ's people may follow Him through suffering and conflict to victory and conformity to the image of Christ, and become sharers with Him in the glory of the perfect world hereafter; being not merely without actual sin like little babes, but experienced in conflict and victors over moral evil.

The recognition of this glorious future as the realisation of "the Scheme in the Universe" according to "the Eternal Purpose of God," may give us much comfort in the consideration of many moral mysteries that can only baffle and distress us if we try to unravel them without the aid of Divine Revelation.

Dr. WITHERS GREEN said: In the history of the creation in Genesis man became a living soul. It is particularly stated that they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed. They were more spiritually minded than bodily minded. After the fall their natures were inverted, so that they became predominantly carnal. God's scheme in the universe is to restore man to spiritual excellency. The great means God has used are leaders, judges, and judgments, priests, and prophets, and last of all His eternal Son and the Holy Ghost. Man is tripartite—spirit, soul, and body. The soul or *pysche* is intermediate and does not change its place, being dominated by the uppermost of the trio, be it spirit or body. Education by enlarging the sphere of the *psyche* has militated against the strength of the body. Are not men acknowledging the spirit more in their daily lives. The artist becomes vegetarian,

and even fasts to some extent, in order that the spirit may be keener and less belaboured by the body, so that more of the spirit of the subject is seen in the picture. When Carlyle and Tennyson "had a fine time together," though in silence, was this not spiritual? Folk are wanting more help for seeking advice for their spirits rather than their bodies. The increased leadings of evil spirits is seen in more lunacy, the greater power of good spirits in arbitration *vice* war. Do not these considerations make the promise of accord *instead* of discord in "a spiritual body" (1 Cor. xv, 44) less incomprehensible.

Professor ORCHARD said: I am sure we shall all very heartily second the thanks which the Chairman of Council has proposed to our learned and able reader of the paper to which we have listened. A paper thoughtfully suggestive and suggestively thoughtful which had one great demerit, which was that the quantity did not correspond with the quality. It was far too short. The philosophic author has quite proved his point, and shown that there are indications of a scheme in the universe, that indeed the processes of nature are letters of a definite message, and it is our business to decipher that message. Undoubtedly that is so.

On page 164, I think, reference is made to the evolutionist doctrine, that every embryo, to whatever species it may belong, passes in a few days or weeks through stages corresponding with the whole presumed course of ancestral evolution. Darwin himself admits that the picture of the supposed progenitor is more or less obscure. In point of fact it is more obscure than less. Several of the more important works are absent. Von Baer and Huxley both say that embryos are similar to one another, but do not say that they are identical in character. At the International Congress\* held at Cambridge a few years ago mention was made of discoveries, by Professors Hill and Hubrecht, of differences in these embryos. There must be differences, because, if they are placed in one and the same environment, a different result occurs. A duck's embryo produces a duck, a hen's embryo produces a hen, though both embryos are hatched by the same bird. The one plausible argument for the evolution theory (besides structural resemblance) is thus destroyed.

On the third paragraph of page 164 we read of "the failure of God's

\* At which the evolutionist, Haeckel, was present, and spoke.

plan." Apparently it ought to read "the apparent failure of His plan." A printer's error, possibly. To suppose that God could fail in anything is, of course, absurd on the face of it. Whatever made Him fail would be greater than He, therefore God would not be God; one greater than He, and more powerful would be God. God's plans may often seem to fail, but do they really fail? Never, they could not fail. Who shall contend with God? Who shall say He shall not do this or that? There is an apparent failure, no doubt; there is the mystery of evil. It is a mystery, and yet we say that evil is, as was pointed out a little while ago, necessary for the perfecting of moral character in man. How could there be love of enemies, how could there be long-suffering and forgiveness, how could there be these things, if there were no such thing as evil? No doubt the devil thought he had gained a wonderful victory when he persuaded men to nail the Prince of Life to the Cross. Yet was it not for this cause that the Saviour came? Satan's victory was apparent only. We may perhaps compare the Divine purpose and plan to some great wheel advancing towards the great goal—the greater glory of God and the blessedness therefore of His creatures. As this wheel goes on towards that goal, the lower portion of it is moving in exactly the opposite direction to that of the wheel as a whole. A part of the wheel is going backwards, but the wheel itself is going straight forward. This backward movement is necessary. Now I think we have here perhaps some illustration of how evil is really being made by God's infinite power, wisdom, and love, to subserve His will. Evil is evil, but evil when God over-rules it, when God takes it in hand, is made to carry out God's grand purpose. We have many instances of this in history, where wicked men become the instruments of Divine judgment. Of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things; to Him be glory for ever! We shall quite agree with the conclusion of the Author, that the law of the universe is that the physical element is subservient to the moral and spiritual. When the wheel reaches its goal, then the backward movement of the lower portion stops. "Evil cannot form part of the moral scheme in its completeness, but it is being over-ruled to draw out the depths of the Divine character, which is infinite LOVE, and which is manifested in the mission of Christ"; and (may we not add?) to produce, in moral and spiritual beings, a character conformed thereto.

Canon GIRDLESTONE, in replying, said: I have to draw your attention to three points which have been mentioned. A suggestion was made by Dr. Withers Green concerning the development of the spiritual over the physical, and it will be an interesting topic to work out. With regard to Lord Kelvin, I believe the passage as I have it on page 161 was taken accurately from a paper in his life (p. 1162). The only other point is Professor Orchard's charitable hope that the word "apparent" was left out of page 164 by the printer. I am afraid I must acknowledge that it was not the printer but the author. Obviously, the word "apparent" should have been put in to show that what seems a failure is not a failure.

The Rev. J. J. B. COLES writes:—The ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς of Ephes. i, 10, gives us, as we know, the Purpose of God with reference to Christ and the Church in connection with the whole created Universe, and is a fuller revelation than that which is contained in those Scriptures, the scope or range of which does not go beyond matters relating to a "New heaven and a new earth." As a single solar system or local star-cluster is but a very small portion of the entire stellar universe or universes—so the scope of those scriptures which relate only to this earth and its immediate heavenly surroundings (and their future renewal) is but a very limited one in comparison with the scope of the later Epistles of St. Paul, which have a range transcending human thought. No philosophy which aims at a unification of knowledge relating to "GOD, Man and the Universe" can ever surpass or even attain to the comprehensiveness of that system of Truth which is revealed by the Spirit of God, in Ephesians and Colossians. The future glory of the Risen and Ascended Christ as "Protokos" of the whole created Universe of God is as difficult to apprehend as are the vastness and sublimity of the realms of space revealed by modern up-to-date telescopes and star maps. By the death of Christ on the Cross God was glorified before the whole created Universe, in all His attributes, both absolute attributes and relative ones, and by that Cross sin was *morally* put out of His Universe, as it will be *actually* before long, both from the "heavenlies" and from this world, by the exercise of Divine Power, Might and Majesty. Christ, by the sacrifice of Himself, accomplished this eternal purpose of God. We, who in the riches of His grace have been redeemed by that finished work of the Cross, are now in possession of a synthetic philosophy which includes the otherwise insoluble problem of moral and spiritual evil, the origin of which is traced back, as we know, to a higher order of created beings than man.

# THE 517TH ORDINARY MEETING OF MEMBERS

WAS HELD IN THE

ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS

ON THE 24TH APRIL, 1911.

THE REV. CANON GIRDLESTONE IN THE CHAIR.

The Secretary read the Minutes of the previous Meeting, and announced the following elections by the Council :—

MEMBERS.—The Ven. Archdeacon W. M. Jefferis, D.D., Diocese of W. Virginia, U.S.A. ; Robert D. Richardson, Esq., Winnipeg.

ASSOCIATES :—Rev. Samuel B. McCormick, D.D., Chancellor of the University of Pittsburg, U.S.A. ; W. H. Seagram, Esq., London.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Sir David Gill, said :—The subject we have brought before us to-day is one of engrossing interest, and has been so from time immemorial. We are utterly lost in contemplation as we look up at night into the starry heavens, but perhaps we shall hear some things this afternoon which will make us feel a little more at home than we have been hitherto in that wonderful phenomenon, the sidereal universe.

The following paper, compiled by the Secretary from shorthand notes, was read :—

## *THE SIDEREAL UNIVERSE.*

By Sir DAVID GILL, K.C.B., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.

MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen : Your Chairman has just told you what an immense subject the sidereal universe is. In the hour at my disposal I shall try to tell you a little about it, but naturally you must expect me to pass over some points much more rapidly than one would have to do in discussing a more limited subject. Our sun is a star, and all the so-called fixed stars are suns, sources of light and heat, and probably accompanied by little bodies like our earth as planets surrounding them. The name "fixed stars" has descended to us, because until the year 1718 the stars were supposed to be absolutely fixed, relatively to each other, in the heavens. But Halley in that year, by comparing the old observations with the modern observations of his time, discovered that certain of them had certainly moved relatively to

each other. We know nowadays that the stars not only all move, but that if they had been originally created at rest they would now be in motion in consequence of their mutual attractions. Tobias Mayer in 1760, was the first to recognise that if our sun moved amongst the stars, the mere effect of that motion must be to produce *apparent* motions amongst the stars. He used the illustration, and a very excellent one it is, that if a man walks through a wood not too closely planted with trees, he would observe that all the trees in front of him appear to open out as he proceeds, that those he leaves behind will close behind him, that those near him to the right and left will appear to move backwards as he moves forward. If the sun moves, then the stars right and left of the direction of the sun's motion must appear to move in an opposite direction to the sun; those stars in front must be opening outwards and those behind closing up. This will be easier to realise if I draw your attention to fig. 1 (p. 189). In this figure, if the line AB is taken to represent the movement of the sun and the crosses represent stars about the same distance from the sun in various directions, then the apparent movement of each star as the sun passes from A to B will be represented by the dotted lines. Those stars at right-angles to the direction of the sun's motion would apparently move the fastest (that is, through the greatest angles), while for those stars more in front and behind the resulting motion would be smaller. It is evident also that as the sun approaches a group of stars they open out, while those left behind close up. Fig. 1 gives you a good idea of what would take place if you could see certain stars now, and again at a sufficiently later point of time, But, in order to enable you to realise at all what these movements are, it has been necessary to draw this figure on an enormous scale of time. Suppose that the stars indicated by a cross are distant from the sun by the average distance of the first magnitude stars, then it would take half a million years to produce the changes in the apparent directions which are shown in the figure. If these stars were at the average distance of 9th magnitude stars, it would require five million years to produce a like change.

The first observations, sufficiently accurate for determining the proper motions of a number of stars, were made by Bradley 150 years ago, and have been made unceasingly ever since. Now, although it would be easy to find the direction of the sun's motion through space, if the stars were fixed as they are represented on fig. 1, you can easily realise what a much more complicated matter it must be to find the sun's motion through space

if each of these stars has a proper motion of its own. In order to simplify our ideas about the question, let us imagine that all the stars are moving at random. Let me define what I mean by "at random." Imagine a swarm of bees and the queen bee at rest upon a bough of a tree, and that she is surrounded by her swarm of bees flying about her in all directions. If the queen bee looks outwards in any direction she will see as many bees flying away from her as towards her, as many to right as to left, as many up as down. If that were not the case the swarm would not retain its general globular form. If the stars moved like the bees we might call these proper motions "random-motions," that is to say, motions which on the whole have no systematic tendency in any particular direction.

Now, to find out how the sun is moving, I will adopt Mr. Eddington's method of illustrating and discussing it, which will be probably the easiest for you to understand. We have ascertained the apparent direction of the motion of each of a large number of stars, of which sufficiently numerous old and recent observations exist.

A certain area in a map of the heavens or on a celestial globe is taken and a list prepared of all the stars in that area of which the motions have been determined. These motions are then sorted out in groups according to their directions. We then count the number of stars moving in a particular direction, and lay down as in fig. 2 (p. 190) a solid line from the centre towards  $0^\circ$ , representing in length and direction the number of the stars observed to be moving in that direction. Similarly other solid lines, from the centre towards  $15^\circ$ ,  $30^\circ$ , etc., are drawn proportional in length to the number of stars moving in the direction of each of these lines respectively. Finally a curve is drawn through the ends of the lines radiating from the centre, which proves to be a rough ellipse. If all these lines were of equal length like the dotted lines we should assume that the stellar motions are not affected by any one common cause and do not show a tendency to any particular drift, but as a matter of fact that is not the case, and this figure means, therefore, that the star-drift as a whole is in the direction of  $0^\circ$ , and that the sun is moving with respect to the stars in the opposite direction. Now if we select a number of such regions symmetrically distributed over the sky, and form similar figures to the above from the motions of the stars in those regions, we find that the figures so formed would when placed in their corresponding positions upon a celestial globe have their longer axes directed nearly to one point, as shown in fig. 3, and

that point will be the apex towards which our sun is moving amongst the stars. This apex is not far from the well-known star Vega or  $\alpha$  Lyrae.

We have now considered the direction of motion of the sun, and must pass on to consider the velocity of that motion.

I think you are aware that the spectroscope can be applied to determining the velocity of the motion of stars in the line of sight. In the limited time at my disposal I cannot stop to explain the theory of the spectroscopic method of determining stellar velocities in the line of sight. I must ask you to take the statements from me on faith. A spectrum of the star  $\alpha$  Centauri was here shown, taken at two epochs six months apart, that is to say when in one instance the earth in its orbit round the sun is moving towards  $\alpha$  Centauri, and again six months afterwards when it is moving away from it. The difference in the position or displacement of the dark lines in the star's spectrum relative to the corresponding bright lines of the spectrum of iron was well shown on the screen. This displacement of the iron lines in the star's spectrum relative to the corresponding lines in the terrestrial spectrum of iron is accounted for by the fact that you are encountering more waves of light in a second of time when you are approaching the star than when you are receding from it. From the measured displacements the velocity of the earth in its motion round the sun, and therefore the distance of the earth from the sun can be accurately calculated. When the effect of the earth's motion round the sun is thus known, it can be eliminated, and thus the velocity of any star's motion, referred to our sun, can be determined by measuring the displacement of its spectral lines relative to corresponding lines of terrestrial spectra.

I have told you that the sun is moving towards the star Vega, and if Vega were at rest it would be easy to ascertain the sun's velocity in space. But Vega is itself moving, and we do not know the direction or velocity of its motion. How, then, are we to find out the velocity of the sun's motion? We can only do this by referring to a great number of stars, and imagine that in any particular region of the sky the stars are moving accidentally in all sorts of directions, but in no particular direction in the mean.

To make this more clear, let us return to our analogy of the swarm of bees. If the queen bee is at rest and all the bees are flying about her, the whole swarm keeping its general globular form, then we might reasonably assume their mean motion in space to be zero with reference to the queen-bee; otherwise, the

swarm would not retain its globular form. Hence if we suppose the individual bees to constitute the stars of our sidereal universe, and if the motions of the stars resemble in some degree the motions of a swarm of bees about a central queen, we may assume that if we select a field of stars in any particular direction their motion will in the mean be zero.

If then the velocities of approach to the stars in any particular area are measured spectroscopically the average velocity of the sun's approach to these stars should be nearly the same as if the stars were at rest.

Fig. 4 (p. 191), *i.e.*, the diagram of spots, shows you in a simple graphic way the results of all published determinations of the velocity of stars in the line of sight. The spots represent the centres of areas of the sky in which there are two, three, or four stars of which the apparent velocities of their motions with respect to the sun have been determined. The positions of these areas are plotted in Right Ascension and Declination. A black spot indicates that the sun is moving towards the stars in that particular area and a ring the reverse. The size of each spot or ring is made proportional to the average velocity of the star-motion with respect to the sun in each area.

Nearly all the black spots are seen to be together, and nearly all the rings together, and this indicates the motion of the sun to be away from the rings and towards the black spots, and the exact apex of each group can be readily estimated and can be calculated mathematically with a very considerable precision. You will note how the calculated apices of motion fall in the middle of the largest spots, and you will also note that there are a few rings amongst the black spots and *vice versa*, but this merely shows that these exceptional stars have exceptional motions of their own.

The general result of this calculation is to show that the sun's motion through space is at the rate of about 13 miles a second.

Now thus far I have assumed that the motions are accidental, in other words, going back upon our old analogy, that the queen-bee is at rest. The great discovery was made by Professor Kapteyn and announced at the meeting of the British Association in South Africa, 1905, that we cannot assume that this motion is accidental. He proved that there were at least two great streams, or—to use our former analogy—that instead of there being one queen-bee accompanied by its surrounding bees there are two queen-bees, each with her own swarm. Imagine two queen-bees approaching each other, and that each bee

knows its own queen-bee and follows her, and that the two swarms pass through each other. Then if you imagine all the bees to be stars you will have an idea of Kapteyn's discovery of the two great streams of stars. I will use Mr. Eddington's method of showing this, because his method is more easily understood than the original method employed by Kapteyn, the discoverer.

When Professor Lewis Boss published his catalogue of the proper motions of 6,000 stars, Mr. Eddington set to work to make figures exactly on the plan that I have shown you in fig. 2, and instead of finding nice ovals he found the kind of figures shown in fig. 5 (p. 192), which facetious astronomers call "Eddington's rabbit show." And you see that they are very irregular figures; some are more irregular than others. Mr. Eddington discussed all these by very beautiful mathematical processes.

I have not got a model of a globe here, but Mr. Eddington kindly got me a globe, and he painted on one hemisphere all the figures as he actually found them. And in fig. 6 (p. 193) you will see how beautifully the irregularities of these figures represent the fact that there are two apices of two star drifts. All the continuous lines converge to a point, and prove that there is one apex towards which one set of stars is moving, and the next (fig. 7) shows you by dotted lines the other apex. Mr. Eddington thus shows us practically this: that there are two streams of stars moving through each other, not quite, but nearly, in opposite directions. This seems to be a leading feature in the mechanics of our universe.

I have shown you now in what direction the sun is going through space, and with what velocity it is moving, and we have seen that there are two great streams of stars passing through each other, but I have told you nothing of the dimensions of space as we know it or of the distances of the stars. The nearest star we know of is  $\alpha$  Centauri. I have measured its distance by various methods, and it would take a lecture of itself to tell you how that was done; but, in short, if its position is observed at two epochs six months apart, viz., when the earth is at the extremes of its orbit round the sun, we find that the position of the star is displaced by three-fourths of a second of arc from its mean position. The total displacement amounts to three-fourths of the diameter of a silver threepenny piece viewed a mile off.

A little time ago I delivered a presidential address to the Institute of Marine Engineers, and I was comparing the accuracy of old engineering measures with modern measures, and old

with recent astronomical measures, and I told them that one-hundredth of a second of arc was the smallest stellar parallax that an astronomer could measure. The angle to be measured is equivalent to about the one-hundredth part of a threepenny bit viewed a mile off. At the dinner which followed, the gentleman who proposed my health said that there was no doubt about the nationality of their President, because no one but a Scotchman would trouble his head about the hundredth part of a threepenny bit a mile off!

From the distance of  $\alpha$  Centauri, light, which travels about 186,000 miles a second, would occupy  $4\frac{1}{3}$  years in reaching the sun or our earth. Astronomers speak of the distance that light travels in a year as a light-year; thus  $\alpha$  Centauri would be distant  $4\frac{1}{3}$  light-years. If one could travel to  $\alpha$  Centauri at a penny a hundred miles it would cost one and a-half times our national debt for a single ticket! Sirius is about twice that distance from us, and so we go on till we get to the limit when ordinary observations stop. But we have been able to measure up to distances of 300 or 400 light years.

The following table gives you, according to Professor Kapteyn, the outcome of the combination of all known data bearing on the distances of the stars and their distribution in space. Within a sphere whose radius is 550 light-years (a distance corresponding with that of an average ninth magnitude star) there exist—

	1 star	giving from	100,000	to	10,000	times the light of the sun.
46 stars	„	10,000	„	1,000	„	„
1,300	„	1,000	„	100	„	„
22,000	„	100	„	10	„	„
140,000	„	10	„	1	„	„
430,000	„	1	„	.1	„	„
650,000	„	.1	„	.01	„	„

This shows that our sun is not a very important star; and, indeed, if it was viewed from the distance of the average first magnitude star it would only appear as a star of the fifth magnitude.

Our earth, therefore, is a very insignificant planet revolving round a very insignificant sun.

I now pass to the consideration of the constituents of the heavens.

You all know that irregularly shaped band of light forming a great circle in the sky called the Milky Way. I cannot, of course, show you pictures of the whole of it, but here are

pictures of areas of it about  $15^\circ$  square, taken with a lens of short focus, in which the star images are necessarily very close together. These pictures, taken by Mr. Barnard, illustrate in a striking manner the grouping of the thousands of faint stars, clusters and nebulae which together make up the light of the Milky Way when the latter is viewed without optical aid.

(Here the lecturer exhibited photographs of—

The great star cloud in Sagittarius.

The small star cloud in Sagittarius.

The region about  $\theta$  Ophiuci.

Another region in Ophiucus, with nebula near  $\rho$  Ophiuci.)

Now these nebulae—what are they?

Some are certainly gaseous, as proved by their spectra. The spectra of some nebulae, as first proved by Sir William Huggins, instead of showing continuous spectra crossed by dark lines as in the spectra of the sun and stars, are made up simply of bright lines, which indicate a gaseous constitution. We find many stars—notably the stars of the Pleiades—enveloped in such nebulae.

Apparently these stars have been formed out of this nebulous stuff that surrounds them, in accordance with the nebular hypothesis of Laplace.

Examples of gaseous nebulae were shown on the screen, such as—

The Pleiades after different lengths of exposure.

The great nebula in Orion.

Nebula about  $\eta$  Argus

The Crab nebula.

The ring nebula in Lyra.

The planetary nebula 37 H IV Draconis.

This last was the nebula which first revealed to Sir William Huggins the gaseous constitution of some nebula. The beautiful Mount Wilson photograph shows this nebula to have a helix-like structure.

We have some spiral nebulae such as M 64, Comae Bernicis (shown on the screen), which also seem to be purely gaseous; but there are others like—

The great nebula in Andromeda

M 33 Trianguli

M 81 Ursae Majoris

Spiral nebula in Can. Ven.

} shown on the screen,

which have continuous or stellar-like spectra.

I venture to suggest with reference to these spiral nebulae a theory which, though not yet proven, seems to me to have many elements of probability. My belief is that these giant spirals are distant universes not unlike our own, and that if we could place ourselves on one of these—say the Great Andromeda nebula—we should, on looking towards our stellar system, see our Milky Way somewhat as we see (or rather as it has been photographed) the Andromeda nebula. That we should find there condensations of light having stellar spectra such as we see in the great spiral nebulae, and that our own sun and the stars which surround it would be represented by one of these patches or condensations of light, the component stars being too distant to be separately visible.

In conclusion, the lecturer exhibited photographs of the 60-inch reflecting telescope with which the beautiful photographs of the nebulae had been made.

The instrument is mounted on Mount Wilson, near Pasadena, in California. It was made by Mr. Ritchey there, by whom also the photographs were taken, and is a marvel of exact mechanical and optical workmanship.

The lecturer explained the details of its construction, the mode of its use, and made an appeal for funds to establish a similar telescope on the southern hemisphere.

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen, it is not very easy to speak after such a mental treat as we have had, and one hardly knows how best to put into words the thoughts that I am sure are in all our minds. The first is that we are deeply grateful to Sir David Gill for the labour and pains he has taken to make this magnificent subject as simple as it could possibly be for us. Many of our minds were like some of the nebulae we have just been looking at, although I am afraid not quite as clear as these nebulae now are.

I am sure we have learned two things; one is the greatness of the human mind. I take it that one of these magnificent instruments is a sort of embodiment of mind, and as you looked at it you saw the way in which the plan was carried out, and thought of the quiet work, and the way in which the observer would devote three nights to get an eleven hours' exposure, and you marvel at the

ingenuity and perseverance of man. But whence does man get this ingenuity and this perseverance; whence is it that we get this marvellous gift of searching into the depths? I think we of the Victoria Institute have made up our minds on this point. It is not self-generated any more than the stars themselves. The other thing with which I think we must all be impressed, is the magnificence of the works of God. The heavens do declare to us something of the handiwork of God. We feel as if we have had a revelation made to us to-day by the telescope.

In the Bible there are three heavens spoken of: the heavens in which the birds fly, the heavens in which the stars are, and the heaven in which God dwells. The first, of course, is the air, the next is celestial and the last spiritual. Distance and time do not affect the spiritual as they affect the celestial. It is wonderful to see what provision the Bible has made for the subject before us in the following text:—"He telleth (that is counteth) the number of the stars and calleth them all by their names." What an idea that gives you of the individuality and care of the Most High. After all, how little we see. We dwell in a little corner of the universe; the inhabitants are but as dust; but though that is so there is something in a human being which is worth all the stars put together. There is something which brings us more into touch with the Creator and gives us a better idea of His mind because we are brought into union with Him through Christ. It is a glorious thing as you try to grasp the magnificence of these glorious bodies, to think that we are brought into relationship with the Being who has brought them into existence, and that we may call him Father. I am sure I shall voice all our feelings if I give to Sir David Gill our heartiest thanks for the very great treat he has given us to-night. I observed that he said something of a subsequent dinner on an occasion when he gave a lecture. The only dinner I hope we shall have is a dinner on the spectroscope on some future occasion if possible. Although stars might be very indigestible to serve up on the table yet I am sure we can digest another lecture from Sir David Gill.

Mr. MAUNDER: We are very greatly privileged this afternoon in having Sir David Gill to address us, and to unfold to us so high and important a subject. Sir David has taken us, as it were, to the very outposts of science, and from the very border of the territory

that it has already conquered, bidden us to look out over the lands into which we may hope in the future to advance. I think that one of my own earliest astronomical recollections is that of meeting Sir David Gill before he set out with the Earl of Crawford, then Lord Lindsay, to observe the Transit of Venus of 1874. From that time to the present the science of astronomy has been advanced by the efforts of no one more effectually than by his; and in particular he has devoted himself to the solution of the great problems of the celestial distances; of the determination of the scale upon which the starry heavens are built. And the great fundamental unit of astronomical distance is necessarily the distance of the earth from the sun. To this Sir David devoted himself with unswerving determination, and infinite resource. He followed up the method of observation of the Transit of Venus, by that of heliometer measures of Mars at the opposition of 1877, and then by observations of various minor planets; Iris, Sappho and Victoria. At that time it seemed an almost preposterous supposition that the distance of the sun could be determined by the means of the spectroscope; through measures of the rate of motion of the earth in the line of sight, relative to various stars; the rate of motion either of recession or approach. Yet absurd as the idea then seemed, Sir David grasped the possibilities of the method and did not hesitate to predict its success, and his faith has been abundantly justified by the result; largely through work which he himself initiated and arranged at the great observatory over which he ruled for eight and twenty years. But this fundamental problem of the distance of the sun was only one of those to which he devoted himself. The distances of certain stars were measured by him, and he was one of the most strenuous and influential movers in setting on foot the photography of the heavens, some of the latest fruits of which we have seen in the beautiful slides that he has exhibited to us this afternoon. It is now nearly thirty years since the great comet of 1882 flared into our skies. Sir David had a number of fine photographs of that object taken at the Cape Observatory, and from the number and distinctness of the star-images shown on those plates, drew the inference that in photography we had the means for obtaining a fuller and more complete record of the heavens than direct eye-observation alone could ever give. He was therefore urgent in pressing the claims of the new method upon astronomers,

and thus led on to the conception and accomplishment of the Great International Photographic Chart of the Heavens with all that it has implied. But he did not wait for the co-operation of others; he quickly put his ideas into actual practice by obtaining at the Cape Observatory a complete photographic survey of the southern hemisphere. Between that achievement and the great subject which he has expounded to us this afternoon—the existence in our neighbourhood of two great star streams—there is a strong historic connection. We have had, therefore, a subject of the highest interest laid before us by one who is essentially the master in that field.

There is just one point in Sir David Gill's address upon which I would like to ask for a suspension of judgment; I mean his reference to nebulae as "external galaxies"; as stellar systems like our own, made nebulous to us by distance. I think that as yet we have no sufficient justification for departing from Herbert Spencer's view, expressed some forty years ago, that the stellar universe within reach of our vision, is essentially a unity, a single structure. The main fact upon which Herbert Spencer and R. A. Proctor after him, based this conclusion, was that the two great aggregations of nebulae are found round the two poles of the Milky Way. It is true that the growth of our knowledge has somewhat altered the weight which we may attach to this fact. Yet I do not think that we can set it aside; I think it still points to the essential unity of the stellar universe within our ken, and that the idea that we are able to behold any "external galaxies" must be still regarded as very dubious.

I think that we are all unanimous in feeling that a very great favour, pleasure and instruction has been bestowed upon us this afternoon by Sir David Gill's lecture.

The ASTRONOMER ROYAL said: It has been a great pleasure to listen to Sir David Gill's address. We owe to him the most accurate measures we have of the distances of some of the stars. Many of the stars of which he told us are too far away for their individual distances to be determined and we have to be content with average values. But the accurate knowledge of the distances of the nearer stars is a secure basis which helps our knowledge of the still more distant bodies. Mr. Maunder told us that he did not altogether agree with some things in the address, and I think Sir David would admit that these parts are somewhat speculative. He began by

showing us the different ways in which astronomical knowledge is being pursued, and it always seems to me that this makes a lecture much more valuable and interesting than a mere statement of results.

The difficulty in sidereal astronomy is to bring together the lines of thought so to obtain from them as correct an idea as possible of the stellar universe. Sir David's idea is that many of the stars are comparatively near the sun, but as we go further out we come to the Milky Way. All these, together, constitute what he calls our universe, and it is, he thinks, similar to one of the spiral nebulae we see. These spiral nebulae and the nebula of Andromeda are, in his view, much more distant, and may be said to constitute separate universes. One reason for this is that the spectroscopic observations of the Andromeda nebula made at Mount Wilson suggest that it is made up of a collection of bodies like our sun—but so far away that we cannot separate them in our largest telescopes. We cannot say that this is definitely proved, but must rather regard it as a speculation for the present.

Mr. MARTIN ROUSE said: When a photographic plate is exposed beyond a certain number of hours, does it not cease to give any more stars, and does not the number of stars gradually imprinted on the plate gradually diminish with the time of the exposure? Does the lecturer think this indicates that we are approaching the limit of the universe?

Sir DAVID GILL said: That has been investigated, and we find that there is a very rapid decrease in the number of stars and that they are much more sparsely scattered in space, the farther we go.

The Rev. JOHN TUCKWELL asked if Sir David would just say a word as to the nature of the light emanating from the nebulae?

Professor ORCHARD asked what was the explanation of those extraordinary black spaces shown in some of the slides; do they indicate that the universe is limited and beyond this there is outer darkness?

Sir DAVID GILL in reply said: I entirely agree with Mr. Maunder and the Astronomer Royal that what I have said to you in the latter part of my address is speculative. We have no absolute proof as yet that the stars immediately surrounding the sun if viewed say from the great nebula in Andromeda would constitute a nebulous-looking cluster, and that the Milky Way if

viewed at a like distance would present the appearance of a spiral nebula. But there is one point that I omitted to bring before you. It was this. If there is dust scattered through space there is no doubt that it would absorb the blue rays of light more than the red or other less refrangible rays. Those of you who remember the great volcanic explosion at Krakatoa may remember that the dust of that explosion was carried right round the world, and gave rise to glorious red sunsets, due to the absorption of the blue light by the dust. Now suppose two stars having similar spectra (that is to say, originally of the same colour)—if dust pervades space, and if the two stars are at very different distances, then the blue light of the more distant of the two stars would be more absorbed than that of the nearer star.

Now ordinary photographic plates are more sensitive to blue than to red light—therefore the difference between the photographic and the visual magnitude of a star becomes a means of estimating its distance. The process is difficult to explain in a few words, and the results are not very accurate. But on the assumption that cosmical dust is uniformly distributed in space, Professor Kapteyn has estimated that the Andromeda nebula is distant 10,000 light-years. But if, as I think most probable, when you get to that part of space where there are fewer stars, then I think it probable there will also be less cosmical dust, and if that is so Kapteyn's estimate of the distance of the Andromeda nebula will require to be largely increased—and that is one of the reasons why I think that some spiral nebulae are so distant as to be beyond our so-called universe, and may be considered universes in themselves.

There are other reasons for this view which it would take me too long to explain now, but I quite agree with the Astronomer Royal and Mr. Maunder that the latter part of my lecture is, and was intended to be, speculative—and that the view I expressed with regard to the spiral nebulae, though it seems to me probable, is not to be as yet accepted as a proved scientific fact.

As to Mr. Tuckwell's question—about the light of nebulae—I suppose the question refers to those nebulae which do not give a continuous spectrum—whose spectra are not continuous like stellar spectra.

These purely gaseous nebulae (such as 37 H. iv Draconis) give a spectrum of bright lines—coincident with those emitted by

incandescent hydrogen, helium and nitrogen—and another line, which, so far, has not been identified with any terrestrial spectrum and which, for want of a better name, we call “nebulum.” As to the blank spaces seen in the photograph of portions of the Milky Way. My belief is that they are quite possibly due to absorbing clouds of matter. We have nebulous clouds which shine; I can conceive that there are others which do not shine but which absorb light. But here also we are not yet certain—the matter is not yet *proved*.

I thank you once more for the kind reception you have given to my remarks.

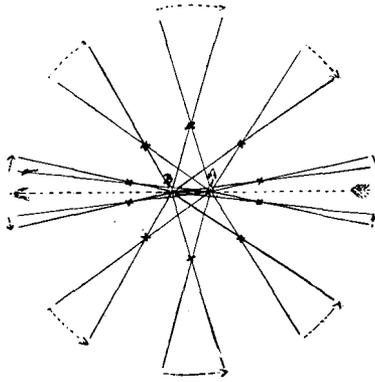


FIG. 1.

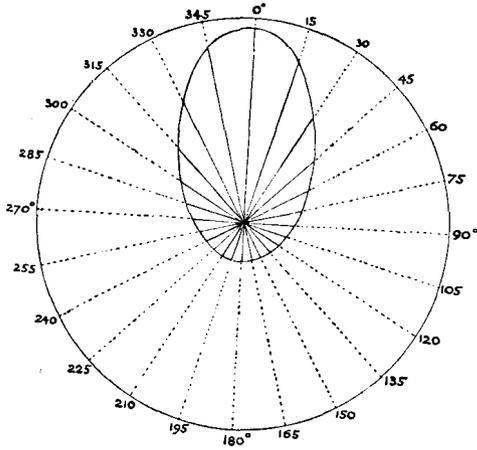


FIG. 2.

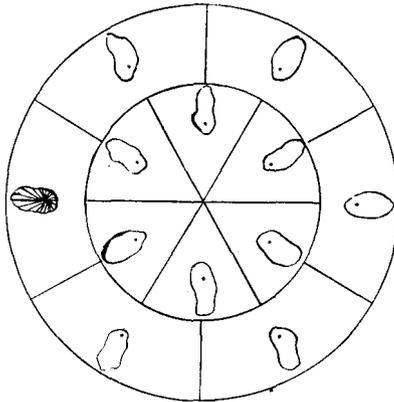


FIG. 3.

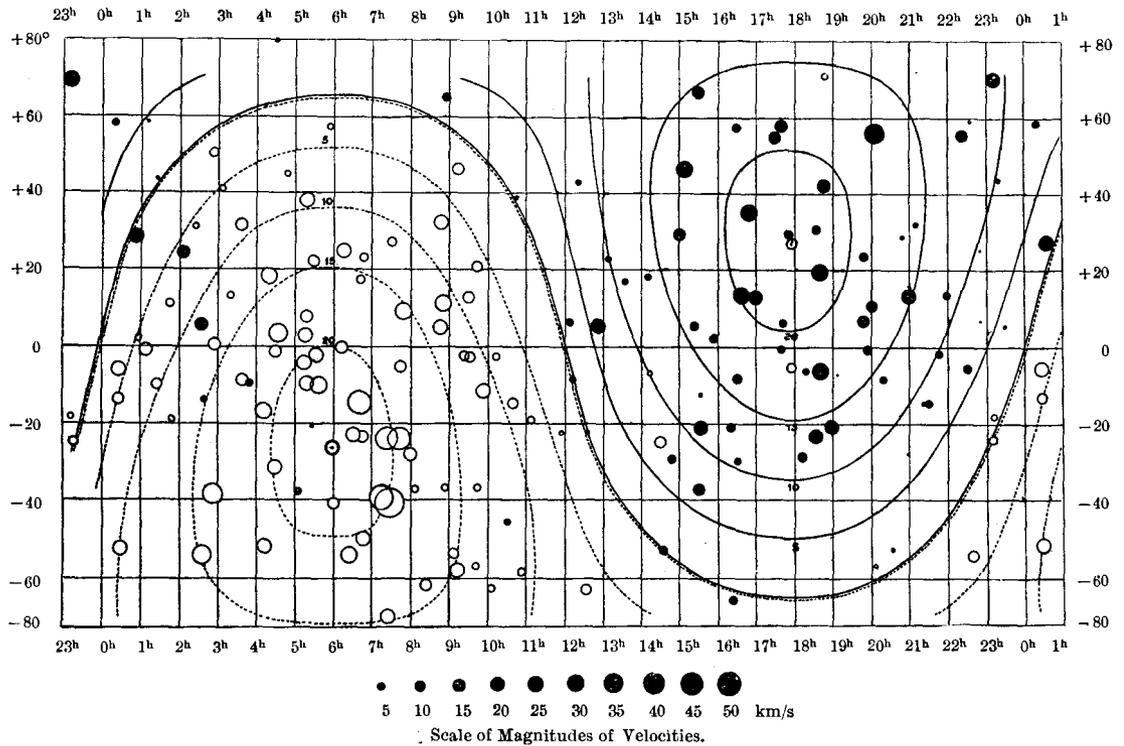


FIG. 4.—CHART SHOWING MOTIONS OF STARS (RADIAL VELOCITIES) RELATIVELY TO SUN.

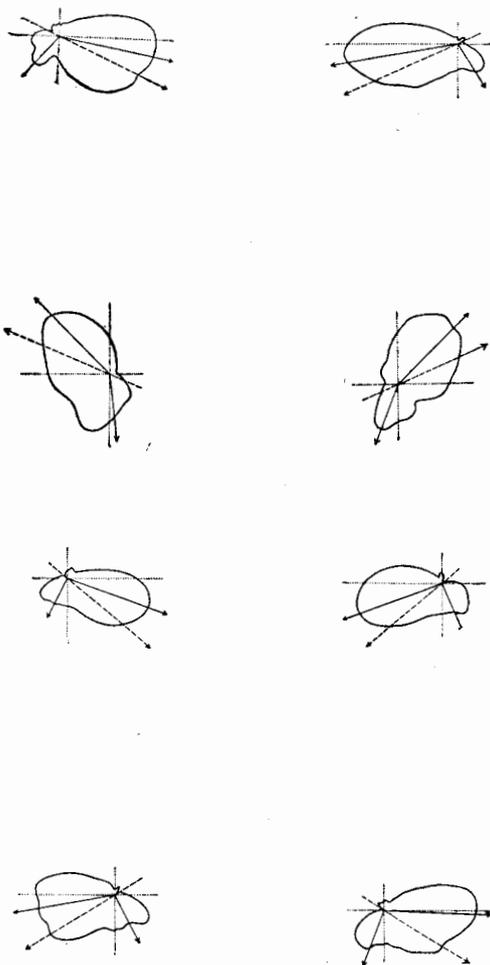


FIG. 5.

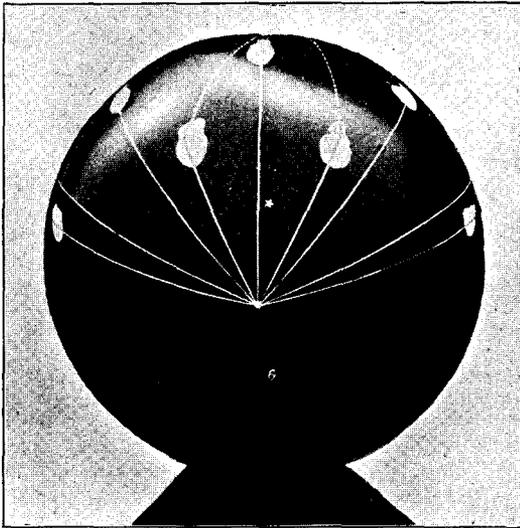


FIG. 6.

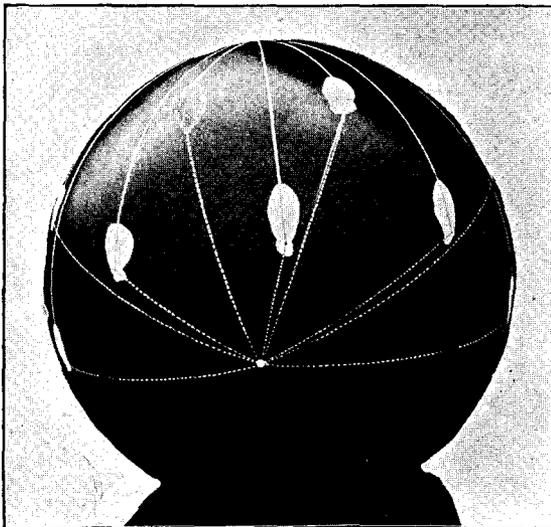


FIG. 7.

## 518TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

MONDAY, MAY 8TH, 1911, 4.30 P.M.

DAVID HOWARD, ESQ., D.L., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following elections of Associates were announced :—

William Weller, Esq. ; Bishop Hassé ; Dr. H. M. Bishop.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Professor Roget, Member of the Institute, to the Meeting, said how cordially the English members welcomed the presence of a foreign Member. So many of the works on science and religion by French-speaking students were held in admiration by Englishmen, and they rejoiced to have one amongst them to-day representing the exquisite clearness of French thought and the French language.

Professor Roget then read his paper on

### *A LIFE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE HARMONY OF CHRISTIANITY, PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.*

**E**RNEST NAVILLE, an honorary member of this Institute, was born in 1816, and left this world in 1909, being nearer five score than four score years of age. He was the son of François Naville, a pastor descended from the most ancient Geneva stock, and well known in the history of education by his Institute at Vernier. With Father Girard at Fribourg, Madame Necker de Saussure in Geneva, and Fellenberg of Berne, François Naville ranks high among Swiss educational leaders, after Rousseau and Pestalozzi.

In this, as in other lines of thought and kinds of work, Ernest Naville was to follow in the footprints of his father. If such a figure of speech were allowable, we might say of him that while following the parental footprints in every direction they went, he broadened and deepened them.

He was brought up in the country, attended courses of Arts and Divinity in the world-renowned Academy of Calvin, which now, under the style of University of Geneva, throws forth a notable, but lesser light. At that early time he struck the attitude which was to be that of his whole life: that morals

and divinity do in themselves dominate the intellectual and scientific activity of men, and should formally be allowed the supremacy which is theirs intrinsically. To his mind, Geneva, which had been the earthly station of Calvin, and the cradle of Rousseau, was bound by her past to fulfil, in Naville's time, and to the utmost of her power, a mission: that of striking at materialism under its pseudo-philosophic cloak, and of scattering abroad the seeds of civil and religious liberty. For the defence of national liberty, in 1838, he stood clothed in a soldier's uniform. Militant to his very last breath, his motto might well be this modestly-proud phrase of his:

“Et moi je fus aussi sergent en Helvétie.”

In fact, he was but little seen, though most widely known, out of his own country. He spent but little time in any European town, except Florence and Paris.

In 1844, he was appointed Professor of the history of philosophy in the Faculty of Arts. Unfortunately, in 1846, the political headship of Geneva passed from the Conservatives to another class, much impregnated with French ideas of a type abhorrent to the ancient church of Geneva, and inconsistent with the ancient forms of the Republic. Naville resigned his ministry in the Church, but continued his activity as an educator, a writer and an orator. He gave at Geneva and Lausanne a series of addresses under the title *La vie éternelle*, and, in 1860, accepted conditionally an appointment in the Faculty of Divinity in the renovated Academy of Geneva. But, under the new régime, such official posts proved untenable for men of the old way of thinking. He had been dismissed from the chair of philosophy—at the same time that my grandfather François Roget was compelled to vacate that of political history. Now he resigned his connection with the Faculty of Divinity. Yet he continued to teach in an unofficial capacity. He remained *Professor Naville* for all, and ultimately the disqualification was removed. He was elected an honorary member of the University, when it was realised how many universities and learned societies in Europe had honoured him.

His later discourses on *Le Père céleste* (1863), *Le problème du mal* (1867), *Le Christ* (1877), were delivered before audiences of 3,000 men. They were translated into eight languages.

His first large philosophical work consisted in editing the manuscripts of Maine de Biran. He was for twelve years engaged upon this task. The recondite but admirable philosopher of France (1766–1824) was neither an idealist in the

Cartesian sense, nor a sensationist in the eighteenth century fashion, which agreed well with the spiritual unconcern of Naville for pure rationalism. As an editor of Maine de Biran, Naville completed and improved upon Cousin's contribution to the exposition of his doctrine.

With Naville, metaphysics became a principal but not the principal pursuit. In his mind, metaphysics were, on the one hand, second to the relationship of man to God, and, on the other, he beheld in the sciences a primary object for the exercise of the metaphysical faculty.

From this height he surveyed all sciences. "There can be no contradiction between the particular sciences and philosophy," he writes, "since the results yielded by every particular science are the *pabulum* of philosophic thought. Such thought would be purposeless that did not formulate its statements in full view of the sum total of the data of experience, observation and experiment." Consequently, he launched upon the world, from 1883, *La physique moderne*, *La logique de l'hypothèse*, *Les philosophies négatives*, and lastly, for the book bears the imprint 1909, *Les philosophies affirmatives*. For Naville, the *principium* of the universe is an everlasting spirit, a creative essence free from Determinism—which he condemns in the book, *Le libre arbitre*. Thus, the philosophy of Naville comes throughout into contact with the mighty doctrine of the Evangelists and Apostles.

He defined philosophy—the share of reason in the search after God. For him, faith and reason could not fairly be considered to oppose each other: a philosophy, and a religion might be mutually exclusive, but *religion* and *philosophy* could not. When once the human mind comes to the conclusion that the traditional data of Christianity offer the best solution of philosophic problems, it must follow that philosophy and religion are in harmony, though distinct.

The dictates of the moral conscience Naville applied also to the attainment of justice in politics. This he held to consist in the representation of ideas—consequently of the parties holding them—in political assemblies, but not in governments. He thus became identified with what is called proportional representation—or representation of minorities and majorities in proportion to the suffrages polled by each and every party. His proposals found much favour in Switzerland, falling into line as they did with those put forward by my uncle, the historian Amédée Roget, and by Professor Hagenbach-Bischoff, of Bâle. Many imitators and disciples have, in this work too,

been born to Naville in many places of the world. His sense of political justice rested on the abstract and ideal truths which he held should pervade the institutions of States, and which proceeded from the same ordaining forces he saw at work in science and philosophy. In a stronghold of Protestantism, such as Geneva was till 1846, and still is in the eyes of the world, he had many opportunities in which to show to the Roman Catholic Church his sovereign sense of righteous justice.

I beg now to bestow the remainder of my time upon a general review of the contents and subjects of Naville's books—which are many more than are mentioned here—his philosophy and Christian discourses.

The psychology of Maine de Biran dominated the early progress of Naville in philosophy. He found another mainstay in a profound acquaintance with the method of physical science. The researches which Naville instituted in this subject are probably the most original part in all his work. The processes or procedure of the mind in scientific enquiry he transferred to philosophy. Stimulated by the vigorous scientific achievements which then made Geneva as famous as, for instance, Edinburgh in its day, he had an example before him set by living men. He was fortunate in their personal advice, even in the criticism of such authorities in physical science as De la Rive, De Candolle and Pietet. Under this guidance he tried hard to master the inwardness of modern physical science by studying the history of its beginnings, by scrutinising the leading principles of its founders, from Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo to Newton, without neglecting the contributions of his contemporaries. From these studies he had acquired in the scientific domains a most uncommon learning, and an exceptional standing.

It is rare indeed that scientific men have a philosophic mastery over their craft and are able, either to connect their special department with others, or to view it in relation to the laws of the mind and the universal findings of reason. As near his end as 1908, Ernest Naville's reputation was still so unique in the matter of the relation of science to philosophy, that the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques (Paris) asked for a mémoire from him on the essence of matter, which the old man sent, being unable to go and read it himself. The fruit of his researches upon scientific method was to supply him with a clear and well grounded conviction that in every scientific process of mind, hypothesis is a principal structural element and hence flowed for him a general conception of science which

enabled him to build up on a solid foundation the rights of philosophy to scientific rank and the rights of science to philosophic treatment.

We can state his position in a few words. According to him, actual or real knowledge is never gained by forming simple deductions upon the basis of *a priori* data of the purely rational order. But, on the other hand, sciences are not either built up, as has often been claimed, by the mere ascertainment of facts. In whatever sphere, science springs up from the moment only when an explanation of the facts is reached, and science is science in the measure in which that explanation accounts for the facts and is unfailingly borne out by their repetition. Now, the terms of this explanation, whence can they spring up, if not from the mind of which they are a spontaneous act? The mind clothes those terms in hypothetical forms. The explanation is a supposition, and this has to be scrutinised before the mind, which brought it forth, may commit itself more or less completely and more or less finally to it.

Philosophy has no other method than this. Philosophy at its barest is indistinguishable from the scientific mind process. Philosophy is in reality nothing else than the scientific mind process brought to bear no longer upon some limited or defined problem, but upon the universal problem, that is, the problem of the Universe. There is in the reason of man a craving for unity which belongs to the very kernel of reason. Philosophy is the expression, the satisfaction of this want. It formulates a general explanation of all that exists. It puts and endeavours to solve the following question: "How should the *principium* be conceived in order to understand that a world such as ours could proceed therefrom, our world with the diverse elements which compose it and the relations in which they stand to one another?"

Well, for Naville, only three answers are possible, and all three have been over and again put forward in the course of the centuries and their conflicts make up the history of human thought. The first, by far the most feeble, is materialism which would bring all things and beings down to mechanical effects. To defeat this system, it should be sufficient to lay bare its inability to explain the existence of the very faculties by which the mind perceives the presence of matter and recognises its properties. To quote the humorous expression which terminates the discourse addressed by Naville to the students of Switzerland on the occasion of his jubilee: "If matter existed alone, materialism could not be."

Another system is idealism, a doctrine abstruse, but of some grandeur, which has more than once collected enthusiastic disciples.

According to this philosophy all that exists and comes into being, in the realm of history as in that of nature, is the outcome of eternal ideas, of absolute laws unfolding their consequences by a necessity which belongs to them. The fundamental error of this philosophic hypothesis is to forget that a law only formulates the regularity of a phenomenon, and is by no means its efficient cause. Ideas are but abstractions without power, unless indeed they are thoughts, the thoughts of a Spirit endowed with will.

If we leave out of court sundry deficiencies belonging in common to materialism and idealism, we find that both those doctrines concur in a complete determinism, which is out of keeping with some of the essential facts with which every philosophy has to reckon, principally with the certainty in which we are that we are morally bound to the law of duty, though not compulsorily made to obey it.

There remains a third hypothesis, or philosophy: Naville calls it spiritualism. The "spiritualistic" solution of the problem of the universe supposes that its *principium* is an infinite and absolutely free Spirit whose creation the universe is. In this manner only is it made intelligible that there should be in the world a multiplicity of existences, yet reciprocal harmony among elements so diverse. Thus can it be explained that beside things which, without any consciousness thereof, move in the world according to unvarying laws, other things exist which are beings endowed with real liberty, although a limited liberty and one subject to moral obligation. Thus is justified the distinction which we make between material fact and moral law, a distinction the making of which characterises all our acts and all human institutions, and which materialists themselves make perpetually in their usage and wont, regardless of the utter illogicality of their position. Thus at last and thus only does one succeed in seeing how man, as a knowing spirit, is capable of science, and why, on the other hand, science cannot extend beyond the limits of observation.

Our faculties have indeed been constructed by the maker of the world so as to apply themselves usefully to the study of things, but these too are the creation of an infinite Spirit whose scope exceeds our faculties, thus making it impossible for us to fathom His designs by an *a priori* process which would put us on a level with Him.

In this light the claims loudly put forward by certain atheists to being the only legitimate holders or bearers of the scientific sense, are shown to be groundless. They intellectually delude and morally wrong themselves: for if atheists could dispense with the conception of God, they would not be atheists, in the same way that if matter existed alone, this would put an end to materialists. To possess the scientific sense is to be in so far an active spirit directed by will. Thus a "spiritualistic" force is necessary to the exercise of scientific thought. Besides, if the scientific sense was atheistic by right, atheists would be able to show themselves privileged investigators of nature, which is not the case.

Besides, against the claim which the atheists lay to a scientific monopoly, the facts lay a protest, as much as reason disallows any such pretensions. Naville says: the facts, and to prove his saying he points to the number of first class scientists now living; who are complete strangers to the materialistic creed. He points out in every particular how in setting up the fundamentals of modern science, the pioneers in modern physics were happily guided, or, at any rate, by no means impeded, by the notion they had formed, or received, of a Creator of the world, alone and all wise.

As a good citizen, Ernest Naville rejoiced in his ability to add that in the eighteenth century, at the time when other tendencies were in the fashion, the foremost Swiss scientific men, H. B. de Saussure, Albrecht von Haller and the Bâlois Leonard Euler, all resolutely sided with the theistic belief. Ernest Naville's intellectual forerunners in his native city were of the same persuasion, and nobody can say that their "spiritualistic" convictions did in any way interfere with their scientific acumen or philosophic liberty.

Next to de Saussure there were Charles Bonnet, Abraham Trembley, Firmin Abauzit, Jean André De Luc, Georges Louis Le Sage, Théodore de Saussure, François Huber and Pierre Huber. It is remarkable how almost all these showed kinship with the English mind, and were recognised as kin by their fellow workers on this side of the Channel. Charles Bonnet was in 1741 made an associate of the Royal Society of London, Abraham Trembley began life as a tutor in the house of Earl Bentinck. He too was made a member of the Royal Society of London. The *Philosophical Transactions* contain much of his writing, and he was governor to the young Duke of Richmond.

Firmin Abauzit travelled in England, and was invited by

William III. to settle there in a scientific capacity. André De Luc was reader to Queen Charlotte from 1773, a member of the Royal Society of London and of that of Dublin; a part of his writing is in English, and he died in England in 1817.

Le Sage too was an associate of the Royal Society of London; the same honour befell Théodore de Saussure. My kinsman, the late Dr. Peter Mark Roget, a citizen of Geneva by birth, and upholder of the conception of the universe which it is the aim of this Institute to help in demonstrating, not only was true to the Geneva scientific traditions, but found in this very attitude every satisfaction of mind, whether scientific or philosophic, and even the approval of the Royal Society of London, whose secretary he was for a very long period.

Spiritualistic philosophy assuredly is no novel invention. But, declares Naville, so far from being superannuated it embodies a comparatively recent doctrine, for which the ancients had no name, and for which England itself, one of its principal homes, has not yet found an extremely distinct title, for theosophists style themselves spiritualists, an ignorant usurpation which is much to be deprecated. The middle ages did not either succeed in freeing spiritualistic philosophy from alloys. In modern times, spiritualism, instead of being allowed as clear a definition as materialism, mysticism, idealism, etc., which nobody can confuse with any other set of metaphysics or with each other, has thus been somewhat loosely or promiscuously made to cover incongruous doctrines.

But much may be expected from the future, writes Naville: the history of philosophy is not a chaos in which contradictory opinions confusedly elbow each other. It is not either a circle within which the human mind turns round and round without making any progress. The history of philosophy moves in a definite direction and has its meaning. It has a logical *ratio*; independent from books and systems, it is a kind of syllogism in time and space. The history of philosophy shows a progressive producing and winnowing of the contents of philosophic thought which will clear away the idealistic philosophies on one hand, the materialistic on the other, free our thought from passive philosophies such as mysticism, scepticism, secularism and ultimately found victoriously the explanation of the universe upon the might of an eternal Spirit. The main current of thought, the contents of our mind, our mental legacy and moral inheritance from the past, move along towards a philosophy of the spirit, and the eddies of the stream are as retrospective moments in an onward march.

In such words as these, Ernest Naville expressed his hope, and pointed out the symptoms which seemed to him to indicate the approaching dissolution of "that metaphysical idol—determinism"—and its displacement by the recognition of a spiritualistic law.

I. Here are the theses of Ernest Naville's spiritualism :

1. Spiritualism supposes that the principle of the universe is an eternal Spirit.
2. Spiritualism is a philosophic or scientific position, that is, an hypothesis.
3. The eternal Spirit constitutes an object to which may be legitimately applied the notions derived from reason which transcend experience.
4. It is fully consistent with the transcendental character of the notions grounded in reason that the object to which they are applied should be a reality.
5. It is the characteristic of spiritualism that it teaches the creation of the world to be a free act coming from one Being.
6. The liberty of that Creator is infinite.
7. The spiritualistic doctrine of creation stands in no opposition to scientific research or its results.
8. The spiritualistic doctrine does not admit of any assertion as to preliminaries to creation.
9. The laws to which the will and the mind of man are subjected are derived from the will of the Creator.
10. The laws of nature are constant, but are not necessarily such as we perceive them.
11. The goodness of the Creator is the determining cause of creation.
12. Spiritual philosophy affirms that the principle of the world is single, and alone at work in the world.
13. Spiritualism explains by what force from one and single principle of the world there could and did proceed the multitude of things and the multiplicity of beings.
14. The notion of the infinite may legitimately be applied only to the Cause of the world.
15. Infinite liberty in the Creator is alone able to produce comparative liberty in the creature.
16. Spiritualism supplies a force linking up facts and "ideals."
17. Spiritualism can alone formulate an explanation of Evil in keeping with the demands of conscience, to which evil is abhorrent.

18. Spiritualism sets us free from the problem of determinism, by recognising in the constancy of nature conditions, general or particular, imposed by the original Will.
19. Spiritualism is parent to the scientific sense and method.

To make Ernest Naville's philosophy quite clear, there should be added to the above theses those which he conceives to be characteristic of materialism, idealism, and determinism, which he naturally rejects.

### II. *Materialism.*

1. Materialism is the system which affirms that the objects of sense-perceptions are the only reality.
2. Materialism presents itself under two aspects: mechanism and transformism.
3. Transformistic materialism resolves itself by analysis into mechanistic materialism.
4. Materialism is an hypothesis.
5. Materialism does not show a unifying principle.
6. Materialism does not succeed in unifying physical and psychic phenomena.
7. Materialism does not succeed in unifying force and matter.
8. Materialism does not succeed in explaining the origin of multiplicity in beings.
9. Materialism is self-contradictory in using the notions of reason which transcend experience.
10. Materialism would reject as a surplusage some of the most important data of mental analysis.
11. Materialism is the result of an incomplete exercise of the faculty of thought.

### III. *Idealism.*

1. Idealism rests on the external existence of Ideas.
2. Idealism presents itself under two aspects: the idealistic origin (Spinoza), or the idealistic end (Hegel) of beings and things.
3. The absolute existence of Ideas is not germane to reason.
4. Ideas are relations demanding, simultaneously with or previously to themselves, the existence of beings or things.
5. The fixed and rigid moulds of an idealistic conception of nature (types) leave the transition from simplicity to multiplicity without means of effect.
6. The *Idees-types* leave no room for the notion of the infinite, for they are fixed.
7. Idealism favours the doctrine of inert causes.
8. Idealism in the end admits the identity of opposites and is indifferent to the force of contraries.
9. Idealism begets the false method of rationalism.
10. Idealism denies the freedom of voluntary choice.
11. Idealism cancels the ordinary distinction of right

and wrong. 12. Idealism cancels the ordinary distinction between truth and error. 13. Idealism may lead to positivism, a philosophising negative of philosophy. 14. Idealism in thought may lead to nihilism in effect. 15. Idealism narrowed down to a philosophy of evolution might supply an intelligible doctrine in biology.

#### IV. *Determinism.*

1. Absolute determinism is a common effect from materialism and idealism. 2. The concatenation of facts is the realisation of a conditional determinism. 3. One may admit a general determinism which does not exclude contingencies. 4. Determinism is a legitimate postulate with the sciences whose subjects obey the law of inertia. 5. The extension of determinism to facts of all and any order is the consequence of an extremist's conception of science. 6. Determinism has no place for the heart. 7. Determinism has no place for conscience. 8. Determinism may degrade reason. 9. Determinism leads to passivity.

The perusal of the foregoing tables or summary brings out very plainly that, for Naville, philosophy is cumulative, a synthesis of moral, intellectual and religious predicates. He finds that spiritualism brings with itself the means of taking into account every honest desideratum of the heart, of conscience and of reason, reconciling the mind of man to the knowledge which it can obtain about the making of the world. According to him, in every and any other philosophy that may be attempted or adopted, there is a *lacuna*, an *absentia*. In such philosophies obvious deficiencies in the physical, intellectual or moral departments of doctrine point to one *addendum* as indispensable to bring the sum right; a creative Spirit, or in the other, but equivalent poetic form—God. Our best knowledge of God is the Christian. So the adding together of *our* religion, of *our* philosophy and of *our* science must bring out the correct total. Until this happens, some figures, as it were, must have been wrongly put down by us, for we write under dictation, and must listen hard, till we hear right.

That those figures are a harmony rather than a sum, must follow, a harmony in which several instruments are attuned to each other. The leaving out of any one of them would mean an imperfect concert. An imperfect tuning of any one would mar its contribution to the whole. So Naville singles out in each instrument its discordant notes and tunes them out

of existence. The result is, or in his intention would be, a symphony of the moral cravings, philosophic tendencies and scientific pursuits of man. In Naville, the most complete harmony did subsist between Christian, philosopher and scientist. He felt that his calling lay in formulating for the acceptance of others the harmony which he perceived, in which he found moral strength, philosophic repose and intellectual vigour. His lifetime was spent in thinking the matter out, simultaneously, and in turns, as a Christian, for the philosopher and the scientific man, as a philosopher, for the Christian and the student of nature, as a scientific man, for Christian and philosopher alike. He proclaimed before them what might guide all three to his harbour.

This brings us to consider more closely Naville's philosophic method. His way was to seek out, in every question, that which reason, fairly consulted, admits of itself or cannot decline to admit, provided it be an ordinary, healthily constituted reasoning faculty. For this, he begins by simplifying every question. Why? because anything that raises a doubt must be of a confusing character, else there would be no question about it. A first simplification imposes itself: it consists in extricating the object of the question from alien complications. It is thus disentangled from what is foreign to itself. But, reduced to itself, the object of the question still appears complex. Investigation of the complexities shows that some are the result of inattention, others are dictated by prejudice, by scholastic subtleties, by intrusions of ill-digested learning from another province or by rash anticipatory philosophisings. The issue is thus at last reduced to simple terms, terms simple in the actual sense of the word. There are now placed before our eyes, notions which are free from that which an imperfect vision had mixed up with them, notions in short which an attentive mind, a healthy faculty, a firm reason may grasp at once, by means of that spontaneously obvious reflecting power without which reason has no function, for the function of reason does not presuppose some initiation, before it can be exercised.

Naville is a master in the art of bringing out in full relief those notions which are beneath and before every system, every discussion, every imaginable study. Those notions are a common *substratum*. A thinker who would limit himself to them could not grow into a philosopher, but should he decline to stand upon them, his philosophy would be sand-built. A thinker may neither shut himself up in those fundamentals, nor dare he dispense with them. They are the *minimum* of philosophic substance, the element of every thought.

This is an unpretending manner of philosophising, a manner free from subtlety, unrefined in the best sense of the word, ringing forth the note of healthy intellectuality, betokening a strong docile nature. The sight of such competent workmanship is beneficent to the onlooker and gives an extremely favourable opinion of the workman. The earnestness, the sincerity, the straightness of Naville, clothe him with the authority of good sense, and show that common sense in a region infested with sophisms may be one man's originality. This wisdom of Naville's is no timidity, no disability, no ignoring of the temptations, of the difficulties with which the exercise of thought is beset. Naville knows his times and is a man of his day. Any objections that may have been cast up by contemporary *critique* against time-honoured truths, he has tested and probed. Any new ideas, dashing hypotheses, any entrancingly bold strokes of "second sight" the contemporary scientific movement may have attempted, he has witnessed with a quiet mind and sympathetically regarded. He consorts with them whom he fights. He does not admit that science may be right within a domain allowed to be her own, and *said* to be wrong in another sphere. He does not admit that truths of the moral order, when challenged by science, should be considered to be above accepting the challenge. He is a "gentleman" to whom high-handed doings are repugnant. In philosophy, he holds violence to be contrary to the fundamental instinct—the belief of reason in peace and unity. He mistrusts dogma as producing a division in the very place where a symbol of union should appear.

What Naville demands is that for the collective word science should be substituted the plural sciences, and that two kinds of sciences should be distinguished: on the one hand physical and physiological sciences, on the other hand psychological and moral sciences. Now on the threshold of both categories figure facts, that is to say, a something against which and without which our mind can avail nothing. "Facts," he says, "in any seriously meant science, are the foundation and the criterion of theories, and that is true anywhere and in everything. Thus, without any diffidence, he writes that determinism is *the* postulate in the study of matter, and why should one be disturbed thereby? If there are facts of another order which cannot be brought down to determinism, these facts will prevail. Against what will they prevail? will it be against every kind of determinism? Not at all; but against an unfair or excessive application of determinism. From facts transcending deter-

minism, the physical and physiological sciences can receive no injury, and such facts in their turn need fear nothing from those sciences, for such facts are of a nature of which the objects of the "natural" sciences are not. In this fashion, determinism may be a fair postulate with those sciences, without becoming, as is claimed by some indiscreet enthusiasts of materialism, the supreme rule of the world. Indeed, it is contrary to sound method in science to pretend to apply determinism to everything, since, in order to do that, it is necessary to ignore facts that are certain, for the sake of a materialistic or idealistic conception of science which is by no means sure. But it would be just as unsound to endeavour, for the sake of psychologic and moral facts, to ignore the postulates on which rests the "study of matter."

In that wise the domains of the sciences are distinct, though that of one is not closed to another, and *vice versa*. Reason has its place in all. By means of sciences of all orders, reason is in pursuit of unity, for which purpose alone reason exists. Reason entertains the idea of a supreme cause which, by its power, brings about the diversity of elements and brings them into harmony by the unity of its plan. A mind guided throughout to the *principia* of thought, but ever careful to submit to the control of facts its hypothetical developments from those *principia*, combines in a just measure the self-confidence which is strength with the moderation which brings security.

In proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer the CHAIRMAN said we had had a most interesting account of the work of one great thinker by another great thinker. It was a fine summing up of the work of a very long and very useful life. Professor Naville's views as set forth may well be said to be in accord with the objects of the Institute. It had been a great pleasure to hear such a clear exposition of those views, and that in spite of the difficulty of expression in what to the Lecturer was a foreign language. He wished to add one word of warning as to the bad company into which the word "spiritualism" had fallen, but he thought the Lecturer had carefully safeguarded it in his paper.

Colonel MACKINLAY seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried with acclamation.

Professor ROGET, in expressing his grateful thanks, said he looked upon the paper as a pious act to the memory of a great and good man, an act in the performance of which he had gained every assistance from those who before him had written upon Naville.

519TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

MONDAY, MAY 22ND, 1911, 4.30 P.M.

PROFESSOR EDWARD HULL, LL.D., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed, and the election as an Associate of the Rev. Claude C. Thornton, M.A., was announced.

The following paper was then read by the author:—

*THE DESCENT INTO HADES: A STUDY IN  
COMPARATIVE RELIGION.* By Rev. Canon MAC-  
CULLOCH, D.D.

**T**HE belief in our Lord's descent into Hades occurs for the first time in a formal creed in A.D. 359, when it appears in the creed of the 4th Synod at Sirmium. Why it should not have appeared until then is not very obvious, unless, as seems likely, it is included comprehensively in the reference to the burial which occurs in many earlier creeds and summaries of doctrine. For there is scarcely any document of the first three centuries in which some reference to the descent does not occur, and it is known to all the Fathers, who usually write of it as an important doctrine.

A belief in the possibility of descent to Hades and return thence is well-nigh universal, though in nearly all the myths or legends which tell of it there is one important difference between the descent there recounted and that of our Lord—the person who descends and returns is a living person, God or man.\* The purpose of this paper is to study the belief in our Lord's descent in relation to these myths, and to enquire into its sources and into the question of its indebtedness to pagan beliefs.

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\* The exceptions are mainly Hindu and Buddhist.

The universality of these myths is connected with early man's views regarding sleep and death. He believed that, in dreams, in which he saw and spoke to dead relatives, they had come to him or his soul had gone to them. Hence arose the belief that the soul could leave the body in sleep or trance, go to the Other-world, and return to the body. Savage affection is not so slight as is sometimes thought, and doubtless the intense affection for dead friends or relatives prompted the dream fancy. It was then an easy step to believe that what took place in dream might take place in actual fact; that the whole man, not merely the soul, might visit the Other-world! Always, from possibility to fact, from the "might be" to the "had been," was an easy step to the primitive mind. And as it is commonly believed that there is little difference between life and death, that the dead may revive, affection would easily suggest that one could go to the Other-world to bring back a dead friend. So arose stories of those who had gone, and these were all the more credible because the way to the Other-world was generally well-known.

These visits to the Other-world were made for different purposes. Mere curiosity, the desire to find out what the unknown region is like, prompts some of these mythical visits. In many others it is to obtain a boon by force or fraud or through their goodwill from the rulers of Hades. But in by far the largest number the object is to recover someone dead from the clutches of Hades. In another group, mainly Hindu and Buddhist, but including some later Jewish and Muhammadan examples it is to lessen the sufferings of the lost or to free them altogether from hell. In another small group, in which the descent is *not* to a region of the dead, but to the dark worlds of demoniac beings, the object is to overcome them by force or skill or stealth, and to rob them of their magic powers. We shall confine ourselves to the three last groups.

(1) *Descent to rescue a dead person.*—Of this group there are innumerable savage variants, usually told of mortals, and they occur most plentifully among the American Indians, Polynesians, and Melanesians. In many of these, as in more civilised versions, the quest is often unsuccessful, usually through the breaking of a *tabu*. From the higher religions there are Hindu, Japanese, Chinese, Babylonian, Scandinavian, and many Greek myths of this class, in which the descent is usually attributed to a divinity. Many of them preserve a great similarity, but this is not necessarily due to borrowing. The typical instance is the Greek myth of Orpheus and Eurydice. Haunted by the

image of his dead wife, Orpheus resolves to seek her in Hades, and there enchants its inhabitants by his lyre. Pluto and Persephone are moved to pity and grant the restoration if Orpheus will observe one condition, that of not looking back till he reaches earth. But just before arriving at the fatal limit his love overcame him; he looked back and lost Eurydice for ever. Other Greek myths tell of the rescue of Semele by Dionysos and of Alcestis by Heracles.

The Babylonian instance is that of the descent of Ishtar presumably to rescue her dead lover Tammuz. She arrives at the gate of Hades and demands admission, threatening to break down the gate and set free the dead if it is refused. Allatu, the goddess of Hades, allows her to enter, but at each of the seven gates she is stripped of her ornaments and apparel, and is then struck with disease. All things languish on earth and die. The gods take steps to remedy matters, and Uddushunamir is sent to Hades to demand the water of life for Ishtar. Allatu is finally compelled to give this; Ishtar is restored and led back through the gates. The story, as connected with Tammuz, should have described his restoration, but the references at the end of the poem are obscure. In all probability two myths of descent have here coalesced—that of Ishtar to recover Tammuz, and that of Uddushunamir to rescue the dead Ishtar.

The Hindu and Buddhist descent stories of this class are told either of divinities or of mortals, living or dead, and they usually end in the success of the seeker.\*

2. *Descent to assist the lost.*—This class is most certainly an extension of the former and perhaps has a natural place in religions in which the ethical aspect was fairly well developed and the idea of divine benevolence strong. In several Hindu and Buddhist legends the mere presence of a god or a pious mortal who has descended to the hells is sufficient to alter the whole condition of things there. The torments cease, anguish and despair change to joy and hope, and hell becomes a paradise. In some cases a dead person sent to hell to expiate a single slight fault is bidden to leave it when the expiation is complete. But his enormous treasury of merit has relieved the damned of their miseries. They beg him to stay, and though pressed by the gods he refuses to go and finally ransoms

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\* For all these myths see an article in the forthcoming volume of Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, on "Descent to Hades (Ethnic)," by the present writer.

the sinners from hell.\* In the *Lalita Vistara*, the life of Buddha, at his descent to earth and at other moments of his existence, a marvellous light is projected from his body and illumines all the worlds, including those of the hells. Darkness is dispelled, suffering and torment cease, and joy reigns. At his birth Buddha prophesied that he would destroy the fires of hell and cause rain from the cloud of the law to fall and all beings would rejoice. Here there is neither descent nor release. But in a northern Buddhist myth Avalokiteçvara, of whom it was prophesied that he would bring even the miseries of Yama's kingdom to an end, visits the hell Avici as a glorious prince clad in light and frees the victims from their pains. Mild airs take the place of flames, the cauldron of boiling water in which men suffer bursts, and the sea of fire becomes a pool with lotus blooms. The saving work is carried on in the city of the Pretas, whose denizens are freed from torments. The damned, being granted the gift of right knowledge, are led as Bodhisattvas to the Sakhavati world.†

The origin of these Buddhist legends has been sought in the Christian descent story; others trace it from them. It is not unlikely that the Buddhist documents are later than the Christian story in origin, but though there may have been mutual interaction of each at a later time, it is probable that both are originally independent, and the Buddhist stories are simply a development of an idea inherent in Hinduism. The Jewish beliefs will be referred to later; it is certain that the Muhammadan belief in the release of souls in hell who have a particle of faith, at the intercession of the righteous dead in Paradise and by their mission to hell, is derived from Jewish sources.

3. *Descent to conquer the powers of darkness.*—This is found in two myths of the Mandaean religion. In one of these Hibil Ziwa descends before creation to the seven lower worlds. Remaining in each invisibly for thousands of years he finally reaches the lowest and compels its lord to give him the talismans by which the might of the opposing demon will be annihilated. As he ascends he seals the doors of each world, so that none can pass. In the fourth and third he takes the form of their rulers and then obtains other talismans. After his ascent he imprisons the female Ruha, whom he has brought

\* See the *Ramayana*, xxv, 21; *Mahabharata*, xvii ff.; Wilson, *Journ. Royal Asiat. Soc.*, v, 295.

† Cowell, *Journal of Philology*, vi (1873), 222 ff. Cf. Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, 331 f. for a Tibetan variant.

with him, about to bring forth Ur, the demon who is to oppose the lords of light, and whom he ultimately overpowers.\* The other myth tells of the descent of Mândâ d'Hajê, and his conquest of Ruha and Ur. Then we learn how Ruha and her sons met on Mt. Carmel where Mândâ appeared among them in their own form. They desired to make him their ruler. He agreed, if they would reveal their mysteries, and when they did this, he took his own form and overpowered them.† The first story recalls the descent of Ishtar, but its main incident is based on the Babylonian myth of Marduk's strife with Tiamat, and it is connected with the "international myth" of a divine conqueror of dark and hostile powers.‡ But in neither of these Mandaean myths, as is often alleged,§ is there any descent to free the dead, who do not yet exist.

We pass now to the Christian descent story and shall begin by summarizing the narrative of the second part of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, told by three of those who rose from the dead at the Crucifixion. They were in Hades when a light shone through it, to the joy of all. Then appeared John Baptist as forerunner of the Saviour in Hades announcing that salvation was coming to all. Meanwhile Satan came and bade Hades secure Jesus, who had done him much harm on earth. Hades answers that if Jesus was so powerful and yet dreaded death, He must be mocking Satan and would overpower him. Satan scorns this, but Hades beseeches him not to bring Christ here, for then none of the dead will be left to them. While they are thus debating a loud voice is heard commanding the gates to be lifted up that the King of glory may come in. Hades orders the gates of brass and the bars of iron to be made sure. Again the voice resounds, and the gates are shattered, the dead come out of their prisons, Christ enters and the darkness is dispelled. The conqueror seizes Satan and he is given over bound to Hades, while Adam and all his descendants are taken by Christ to Paradise. All this the three witnesses took part in, and were sent by Michael to proclaim the resurrection.||

\* Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, 138 ff.

† Brandt, *Mand. Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, 34, 38, 182; Norberg, *Codex Naseræus*, 1815-6, i, 223.

‡ Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 379 f.

§ E.g., by Pfeleiderer, *Early Christian Conception of Christ*, 1900, 100.

|| The Greek and Latin versions of *Nicodemus* offer many interesting variations. They are given in Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1876, 322 ff.

In this narrative, which influenced all later mediæval belief, we have the deception of Satan, the descent and bursting open of the gates, the binding of Satan (or Death), the release of souls, and the resurrection of the saints. But the preaching in Hades is not mentioned. To each of these, found separately or in connection in other documents, we shall now turn our attention.

(1) *Deception of Satan*.—Origen combined this idea with that of a ransom paid to Satan by God in exchange for souls. The devil did not know of the Incarnation or that he could not retain Christ's soul—the ransom, and thus Christ overcame him.\* Ignatius already knew of this deception doctrine and taught that the Virginity of Mary and the Incarnation as well as the death of Christ were kept secret from Satan.† Perhaps he borrowed from the Christian sections of the *Ascension of Isaiah* in which Christ's descent to earth is hidden from the rulers of the heavens, because He takes their forms. The Virgin-birth escapes their knowledge, and thus when the Prince of this world caused Christ's death, he did not know who He was.‡ The central idea of the doctrine is that hidden behind the veil of flesh is a deathless Nature by which, in their hour of triumph, Death and Satan are deceived and conquered. But it is perhaps known to St. Paul who speaks of the hidden mystery of which the princes of this world were ignorant, else they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory (1 Cor. ii, 8). It may be referred to in Heb. ii, 14; Christ took human nature that He might destroy him that had the power of death, *i.e.*, the devil, and deliver his captives.

The same idea is found in various forms among the Gnostics, either in that of the descent of the heavenly æon Christ invisibly or in the form of the heaven-rulers to earth, or in the docetic doctrine of His body which could not really die. The descent here only concerned this earth, not Hades.§ But the Semi-Gnostic Marcion taught a Hades-descent. Christ, having a phantasmal body, could not die, but, as if dead, He went to Hades and deceived him and made him relinquish souls,

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\* Origen, *In Matt.* t. xii, 28; xiii, 8, 9; xvi, 8; *in Rom.* ii, 13; *Exhort. ad Mart.*, 12; *Hom. 6 in Luc.*

† Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* 19.

‡ *Ascen. Is.* x, 8—xi, 19, ed. Dr. Charles.

§ See below.

not of the righteous, but of those who had disobeyed the God of the Old Testament.\*

The deception idea is perhaps derived from the doctrine of Christ's restraining the beams of His glory, and, save as used by the Gnostics, has no true pagan affinities. The deception formulæ in the Mandaean myths may come from Gnosticism, for in the Babylonian Marduk and Ishtar myths it does not occur. Perhaps the Gnostics borrowed the idea from Christianity, and altered it in accordance with current beliefs in transformation, making Christ *πολύμορφος*.† This is suggested by the combination of the Gnostic and Christian forms of the idea in the *Ascension of Isaiah*.

(2) *The bursting of the gates*.—This occurs with great similarity in patristic and apocryphal literature. Tertullian and Hippolytus already refer to it and it is mentioned in the creed of Sirmium, A.D. 359.‡ Most pagan under-worlds—Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, as well as Jewish—had gates and bars. The Babylonian Ishtar threatened to break down the gates of Hades and release the dead, and to this as well as to a supposititious form of the Mandaean myth, this idea as well as the whole descent doctrine has been traced.§ But it is found on Jewish soil, and Christian thought, familiar with the idea of gates of Hades, transferred such Old Testament passages as Psalm 107 to the story of Christ's victorious descent. The idea of release from sorrow and trouble is pictured under that of release from Sheol—"He hath broken the gates of brass and cut the bars of iron in sunder."|| But pagan conceptions may have coloured later forms of this idea, though its origin is not immediately pagan.

(3) *The binding of Satan*.—This idea, common in Apocryphal documents, varies much, and the devil is often identified with Death or Hades, while sometimes a battle is fought between Christ and Hades, the earthquake representing the shock of the conflict.¶ Hippolytus, Irenæus, and Clement connect the

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\* Iren. i, 27, 3, *cf.* a Melanesian myth of a woman who gives herself a "death-like smell" before going to Hades. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, 227-8.

† *Acts of Thomas*, ch. 48.

‡ Tert., *de Res. Carnis*, 44; Hipp., *Comm. on St. Luke*, 23.

§ Pfeiderer, *op. cit.*, 100.

|| *Cf.* Isaiah xlv, 2; 4 Macc. xvi, 13.

¶ *Narrative of Joseph*, ch. 4; Firm. Maternus, 24; "Hist. of John," Wright, *Apoc. Acts*, ii, 37.

conquest with the Passion, the liberation of the captives being rather freedom from Satan's power on earth than release from Hades.\* Origen connects it with the descent alone, and adds that Christ broke asunder the prison-house.† Here once more this idea, ascribed to pagan myths, has its primary sources in Jewish belief and in the New Testament, though it was wrongly connected with the descent. The older and truer tradition traces the victory to the Cross. Before the Crucifixion Christ says, "Now is the Prince of this world judged," "Now shall the Prince of this world be cast out," "the Prince of this world cometh and hath nothing in Me."‡ Undoubtedly, too, the passages about the binding of the strong man and spoiling his goods§ refer to the victory of the Cross, as Irenaeus believed, though they lent themselves to the idea of an assault on Satan in Hades. To St. Paul, Christ's work was a deliverance from Satan, through the Cross, and Christ spoiled principalities and powers and made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in the Cross, the triumphal car in which the conqueror exhibited the vanquished powers.||

St. John writes that the Son of God was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil, but the deliverance is still ideal, though at present effective to the faithful.¶ Hence being ideal, the binding and conquest could be referred to the future, to the beginning of the millennial period, followed by the complete subjection of Satan at its close (Rev. xx, 2, 10). An angel effects this, probably taking the place of the Messiah, child of the woman clothed with the Sun and persecuted by the dragon. This idea is probably borrowed from the Jewish conception of the final binding of Beliar by Messiah,\*\* but it also echoes the "international myth" of the destruction of an evil, chaotic power by the divine Son of a goddess to whom that power is hostile.

\* Hippol. in Theod., *Dial.*, 2; Iren., i, 20, 2; iii, 18, 6, 7; iii, 23, 1, 2, 7; v, 21, 1, 3; Clem. Alex., *Protrep.*, 11; *Paed.*, ii, 8.

† *De Princip.*, ii, 6, 2; *In Rom.*, v, 1; vi, 10. The destruction of Hades is also found in Firm. Maternus, *de Errore Prof. Rel.*, 23, 24.

‡ St. John xii, 31; xiv, 30; xvi, 11.

§ St. Matt. xii, 29.

|| Acts xxvi, 18; Col. i, 13; ii, 15.

¶ Cf. 1 St. John v, 18; *Hermas*, Mand., xii, 4, "Fear not the devil, for he has no power over you"; *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, 25, "Give me the seal in Christ and temptation shall not touch me."

\*\* *Test. of Twelve Patriarchs*, Levi, xviii, 12; Judah xxxv, 3. Cf. Isaiah xxiv, 22-3; *Assumption of Moses*, c. 10.

This section of the Descent story thus holds two distinct conceptions, one metaphorical, the conquest through the Cross; the other, with its source partially in myth, of the future destruction of Satan. From these, perhaps when apocalyptic ideas were seen to be mistaken, and from hints drawn from the Marduk and Tiamat class of myths, the ideas of the battle in Hades and the conquest of Death and Satan, and the destruction of Hades were drawn. But the foundation of the whole is Scriptural, for such fathers as Origen base the doctrine on the saying about the strong man. Metaphor becomes reality through the power of imagination and the influence of mythic conceptions. Perhaps also it owed something to the Gnostic idea of the conquest of the Archons either in the heavens or on earth (the lower world), the latter described so beautifully in the *Hymn of the Pearl* and in a prayer in the *Acts of Thomas*.\*

(4) *The release of souls*.—This popular doctrine occurs in different forms, and there were different opinions regarding those released. Ignatius, followed by many others, thought that only the righteous of the Old Testament were transferred to a better region, and “numbered in the gospel of our common hope.”† This was also Marcion’s opinion, though in an inverse sense. The disobedient of the Old Testament, who had really obeyed a higher God, were rescued, the righteous were left behind.‡ But another tradition, followed by Hippolytus, Clement, Origen, in Apocryphal writings, and elsewhere, included all, pagans as well as righteous Jews, in this rescue.§ Hades was emptied, as in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. As St. Clement puts it, “There took place a universal movement and translation through the economy of the Saviour.” The result of this doctrine was a sharp division as to the future abode of the faithful. Some held that all would now go direct to Paradise, not to Hades, an opinion combated by Irenaeus and by Tertullian, who held that only martyrs went to Paradise at death.||

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\* In the former a king’s son is sent to Egypt (the world) to obtain a pearl guarded by a dragon (the evil world principle); in the latter the Divine Mother watches from afar “the combats of the noble combatant. Cf. Iren. i, 24, 2, 5.

† *Ad Magnes*, 9; *ad Philad.*, 5.

‡ Iren., i, 27, 3.

§ Hippol. in Theod., *Dial.*, 2; Clem., *Strom.*, vi, 6; Origen, *Comm. in Rom.*, vi, 10; *in Matt.*, xx, 18; *Hom. 2 on 1 Kings*; Euseb., *H. E.*, i, 13, 20.

|| Iren., i, 31, 2; Tert., *de Anima*, 55; *de Res. Carnis*, 43.

(5) *The resurrection of the saints.*—The rising of the dead at the Crucifixion is connected in *Nicodemus* with the rescue of souls from Hades. The same connection is found in other writings, but Clement and Origen allegorize this resurrection. Those who rose were translated and appeared, not in the earthly but in the heavenly Jerusalem.\* Thus they avoided the difficulty of the fact that this resurrection takes place before the Descent, a difficulty escaped by others in more or less ingenious ways. The passage is a crude reflection of the rescue idea, and has two "moments," (1) the opening of the graves at Christ's death; (2) the resurrection from them after Christ has risen.

(6) *The preaching in Hades.*—With few exceptions (e.g., *Nicodemus*) the rescue is connected with a preaching in Hades. Hippolytus says, "Christ is become the preacher of the Gospel to the dead," and this is followed by most of the Fathers and by Marcion. But before them the docetic and possibly Gnostic *Gospel of Peter*, of which a fragment was found a few years ago, tells how two angels, their heads reaching to heaven, came out of the tombs with One whose head overpassed heaven. A cross followed them. From heaven a voice called, "Hast Thou preached to them that sleep?" and the answer came from the Cross, "Yea." As in Gnostic writings generally the Cross is a kind of *Doppelgänger* of Christ. The date of this Gospel is A.D. 110–130, but it should be noted that the witness of Irenaeus to the tradition of the preaching goes back to an earlier generation than his own, that of the Presbyter whom he quotes. Where this preaching is connected with a rescue of the righteous dead, it is not referred to the passages in 1 Peter, one of which seems to limit it to the disobedient of Noah's day (iii, 18 f.), the other referring it to all the dead (iv, 6). The passages must have been known, but did not suit a doctrine of preaching to the righteous dead only. Those who, like Clement and Origen, believed in a preaching to all the dead, cite them,† for if the disobedient heard the good news, so also might the heathen. Perhaps from early times two traditions existed—one limiting the preaching to the Old Testament saints, the other extending it to all. St. Peter seems to know the latter, but he says nothing of a release from Hades, and perhaps an early tradition did not include this, while a third

\* Iren., ii, 171 (Clark's Ante Nic. Lib.); Origen, *Strom.*, vi, 6; *Comm. on Matt.*, t. xii, 43.

† The second passage seems to be echoed by Hippolytus.

tradition, mainly developed in Apocryphal writings as in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, knew nothing of a preaching, but only of an invasion and spoiling of Hades by Christ. The two traditions meet in Origen.\* Perhaps St. Paul, who does not refer to the preaching, knew the tradition of the release, as his words, "when He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive" (Eph. iv, 8, 9), followed by a reference to the Descent, seem to suggest.†

We now ask whether the traditions of the preaching and of the release, both found in the New Testament, owe anything to current mythical fancies.

(a) *The Preaching*.—Of this there is no trace in any Greek, Egyptian or Babylonian myth, and it would be somewhat bold to suppose that Buddhist legends of enlightenment in hell, had influenced early Christian thought in Palestine, apart from the fact that these legends may be post-Christian. But the idea of a preaching in Hades may have been current in Judaism. In the *Book of Enoch* (c. 12) Enoch is sent to proclaim God's destroying judgments to the fallen angels, and again there is joy among the antediluvian giants and the men whom they deluded because the name of the Son of Man is revealed to them (c. lx, 5, 25; lxiv; lxix, 26). An apocryphon quoted by Irenaeus and Justin from Jeremiah speaks of the Holy One of Israel remembering His saints and descending to them to preach His salvation and save them.‡ An addition to the Latin text of *Ecclus.* (xxiv, 32) speaks of wisdom penetrating to the under-world, visiting and enlightening all that sleep. And in *Bereschit Rabba* it is said, "When they that are bound, they that are in Gehinnom, saw the light of the Messiah [at its gates], they rejoiced to receive Him, saying, He will lead us forth from this darkness."§ Passages like these point to some current Jewish belief to which the Christian doctrine of the preaching may owe much.

(b) *The rescue of souls*.—To this there are no *immediate* pagan parallels. There are the Greek myths of Orpheus, Herakles,

\* Cf. *Contra Celsum*, ii, 43, and *De Princip.*, ii, 5, 3; ii, 6, 2.

† Two other traditions may be noted, one, that as Christ had forerunners on earth, so He also had in Hades, cf. *Nicodemus* and Origen, *Hom. on 1 Kings*, Op., ii, 490 (Moses, the Prophets, St. John Baptist); the other, that the Apostles preached in Hades (*Hermas*, Sim., ix, 16; *Clem., Strom.*, vi, 6). This preaching is followed by an upward movement of those who listen and accept the Gospel.

‡ Irenaeus cites it six times, see e.g., *Adv. Haer.*, iii, 20, 4. Justin, *Dialog.*, 72.

§ Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 2, Leipzig, 1897, 368.

etc., the Babylonian of Ishtar, and the similar myths and folk-tales from all parts of the world. To such myths, but especially to that of Orpheus and to the Orphic teaching in general, the doctrines of the Descent and release have been traced.\* But in these myths *one* person only is rescued, and the descent is made by a living not by a dead person. In the Buddhist and Hindu descent myths there is greater likeness to the Rescue doctrine, but were they known to the circles of Palestinian Christians at an early date? Perhaps they or the Orphic myths influenced later forms of the Descent tradition, e.g., in *Nicodemus*. In that the episodes of the glorious light in Hades and the cessation of trouble there resemble similar incidents in these Eastern myths. But may they not be natural attempts to amplify imaginatively the current doctrine? The episode of the light is referred to the prophecy, "the people that sat in darkness have seen a great light," and this sufficiently accounts for it. The other would easily be suggested in a story of release from a place of pain. We do not know the exact date of the Eastern stories, and borrowing might have taken place from West by East. And here again Jewish beliefs may quite well have been the foundation for the idea of the release.

Jewish Apocalyptic adherents associated the coming of God's kingdom with the binding and destruction of Beliar, the redemption of the righteous from his captivity, and their entrance to Paradise or to the bliss of God's kingdom, sometimes through the Messiah.† This may have been transferred to Christ's Descent when Apocalyptic views were seen to have been mistaken. In other passages we see how easily the release idea might suggest itself in connection with the Descent. In the Slavonic *Book of Enoch* Adam and the forefathers are to be led to Paradise by angels without incurring judgment, an idea which may have given a hint for that of Christ's taking them there.‡ In *Talkut Shimeoni* the righteous appeal to God for the godless Israelites in hell, and are bidden to go thither, to stand on their ashes and ask grace for them. Then their ashes stand upright and they pass to eternal life.§ It was also a common Jewish belief that the captives would be ultimately released from hell, by Messiah or

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\* See Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, 272-3.

† *Test. Twelve Patriarchs*, Zeb. ix, 8; Asher vii, 3; Dan. v, 11, 12; Levi xviii, 10, 11.

‡ *Slav. Enoch*, xlii, 5.

§ Weber, 343.

by Abraham and the patriarchs.\* Some of these are admittedly late beliefs, but they represent a much older tradition. In many Old Testament passages reference is made to prisoners being released from the pit or the prison-house.† The idea of release, and especially of release from Hades was in the air, and it was easy to transfer it to our Lord's Descent. It was native to Palestinian belief. Moreover, the idea of salvation from the under-world found in Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, and Christianity, is a *natural* deduction from man's thoughts of mercy, nor need its place in the Christian scheme be ascribed wholly to outside borrowings.‡

The Gnostic version of the Descent originates from Christian tradition, but has connexion with pagan myths of a deliverer who conquers hostile powers, while possibly through the later Gnostic version some parts of the Christian Descent story may have received that pagan colouring of which we have spoken. The idea of preaching in Hades fitted in with the Gnostic doctrine of enlightenment, but the Descent was from Heaven to the dark earth world. The æon Christ descended to conquer the world rulers, or the Cosmocrator ruling in earth as Satan ruled in Hades,§ and through enlightenment to spoil them of souls imprisoned in bodies. Passing through the spheres of the heavens the Saviour took the forms of their rulers or became invisible, to outwit them or rob them of their power.|| Here we almost certainly find pagan mythic fancies. The Gnostic descent to earth had its parallel in the descent of the æon Christ out of the Pleroma to rescue the fallen Sophia. The Gnostic use of the Descent shows that unlike Christianity, Gnosticism was little interested in the fate of those who died before Christ came.

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\* Weber, 342-4.

† Zech. ix, 11, 12; Isaiah xlii, 7; xlix, 9; cf. li, 14; lxi, 1.

‡ The idea of the transference of souls from torment to bliss at the prayers of saints on earth was known to the Church. See *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, c. 28; *Passio Perpetuae*, ch. 7; *Test. of Abraham*, ch. 14. In the *Apocalypses of Paul and the Virgin*, they with angels and saints pray for remission of tortures to the lost. Christ descends and announces that on the Lord's Day or Pentecost this will be granted. In Jewish belief there was a respite of torments on the Sabbath and the tears of the righteous cooled the pains of hell (Weber, 343, 347).

§ Iren., i, 5, 4; i, 30, 8.

|| Iren., i, 23, 3 (Simonians); Hippol., v, ii (Naassenes), viii (Docetae); Iren., i, 30, 12 (Ophites); cf. *Ascen. of Isaiah*. In the *Hymn of the Pearl* the youth sent to take the pearl puts on "clothes of Egypt" (i.e., of this world) as a disguise.

An exception must be made in the case of Theodotus. Christ, descending through the spheres, was seen by Abraham and others in the "place of rest." They "rejoiced to see His day," and on His return from the earth He enlightened and transferred them to a higher region, the dwelling of Sophia.\*

We may now glance briefly at New Testament passages which suggest the existence of the Descent idea at an early period. Some have already been studied and need not again be referred to. The descent, the conquest, and the release of souls seem to be known to St. Paul. *The descent*: "Now that He ascended, what is it but that He also descended first into the lower parts of the earth" (Eph. iv, 9); "who shall descend into the abyss [Hades], (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead?" (Rom. x. 8). *The conquest*: in Col. ii, 15, this is referred to the cross, but we hear of "things under the earth" bowing at the name of Jesus (Phil. ii, 10)—a possible reference to the conquest of the powers of Hades. *The release*: This may also be referred to in the words used in connection with the descent, "when He ascended up on high He led captivity captive" (Eph. iv, 8), recalling, as they do, the "spirits in prison" of 1 Peter iii, 19.

The descent is also known to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who tells how Christ was brought up again *from the dead* (xiii, 20), and he possibly knew also of the release. This has been suggested by Prof. Loofs,† who refers to xii, 23, and its mention of the "spirits of just men made perfect" in Heaven. These may be the Old Testament saints taken from Hades to Heaven by Christ, since under the old covenant, the way into the holiest of all was not yet open (ix, 8), though this was effected by Christ (vi, 20).

The conquest is also known to the writer of the Apocalypse, since he puts into the mouth of Christ, "I am he that liveth and was dead, and, behold, I am alive for evermore, and have the keys of Hades and of Death" (i, 18).

Finally the passages in St. Peter's first epistle must be noted. We are not here concerned with the numerous methods of

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\* Clem. Alex., *Excerpt. ex Theod.*, 18. The idea of a supramundane enlightenment occurs here and there in Gnosticism, but not, as here, in the case of the dead. Cf. Hippol., vii, 14. As St. Paul contemplates the submission to Christ of spiritual beings in the heavens as well as under the earth he may have held a doctrine of Christ's enlightening the beings of the upper spheres. Cf. Col. i, 16, 20; Phil., ii, 10; Eph. i, 10. This would be the complement of the preaching to the spirits in prison.

† "Christ's Descent into Hell," *Trans. Third Internat. Congress of Hist. of Religions*, Oxford, 1909, ii, 299.

interpreting these, or with the explanations by which their fairly evident meaning has been attempted to be set aside. In iii, 18 f. we have the doctrines of the descent and the preaching, but a preaching apparently limited to a certain group—to those disobedient in the time of Noah, unless the reference to them is to be considered as typical of a larger number to whom the good news was brought. The verses, with their explanatory or limiting phrases, seem indeed to follow the outlines of some well known doctrinal formula. First is mentioned the Crucifixion, then the Death, then the Descent into Hades, then the Resurrection and the Ascension. Looked at in this way it can hardly be doubted that there is here a clear reference to the Descent idea. Admitting this, we can hardly help admitting that the reference in iv, 6, "For this cause was the Gospel preached to them that are dead," is equally clear, though it sets no limits to the preaching.

These are the passages which may be claimed as showing that the Descent, though possibly already separating into different traditions, was already known to the Apostles. As has been seen, there is no reason to believe that at this early stage borrowing from pagan sources had been resorted to, though we can see that there was a Jewish foundation for the doctrine. Can we trace it, then, to anything in current eschatology or in the teaching of our Lord Himself? The current doctrine of the life after death among the Jews was probably represented by the parable of Dives and Lazarus, *i.e.*, all souls fared to an intermediate state in which were two divisions, for the righteous and for the wicked. This, generally speaking, is the doctrine taught in writings which emanated from the schools of Palestinian, as opposed to Alexandrian Judaism. It is obvious, then, that the earliest disciples must have believed that the soul of Christ between His death and resurrection was in that intermediate state, Sheol, Hades, or Paradise. This they would also gather from words spoken by Christ:—"The Son of Man shall be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (St. Matt. xii, 40), and the words spoken to the dying thief, "To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise. This is given by St. Luke, and the Petrine teaching preserved by him in Acts ii, 31, regarding Christ's soul not being left in Hades agrees with it. The disciples, interested probably in the fate of those who died before Christ came, would naturally think, and their Jewish traditions would support the thought, that as Christ preached the good news on earth, He would also do so in Hades, since according to his own intention, the Gospel was to be preached to the whole world (St. Mark xiv, 9; xvi, 15), and it was not the will of His Father that

one of these little ones should perish" (St. Matt. xviii, 14).\* This was also suggested by the remarkable passages in St. John v, 24, 28: "The hour is coming and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the son of God, and they that hear shall live . . . the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His Voice." If these passages were taken as prophesying the Preaching in Hades, they also suggest that this Preaching would bear fruit, as, according to one old tradition, it did. But that the dead should hear and live might easily, with minds accustomed to the traditional teaching of a rescue of sinners from Hades, form itself into a doctrine of the Spoiling of Hades and of the transference of souls from a lower to a higher state, aided perhaps by the miracles of raising from the dead, recounted in the Gospels. But this would necessarily imply a conquest of the powers of Hades, and the passages already considered regarding the spoiling of the strong man gave a *point d'appui* for this belief.

We see, then, how naturally and easily the belief in the Descent and its consequences could arise. On the other hand did the doctrine owe anything to some direct teaching of our Lord's after His resurrection? In trying to answer this question we must bear two facts in mind: (1) our Lord's constant reticence both with regard to the other world and with regard to Himself, and (2) the whole nature of the Descent doctrine with its notions of a local under-world, and preaching to souls imprisoned there, and the rescue of souls from this prison. We are therefore led to suppose that if our Lord spoke of His experiences in Hades He gave no more than a hint, and that this hint was, in all probability, not given in terms of actuality, but much more likely and by all analogy in terms of current belief, as in the parable of Dives and Lazarus. It was in terms of that current belief that the whole doctrine took shape. But whether our Lord spoke simply of a presence with the souls of the dead, or of a Descent, of a preaching, or of a removal of souls to a better state, the last signifying probably no more than an acceptance of the good news, it is impossible to say. What is certain is that whatever our Lord hinted at was soon enlarged, expressed in terms of current beliefs, while the more

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\* In Tatian's *Diatessaron*, § 26, v. 7, this passage is still more remarkable: "So your Father which is in heaven willeth not that one of these little ones that have strayed should perish, but seeketh for them repentance."

romantic and striking aspects of the doctrine, the conquest and rescue rather than the preaching, became more popular.

We do not now believe in a local and underground place of the dead, and we are less prone to dogmatize upon those regions whither we believe the souls of the dead to pass. Obviously, then, the old doctrine of the Descent, whether in its simpler or in its more complex forms, cannot be taken literally. But yet we cannot afford to regard it, as some would do, as mere "dead wood from the tree of Christian doctrine."\* Whether we believe that our Lord Himself gave a hint of the truth in this matter, or whether we believe that the whole doctrine, as it comes down to us, rests on supposition, I think it has still an abiding value, for even that supposition is at least so far consistent with what we know of the love of God. Interpreted in terms of modern belief we can see in this doctrine the fact that in whatever state the disembodied dead are, thither our Lord passed, and that to them He communicated that Gospel of Love which He preached on earth both in actual words and by His death on the cross; that the dead, like the common people, heard Him gladly, and with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob rejoiced to see His day. If we believe that beyond the grave it is possible for the soul to obtain forgiveness and to progress in knowledge and enlightenment, it is clear that the presence of our Lord in the Other-world, and His communication with souls there, must have been a great stage of progress in their growth. In some such way as this we may still find abiding value in the old yet beautiful ideas of a Descent to a local Hades, of a preaching, or of a conquest of Satan and a harrowing of Hades. But both the old and the new thoughts afford us ground of confidence that beyond the grave the love of God still exists and still serves to lead souls onwards and ever onwards to Him and to His peace.

#### DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said: We shall all agree that we have listened with great pleasure to this learned and interesting paper. I am not competent to speak on it myself, but the meeting is now open for discussion.

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\* Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica* 263.

Archdeacon POTTER, being invited by the CHAIRMAN to speak, said that he wished to congratulate the writer of the paper on the spirit, so manifest all through his paper, of a desire to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

As regards derivation of beliefs, sometimes they seemed to be taken from earlier religions ; but in many cases, notably in the case of Egypt and Babylon, as compared with Judæism and Christianity, the same ideas seem to have arisen spontaneously in the minds of people belonging to different ages and different religions. Man, when he reaches, in the process of evolution, the stage of deep thinking on the problems of life and death, eternity, origin of life, etc., explains these mysteries to himself in terms of his present knowledge. Revelation, which the speaker believed to be a process always going on where beings made in God's image exist, does not convey absolute knowledge on problems like that before us to-day. It concerns itself wholly with matters which directly affect the moral and spiritual life of man. The other questions as to where heaven is, or what the intermediate state is like, or where the soul goes before the judgment, are ones where man's own desire to know, and his interpretation of the few facts at hand lead him to lay down beliefs. Men's minds often run in the same groove, hence the agreement between the doctrines of different religions. With the larger hope expressed in the latter part of the paper, the Archdeacon entirely sympathised. How forgiveness should be limited, in the case of an eternal being, to an infinitesimally short period of his existence, and that by the decree of an all-just and loving God, he could not understand.

Rev. JOHN TUCKWELL, M.R.A.S. : Mr. President, while cordially thanking the writer of the paper for bringing this important subject before us, I must frankly confess that I cannot altogether agree with all the paper contains. In the first place the source of Comparative Religions may apply very reasonably to those religions which have degenerated from that early faith, which if Scripture is to be believed, was known to man in the first ages of human history, but cannot apply to that Faith which is a matter of revelation direct from God.

In the next place I cannot agree with the manner in which the writer appears to waive aside the interpretation of Scripture upon this subject. To me it appears that the truth lies entirely there.

Now the writer seems to have confused the term "Hades" with "Hell," and this I believe is done also in "The Apostles' Creed." Properly understood that Creed does not assert that our Lord went into the place of torment. "Hades" is a comprehensive term including the whole region of the departed like our word "Eternity." When we say that a man has gone into Eternity we do not assert whether he has passed to the multitude of the redeemed or into the region of the lost. Dives and Lazarus both went into Hades, but Dives into Gehenna—the place of torment.

Let me refer for a moment to the crucial passage 1 Pet. iii, 18–21. Here we read that our Lord was "put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit *by which*"—the Greek has  $\epsilon\nu\ \phi$ . Here evidently the "Spirit" is differentiated from the Christ who was put to death so that it was by that Spirit that "He went and preached unto the spirits in prison." But when did that preaching take place? During the interval between our Lord's death and resurrection? By no means, for the next verse tells us, "which sometime were disobedient." Now surely they were disobedient when they heard the preaching. But when was that? "When once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." That seems to me to be a logical and grammatical interpretation of the passage. In the first chapter of this same Epistle we are told that it was the Spirit of Christ which centuries before "testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow."

With regard to the Gilgamesh Legend and the Deluge referred to by the Archdeacon, these and similar fables may have corrupted the faith of the early Christian Church, but I cannot see that there can be any other connection between the two. Gilgamesh loses his friend Ea-bani or Ea-du, and goes to his great ancestor Ut-napishtim to discover if he can get him restored, and becomes healed of certain diseases. But this like other Babylonian stories such as that of the Creation, the Fall, and Cain and Abel, is probably based upon some original which passing through Babylonian channels became corrupted by Babylonian ignorance and superstition.

The view that people who reject the Gospel on earth will have another opportunity after death I cannot find has any support in Scripture, and appears to me to be a very dangerous doctrine. People are now-a-days continually saying, "I never worry about the Gospel or trouble myself with the Bible. I mean to live the

best way I can and if I find myself wrong when I get into the other world it will all be put right." Surely the Scripture was never intended to encourage such a state of mind as that.

The Rev. J. J. B. COLES said: "We know that it is a golden rule in the interpretation of difficult passages of Holy Scripture such as 1 Pet. iii, 18-21, always to bear in mind the general tenour and teaching of the book or epistle as well as to pay close attention to the immediate context in which the passage is found.

In 1 Pet. i, 2, we read: "Searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify (τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ) when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow."

It is then to the teaching of the "Spirit of Christ" through Noah, to the men of those days, that the Apostle is referring—who are awaiting the judgment, as also are the fallen angels who had helped on the awful corruption which called for the destruction by the Flood.

That the Lord did descend "into the heart of the earth," that He did go to the Paradise, to the place of the faithful departed, to "Abraham's bosom"—He himself tells us when He promised the dying thief—"This day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise."

Now, may I suggest an important inference from what is found in the next passage in the New Testament in which "Paradise" occurs, 2 Cor. xii, 4, "Now that he (St. Paul) was caught up into Paradise?" The Lord when He rose from the dead, vanquished the power of death and the gates of Hades—and led captivity captive. The principalities and powers and Satan who had "the power of death" (κράτος) were led as captives before Him while God's faithful people of old time followed as the rescued ones in His triumphal train. A triumph, the *full* effects of which will be seen when in the glorious resurrection day resurrection bodies complete the victory over Death and Hades—which was then effected. Since that first resurrection morn "to depart and be with Christ" (for St. Paul was caught up to Paradise—so the *place* of Paradise is no longer in the heart of the earth, but where Christ is) is the happy lot of those who fall asleep in Him, and who can say, as Stephen said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

This teaching gathered from Holy Scripture alone, is certainly "very far better" than the false doctrine of purgatory and

purgatorial pains which from early days has clouded over the faith of the Church of God.

As to myths and mythological legends, they were perversions of Patriarchal faith by those who changed the truth of God into a lie, and who altered the true teaching of the Zodiacal Constellations in which were figured the victory over Satan by Death and Resurrection of the Seed of the Woman. His risen glories are now the joy of His redeemed and the earnest of still brighter glories to come.

These are days when a true scientific comparative study of "religious origins" reveals the undoubted fact that nearly all the supposed "anticipations" of Christian faith in the religions of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt and India were corruptions of truth revealed to the Patriarchs and especially perversions of those Constellation Figures to which I have referred in my recent paper on Theosophy and about which Mr. E. W. Maunder, of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, has written in so interesting a manner in his *Astronomy of the Bible*. (Sealy Clark, Publisher.)

A comparative study of religious beliefs has resulted in demonstrating how impregnable is the Rock of Holy Scripture, and how unassailable is the position of one who defends his Christian position by a faithful use of the Sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God.

The Rev. DUGALD MACFADYEN said : Anything that I say will be mainly on the valuable paper which has been read to us this evening. I feel that it will be a great pity if we should part without having expressed our appreciation of the value of the paper. Its value to myself was in the happy combination of scientific study and the working of a religious mind on facts scientifically studied. At one of the first of the congresses on comparative religion, somebody got up and asked the question whether the reader of a certain paper was a religious man. The reply came from the Chairman that he could not answer for that, but that he would say he was a "comparatively religious" man. I felt to-day that Canon MacCulloch was giving us the working of a student of religion, and also of a religious man. One felt also that it very greatly confirmed a feeling which has constantly come to my own mind in reading such papers, that men came in the first century as they do now to the religion of Christianity, to the teaching of the word of Christ, with certain ideas already in their minds, and certain great questions waiting to be answered.

One of these questions is undoubtedly, what is the fate of the dead, of our loved ones? They found in the doctrines of a descent into Hades some answer to that pressing question, and to me the especial value of the paper lay in these last paragraphs. The paper is not a negative paper, it is a positive paper. It deals with the use of Scripture in answer to modern needs. Many people who are aware of these ancient stories realise how difficult it is to use that passage in Peter. Canon MacCulloch has borne that difficulty in mind, and he has suggested a use for a passage almost disused. If we believe in the love of God and recognise its omnipotent supremacy, do we suppose that the supremacy of the divine love ends with death? Canon MacCulloch has helped us to read a real and valuable testimony to the love of God into the passage in Peter. He has made it a testimony to the belief of all Christians in that love from the beginning. It secures, not indeed universal restoration, but the universal proclamation of the Gospel of the grace of God. When we come to look at the paper as a whole we shall value it for those last sentences in which this is summed up.

There is a story of a descent into Hades in Scottish literature which was not mentioned. It appears, by the poet Dunbar, in the poem the "Dunes of the Seven Deadly Sins," and I mention it because it was carried through by a person of my own name. It says that he descended into Hades in order to play a coronach on the bagpipes to those who were in distress, and that he suffered the direst penalties from the lord of those parts in consequence.

The Rev. Prebendary FOX said: Expecting that I should have the privilege of being here to-day, I refreshed both memory and spirit last night in reading Bishop Pearson's exposition of the subject now under discussion; and I would suggest that any present, who can, should do the same. His book on the Apostles' Creed is, I fear, less well known, even by the clergy, in these days than it should be. The bishop proves from various passages of Holy Scripture with forceful conclusion the fact of our Lord's descent into Hades, but expresses himself cautiously as to the effects of His presence among, or of His preaching to, "the spirits in prison." Our Lord's object, he believes, was that, as He had shared the conditions of human nature on earth and in the act of dying, so He might be equally partaker with men in the place where the departed await the Resurrection.

The contrast between the dignified restraint of the Biblical statements of this mysterious fact and the turgid exaggerations of the myths which have been so fully set before us to-day, is in itself evidence for differentiating their respective origins.

Chancellor LIAS, who had originally consented to preside, but was unable through ill-health, sent the following communication :— I regret that I was unable to preside, as announced, at the reading of Canon MacCulloch's able and learned paper. I feel that the thanks of the Institute are due to him for having thrown such light on a most interesting subject. The Descent into Hades is quite a common subject for treatment in mediæval art. I remember the impression produced on my mind fifty-five years ago by a fresco of it in the cloisters of Santa Maria Novella at Florence. Many of the mediæval hymns and sermons bear witness to the detailed belief of the Church in that period, as described in Canon MacCulloch's paper.

He refers to the famous "Dated Creed of Sirmium," so genially ridiculed by Athanasius for its pompous words of introduction, as the first Creed in which the Descent into Hades appears. That Creed, as the historian Socrates tells us (*Hist. Eccl.*, II, 37), was drawn up in Latin. The Greek Creed, submitted to the Council by Mark of Arethusa, omits the Descent. The Apostles' Creed, the only one of the three Creeds contained in the Service Books of the Church of England which mentions the Descent, is also of Latin origin. This looks very much as if the belief in the Descent in early times was more prominent and more detailed in the West than in the East.

Canon MacCulloch starts with the part of the Gospel of Nicodemus which contains the legend of the Descent. I confess I can hardly understand why. The Gospel of Nicodemus has come down to us in many forms, in Latin as well as Greek, and seems in its present shape to be the result of a gradual process of evolution (see the Canon's fifth note on p. 213), and to be of considerably later date than the third century, in which some critics imagine it to have appeared. The starting point of our investigations should surely be 1 Pet. iii, 18-21, as confirmed by iv, 6. I am not in sympathy, I must confess, with modern analytic criticism, and I can hardly admit that St. Peter (see p. 218) followed "an early tradition" in these passages. He had ample opportunities

of instruction by his Master in such matters, for we learn that during the great Forty Days between His Resurrection and His Ascension, He spake to His disciples concerning the things of the kingdom of God. Besides, as the Canon has shown, our Lord Himself prophesied His Descent into Hades (or Sheol). We may be sure that the Apostles of Christ were careful to follow His warning against supplementing His teaching by the "traditions of men." St. Peter, it is true, says nothing about a *release* from Hades, and he appears to confine Christ's preaching to the disobedient at the Deluge. Yet it would be strange if no results came of that preaching, and there seems also no reason why the Lord's work in Hades should be confined to the contemporaries of Noah. St. Peter's indefinite language can, I believe, only be explained by the intentional reticence observed by our Lord and His immediate disciples concerning the Intermediate State.

I observe that Canon MacCulloch, in common with most writers on Origen, imagines that this voluminous writer definitely taught that the ransom Christ paid for us was paid to the devil. It is true that Origen says so more than once. But few persons appear to realize that Origen, the pioneer of free speculation on the truths of religion, often dropped suggestions which fuller consideration induced him to retract. Thus he frequently speaks of St. Peter as the Rock. But when he comes to comment on Matt. xvi, 18, he rightly interprets our Lord's words as referring, not to the Apostle, but to his Confession. So in his sixth Homily on St. John (c. 37), (as also elsewhere), he treats the sacrifice of Christ in a very different fashion, saying that there "is more than one way by which Christ accomplishes the work of redemption. Some of these are clear to the mass of mankind, and some not."

Again (p. 214) to "keep secret" the way of salvation (the phrase used by Ignatius, is not, surely, equivalent to "deception"). Irenæus once more (p. 216 and elsewhere) says nothing about Hades, in speaking of Christ's Redemption in the passages cited in the paper, but he does not say that "Satan was vanquished by the keeping of God's Commandment by the Son of God," a statement equivalent to St. Paul's teaching in Rome.

The definite statement of Clement of Alexandria (p. 217) that the Saviour effected an "universal movement and translation" by His visit to Hades, discloses to us a feature in Alexandrian theology

from the third to the fifth century which dominated Hellenic and even Syrian thought. Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. 33) definitely states that Christians in his day were free to speculate about the nature of the Judgment, and his friend Gregory of Nyssa taught, though perhaps not quite consistently, downright universalism, as did also the celebrated Syrian divine Theodore of Mopsuestia. I cannot think that there is any assertion anywhere (*see* p. 218) that the resurrection of the "saints who slept" must necessarily have *preceded* the Descent of the Saviour to Hades.

We are deeply indebted to the writer for recalling to our minds a fact which is missed by many readers of the Bible, that the Descent into Hades was foretold by our Lord Himself, and implicitly if not explicitly taught by St. Paul the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (pp. 222, 224). And we may be thankful for a protest, though it is by no means too strongly worded, against the idea that Christ's Descent must be attributed to "Pagan sources." Many competent critics are of opinion that other religions borrowed from Christianity in this and other points, and certainly the contrary opinion cannot be said to have been placed beyond all doubt. I may express my great satisfaction that the Institute has of late broadened the basis on which papers are permitted to be read before it, and that the various developments of Christian teaching during past ages find full and free discussion at our meetings. Such a course must tend to a broadening and a steadying of our views, and the ultimate banishing of "erroneous and strange doctrines from our midst."

Communication from Lieut.-Colonel ALVES :—

The earliest recorded prophecy in the Bible concerning our Lord's Descent into Hades appears to be that of David in Psalm xvi, "thou wilt not leave my soul in Hell (Sheol or Hades)."

Though this and "Sheol" is sometimes used as a synonym for "the Grave," we have no warrant for supposing that they are one and the same thing; the latter being for the body, the former for the departed spirit.

But if the earliest prophecy that we possess dates only from some 1,000 years B.C., we are not justified in asserting that those who lived before David and Moses had no revelation on the subject. There are two passages in the New Testament which seem to me to be evidence in favour of there having been some pre-Mosaic Bible

which, or part of which, was extant in writing or tradition, even in the days of the Apostles.

Peter, in his first Epistle, Chap. iii, verses 18 to 20, tells of this descent into, and preaching to the Spirits in Prison, by Our Lord between death and resurrection. There is no ambiguity in, or dispute about, the text. No unbiassed mind could interpret it otherwise. Jude also quotes a prophecy of Enoch. Neither of these writers writes as if he were revealing something new, as Paul does, in 1 Cor. xv, when revealing the resurrection of the dead.

Supposing that some such Bible, oral or written, existed in pre-Mosaic days, those who were scattered abroad after the confusion of tongues at Babel would carry away the oral tradition with them—and speedily corrupt it.

The history of the Early Church, and even of the Church in our own day, shows how pure teaching can become rapidly corrupted. The idea of a coming deliverer is one of these doctrines, and that of the Descent into Hades would appear to be another. The former is outlined in Genesis iii, “It shall bruise thy head”; the latter is not hinted at in that book, or in Job, which is believed to have been written by Moses.

The fact that nations which, from a very early period, lost all right knowledge of God, have preserved a tradition, however corrupted, of the Descent into Hades—is strong evidence in favour of the earlier Patriarchs possessing a fuller Bible than Genesis i to xi. Having served its purpose, Divine Wisdom has given us in its place His complete Revelation as we now have it.

The LECTURER in reply said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I must express my thanks to you for the kind reception you have given to my paper, and also for the honour which the Council has conferred upon me in asking one who is a stranger, to read a paper here.

Mr. Tuckwell is of opinion that I have confused “Hades” with “Hell.” In reply to that I would point out that the same confusion is found generally in early Christian literature. In the New Testament “Gehenna” means roughly what we now understand by “Hell,” but probably a place of punishment after judgment. “Hades” is the place of all the dead, including (as in the Jewish idea of Sheol) the wicked. “Paradise” may mean a division of Hades, or a region in one of the heavens. It has this latter sense

in the passage where St. Paul refers to his ecstatic experience, and he plainly believed, as a result of his Jewish training, that there were several heavens, in one of which Paradise was situated. In early Christian literature, such a scheme as this is often adhered to, but very frequently Gehenna and Hades are used synonymously, and, as in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Hades is itself a place of punishment apparently for *all* the dead, who are described as coming out of their prisons at the call of Christ. In this document Hades is also the region where Satan dwells. These confusions are inevitable, and one is bound to follow them more or less. But it is fairly certain that many of those who believed in Christ's descent into Hades thought of it as a descent into a state where the wicked were.

Reference has been made to the passages in St. Peter's epistle. One is quite aware that these are still the subject of discussion, and that such interpretations as Mr. Tuckwell and Mr. Coles have mentioned have obtained a wide currency. But if we believe in the descent it is difficult to understand why we should not take the Petrine passages in what is their obvious sense and see in them a reference to it. The idea that the apostle is referring to a preaching not in Hades, but in the days of Noah by the Spirit of Christ, strikes one always as more ingenious than true. As I pointed out in the paper, many of the Fathers do not refer to these passages when speaking of this doctrine, probably because they did not suit their particular theory of the Descent. But, even if they contain no hint of a presence of our Lord with the dead, and His preaching to them between His death and resurrection, there are other passages in the New Testament which clearly do refer to these. This, added to the constant belief of the early Church in the Descent, makes it easier to give up, if necessary, the Petrine texts.

As to the criticism that the "larger hope" which one seems to find in the Descent doctrine is a dangerous teaching, we must remember that it is not claimed that we shall be forced to accept forgiveness in the other world, any more than we are forced to do so here. The human will must still have its power of choosing or rejecting these as here. Yet one may trust that even the most stubborn wills shall at length bow before the love of God, whose punishments work through love, and cry aloud for His mercy which is infinite and unailing. No Christian teacher would ever instruct people "not to worry about the Gospel," because "all will be put

right" in the Other-world, and such a popular but erroneous view is not a fair deduction from the teachings of those who trust the larger hope, or from the sentences at the close of the paper.

I should have liked more criticism directed towards what is the main purpose of the paper, viz., the inquiry regarding the sources of the doctrine—is it original to Christianity or was it entirely borrowed from pagan sources? The Descent doctrine has been much discussed in Germany, and there is hardly a German theologian of any repute who has not written a book or pamphlet on the subject. There is a strong tendency, exemplified in the writings of Professors Bousset and Pfleederser, to regard the doctrine as borrowed from pagan sources, probably by way of the Mandæan religion. But there are two objections to this theory, both of which seem fatal: (1) We know nothing regarding the date of the documents in which the Mandæan myths occur; (2) None of those Mandæan "descent" myths has any reference to a descent to the world of the dead. Men were created after the descent of Mandæan mythical personages to the regions inhabited by demoniac beings.

I should add that I chose the account in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* as introductory to the study of the Christian Descent doctrine, not because it is particularly early in date, but because it gives comprehensively most of the ideas connected with this doctrine which are found as a general rule separately in other writings. Chancellor Lias's criticisms, which have reached me since reading my paper, are valuable, but I do not understand his reference to my citations from Irenæus on p. 216, as I think I am in agreement with him that Irenæus is not referring to a release from Hades in connection with the binding of Satan. Elsewhere, of course, he refers to a preaching in Hades. The passage in Ignatius is, I think, open to the interpretation I have put upon it. Cf. Lightfoot's note in his *Apostolic Fathers* to this passage (Ignatius, *Ep. ad Ephes.*, 19).

## THE 520TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING

WAS HELD IN

THE LECTURE HALL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS  
BY KIND PERMISSION, ON MONDAY, 12TH JUNE, 1911,  
AT 4.30 P.M.

THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON BERESFORD POTTER TOOK THE  
CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary announced the election of two Associates :—

Mrs. Stuart Trotter.

Mrs. Edward Trotter.

The Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall was then invited to read his paper :—

*MITHRAISM: Christianity's Greatest Rival under the Roman Emperors.* By the Rev. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, D.D.

Οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων λαβεῖν μείζον οὐδὲ χάρισσασθαι Θεῷ  
σμενότερον ἀληθείας.

(Plutarch.)

**N**UMEROUS as were the rivals with which, during the first few centuries of our era, Christianity had to contend for the empire of the human heart and of the world, none was more powerful, more dangerous, and (in spite of certain deceptive and merely superficial resemblances)\* more opposed

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\* Attention is called to these outward resemblances by Tertullian, Justin Martyr, etc. Origen (*Contra Celsum*, Lib. VI, 22) says that Celsus accused the Christians of borrowing their seven heavens from the Mithraic mysteries. In modern times Lajard, *Recherches sur le culte publique et les mystères de Mithra*, has unintentionally exaggerated these resemblances: while Mr. J. M. Robertson in his *Pagan Christs*, Mr. Vivian Phelips ("Philip Vivian") in his *The Churches and Modern Thought*, Dr. Frazer in *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Mr. Mallock in *Nineteenth Century and After* for September, 1905, and others, have called in the aid of excited imaginations, if not also inventive talent of a very high order, with the object of making these points of outward contact between Christianity and Mithraism seem so numerous and so important as to lead their readers to infer a very close relationship between the two faiths. This will be evident in the passage we quote further on in the text.

to it in spirit and in principle than the Religion of Mithra.\* The contest began in the closing years of the first Christian century, waxed fiercer in the second, reached its crisis towards the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth, and culminated in the complete triumph of Christianity,† a Christianity, alas! no longer of unsullied purity, before the year 400.

In our own day an attempt has been made to renew the struggle in another form; to lead men to fancy that Mithraism‡ and Christianity were of kindred origin, if not actually from one and the same source; that in rites, ethics and doctrines they differed little, if at all; and that in fact the Divine Infant born in the stable and laid in the manger at Bethlehem was identical in all but name with the youthful hero§ in Phrygian attire, the so-called "God from a Rock" (θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας), who was destined to be worshipped for a time by multitudes of stalwart devotees from the Hindû Kush to the Roman Wall

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\* In Sanskrit *Mitra* ("a friend"), Avestic *Mithra*, Pahlavî *Mitrô*, Greek *Mithras* and *Mίθρης*, Latin *Mithras*, *Mithrês*, and *Mitra*. Mod. Pers. *Mîhr*, Armenian *Mîhr*.

† Mithraism in the Roman Empire flourished most widely in the third century. Its public worship was forbidden at Rome in A.D. 378, and more successfully throughout the Empire by the Theodosian Code in A.D. 391.

‡ Manes (Mânî) was apparently the first to start this theory (A.D. 215-276). At an earlier age such a supposition would have needed no refutation. He apparently identified Christ with Mithra.

§ This is but another form of the now exploded Solar Myth theory. Seydel, *Das Evangelium Jesu in s. Verhältnissen zu Buddha-Sage, and Buddha und Christus*, has tried to do the same thing, substituting Buddha for Mithra; and his failure is admitted even by Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, pp. 290-292. Mr. J. M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, endeavours to trace Christianity to the legends of Krishna. E. Schuré, *Krishna and Orpheus*, though pretending to derive his information from the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* and the *Vishnu-Purâna*, writes a romance founded on the Gospels, with the same object. M. Jacolliot, *La Bible dans l'Inde et la vie de Jezeus Christna*, and Dr. Marius, *La Personnalité du Christ*, do the same still more audaciously, and are well answered by Professor De Harlez, *Vedisme, Brahmanisme et Christianisme*, who shows that they have deliberately and unblushingly lied to support a contention which they knew to be false. M. Notovitch, *The Unknown Life of Christ*, has been exposed somewhat similarly by J. A. Douglas in the *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1896. See Professor S. Dill's remarks, *Roman Society from Nero to Aurelius* (pp. 622, 623): "Futile attempts have been made to find parallels to Biblical narrative or symbolism in the faint and faded legend of Mithra. . . . One great weakness of Mithraism lay precisely here, that, in place of the narrative of a divine life, instinct with human sympathy, it had only to offer the cold symbolism of a cosmic legend."

of Caledonia. Mr. Mallock, for instance, says that the religion of Mithra "resembled that of Christ in being a religion of inward holiness, of austere self-discipline and purity ; but the details of its resemblance are incomparably more close and curious" (than in the case of the religion of Isis). . . . "According to Mithraic theology, God, considered in His totality, is a Being so infinite and so transcendent that His direct connexion with man and the universe is inconceivable. In order to become the Father of Man and Creator, He manifested Himself in a second personality, namely Mithra, who was in his cosmic character identified with the 'Unconquered Sur,' and, as a moral and intellectual being, was the Divine Word or Reason, and, in more senses than one, the 'Mediator' between man and the Most High. Life on earth, according to the Mithraic doctrine, is for man a time of trial. The Spirit of Evil, his adversary, is always seeking to destroy him, to crush him with pain and sorrow, or to stain his soul with concupiscence, but in all his struggles Mithra is at hand to aid him, and will at the last day be at once his judge and advocate, when the graves give up their dead, when the just are separated from the unjust, when the saved are welcomed like children into eternal bliss, and the lost are consumed in the fire prepared for the Devil and his angels. This Divine Saviour came into the world as an infant. His first worshippers were shepherds ; and the day of his nativity was December 25th . . . His followers preached a severe and rigid morality, chief among their virtues being temperance, chastity, renunciation and self-control. They kept the seventh day holy . . . They had seven sacraments, of which the most important were baptism, confirmation, and an Eucharistic Supper, at which the communicants partook of the Divine Nature of Mithra under the species of bread and wine." (*Nineteenth Century and After*, September, 1905.)

We shall be better able to judge of the correctness of these remarkable assertions when we have concluded our examination of Mithraism and seen what its real nature was and how far it was from resembling Christianity in any real sense.\*

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\* Meanwhile Professor De Harlez' words in dealing with the once notorious M. Jacolliot's similar attack on the truth of the Gospel may be quoted as applicable in the present case also : "Que nos frères de la libre pensée nous permettent . . . cette réflexion qui est dans l'esprit de tous : Quand nous les voyons user de semblables moyens et attaquer nos croyances avec des armes de cette espèce, comment pourrions-nous nous défendre de suspecter leur bonne foi ?" (*Vedisme, Brahmanisme et Christianisme*, p. 156).

To the serious student the theory that the legend of Mithra and the Gospel account of Christ are one and the same needs little confutation. The facts on which Christianity is based are matters of history. The writers of the New Testament were in many cases eye-witnesses\* of the most important of the events which they record, and in other cases they wrote on the authority of eye-witnesses. When, about A.D. 30 or a little later, the Apostles, and especially the other brethren, set out from Jerusalem† to begin the task of making all nations‡ disciples, and "went about preaching the Word,"§ it is evident that they must have had *some* message to proclaim, some news of their Master to tell. What that news was we learn from the New Testament. According to the latest scholarship of our day,|| the Synoptic Gospels were written and published, the earliest about 20, and the latest not more than 40 years after Christ had been crucified under Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius.¶ Therefore even the most credulous opponent of Christianity can hardly believe that the heralds of Christ confounded Him with Mithra, whose cruel and barbarous\*\* worship, associated†† with

\* Cf. I John i, 1-3.

† Lk. xxiv, 46-49; Acts i, 8.

‡ Matt. xxviii, 19.

§ Acts viii, 4.

|| Harnack (*Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit der Synoptischen Evangelien*) dates the non-Markan source used by Matthew and Luke as written about or before A.D. 50. (Ramsay thinks it may have been composed even before the Crucifixion: see also Professor Petrie, *The Growth of the Gospels*.) He dates Mark's Gospel between A.D. 50 and 60, and says it cannot be later; Matthew's about A.D. 70; Luke's before the conclusion of the Acts *circa* A.D. 60. There is therefore no room for the growth of myth, nor is there any possibility that the disciples confounded their beloved Master with the Persian Sun-god. The New Testament portraiture of Christ cannot be resolved into myth, fiction, or hallucination. See, e.g., Row's *Jesus of the Evangelists*, Seeley's *Ecce Homo*, Simpson's *The Fact of Christ*, and my own *Religio Critici*, ch. II. ¶ Tacitus, *Annales*, Lib. xv, 44.

\*\* Cf. Lampridius, *Vita Commodi*, cap. 14: Socrates, *Hist. Ecc.*, Lib. iii, cap. ii, §§ 2-6: Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, Lib. x, vv. 1006-1050 (Dressel's Ed.): Nonnus, *Συναγωγὴ Ἰστοριῶν*, §§ 6, 47: Porphyry, quoted by Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés*, vol. ii, p. 42: A. Gasquet, *Essai sur le culte et les mystères de Mithra*, p. 27.

†† In the rites of Cybele, Mâ, etc. A. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 27, states that Artaxerxes I., erecting statues to Mithra and Anahita at Susa, Ecbatana, Babylon, Damascus, and Sardis, identified them with Marduk and Ishtar, and attached to their temples thousands of hierodules of either sex, "voués aux prostitutions sacrées." Professor Dill, *Roman Society*, p. 625, says: "Through the astral fatalism of Babylon, Mithra was inseparably connected with the darkest superstitions of East or West, which covered all sorts of secret crime and perfidy, which lent themselves to seduction, conspiracy, and murder." Renan, *Marcus Aurelius*, Hutchinson's transla-

the vilest immorality, they afterwards encountered in Phrygia and elsewhere, and against whom, even when enthroned in the person of a Nero,\* a Vitellius, a Domitian, a Commodus, an Elagabalus, they were destined to contend unto blood, unto death by torture, on the cross, at the stake, by the teeth of wild beasts. The deification of the Roman Emperors was directly due to Mithraism.† It was their determined opposition to such blasphemy, and their resolve to die in agonies indescribable rather than burn a handful of incense before the Emperor's statue, which, from the point of view of Roman statesmanship, rendered necessary those terrible persecutions of the Christians that, again and again during three centuries, arrayed against the martyr church all the might of the Empire, only to succeed after all in crowning its faithfulness with the victor's palm. In the *Vicisti Galilæe* of Julian the Apostate, Mithraism uttered its dying groan.

The worship of Mithra, brought to Rome by the Cilician pirates‡ captured by Pompey in 68 B.C., did not at first spread to any extent, though even then Eastern religions were becoming in some degree popular in the West. Of Latin writers Statius (*Thebais*, Lib. I, 716 *fin.*)§ is the first to mention it, about

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tion, p. 266, speaking of Mithraism, says: "The immorality of the ancient Phrygian Sabazia had not disappeared, but was masked by a veneer of pantheism and mysticism."

\* Dio Cassius, Lib. lxxiii, 5, represents Tiridates of Armenia as saying to Nero: *Kai ἤλαθον πρὸς σε τὸν ἐμὸν θεὸν, προσκυνήσων σε ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν*. Nero bears many divine and semi-divine titles in recently found papyri.

† "On a souvent insisté sur les ressemblances que la cour de Dioclétien offre avec celle de Chosroès. Ce fut le culte solaire, ce furent en particulier, les théories mazdéennes, qui répandirent les idées sur lesquelles les souverains divinisés tentèrent de fonder l'absolutisme monarchique. La rapide diffusion des mystères persiques dans toutes les classes de la population servit admirablement les ambitions politiques des empereurs" (Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, vol. i, Preface, p. xi). *Vide* too what he says of the "effective support" given by the Emperors to Mithraism (*Mysteries of Mithra*, Eng. Ed., pp. 87-89).

‡ Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*, cap. 24.

§ "Adsis, o, memor hospitii, Iunoniaque arva  
Dexter ames: seu te roseum Titana vocari  
Gentis Achaemeniae ritu, seu praestat Osirin  
Frugiferum, seu Persei sub rupibus antri  
Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mitram."

The Scholiast explains this by saying that Mithra is represented as grasping the bull's horns with both hands and twisting them. He (wrongly?) says that the bull is the moon. Note the syncretism in these lines.

A.D. 80. Then and ever afterwards it was universally recognised that Mithra was not a deified man,\* not a supposed Divine Incarnation, not any being who had ever trod the earth, but the Sungod.† This we learn from Mithraic inscriptions found in Italy, Dacia, Gaul, Britain, but above all in Austria and Germany. They date from the reigns of Trajan (A.D. 98–117) and Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) onward. Among the most common‡ words in such inscriptions are Ἡλίῳ Μίθρα and *Invicto Soli Mithrae*. About the end of the first century Mithraism began to spread rapidly throughout almost the whole Roman Empire except Greece and the Hellenic world, carried with them by the legions, which were largely composed of foreigners and included not a few Asiatics. It was pre-eminently the religion of barbarous warriors, and its ruthlessness and disregard of purity commended it to others besides. Its spread was rendered the easier from the fact that it opposed no Pagan faith. On the contrary, Western Mithraism (differing in this, as in much else, from the original Persian form of the religion) was at once eclectic and also syncretic§ to the utmost extent. It strove

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\* Euhemerism, which resolved every deity into a deceased man or woman (and has been revived in our time under another name by such writers as Mr. Grant Allen) does not seem to have been applied to Mithraism, the facts of the case being too obviously against it. Yet Mr. Mallock perhaps implies something of the kind when he says (*Nineteenth Century and After*, September, 1905): "The earthly career of Mithra belonged to an unimaginable past." Mithra as a dweller on earth had no "earthly career" at all. Even Julian the Apostate, who speaks of himself as τοῦ βασιλεως ὁπαδὸς Ἡλίου (Orat. iv, *initio*) and of Hēlios as τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν μέσος ἐν μέσοις τεταγμένος κατὰ παντοίαν μεσότητι (141, D.), identifies Hēlios with Mithra (εἰ σοι μετὰ τοῦτο φαίην, ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν τιμῶμεν καὶ ἄγομεν Ἡλίῳ τετραετηρικοῦς ἀγῶνας, κτλ. (Oratio iv, Hertlein's Ed., vol. i, p. 201), though distinguishing the solar disc from the Sungod himself.

† Hermann Oldenberg, whether correct or not in what he says about the Babylonian (Akkadian) origin of Sun-worship, is undoubtedly correct in saying: "Mithra, der uralte Sonnengott, unzweifelhaft eine der hervorragendsten Gestalten im populären Glauben der iranischen Völker und auch im Kultus der Achämenidenkönige . . ." (*Die Iranische Religion*, p. 83 of *Die Orientalischen Religionen*). In late Persian Zoroastrianism, Mitrô as angel of the Sun's light is distinguished from the Sun himself in *Dînd î Maînôg î Khîrad*, cap. liii, 4, 8, but identified with the Sun in *Sikand Gârnânik Vijâr*, cap. iv, 39.

‡ Vide vol. ii of Cumont's *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, *passim*.

§ Vide Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, and Prætextatus' argument there that all the gods were in reality one and the same, and might all be summed up under the name of the Sungod. In Lib. i, cap. xxi, it is explained

to unite into one the many varying forms of Physiolatry represented by all the religions of the Roman world, with the solitary exception of Judaism and Christianity. At the same time it tended more and more to promote the worship of the Emperor as the representative and in some sense an incarnation\* of the Sungod, who was the most widely adored deity of the East, and was worshipped under various names in the West† also. Such a religion had much to commend it to philosophers, soldiers, and statesmen alike. It formed a specially close alliance with Stoicism. It allied itself, too, with the worship of the Great Mother,‡ the Earth-Goddess, whether called Cybele, Isis,§ Demeter, Ceres, Rhea or by other names, and at least did nothing to discourage the licentious|| rites connected with too many of these deities. Yet the strange rites and imposing

that Adonis is the Sun, as is Attis: Mater deum is the Earth, Osiris is the Sun, and Iris the Moon. So in cap. xxiii, it is stated that Hadad and Atargatis are the Sun and the Earth. Cf. also cap. xx, etc.

\* "When the Cæsars of the third century pretended to be gods descended from heaven to the earth, the justification of their imaginary claims had as its corollary the establishment of a public worship of the divinity from whom they believed themselves the emanations" (Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, Eng. Ed., p. 185).

† "From the time of Plato and Aristotle, Greek philosophy regarded the celestial bodies as animate and divine creatures. Stoicism furnished new arguments in favour of this opinion; while Neo-Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism insisted still more emphatically on the sacred character of the luminary which is the ever-present image of the intelligible God" (*op. cit.*, p. 184).

‡ "From the moment of the discovery of traces of the Persian cult in Italy, we find it intimately associated with that of the *Magna Mater* of Pessinus, which had been solemnly adopted by the Roman people three centuries before" (*op. cit.*, p. 86).

§ Cf. Apuleius, *Met.* xi, cap. 22-24. Isis identifies herself with other goddesses, such as Deum mater, Minerva, Venus, Diana, Proserpina, Ceres, Juno, Bellona, Hecate, and claims to be "rerum naturæ parens" in *Met.* xi, cap. 5: cf. capp. 2 and 11.

|| On conduct in temples of Isis, for example, *vide* Ovid, *Amores*, Lib. ii, El. ii, 25; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi, 488; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, Lib. xviii, §§ 65 *sqq.* There can be nothing to wonder at in the conduct of the devotees of Isis when we remember that she was goddess of fertility. So in Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, Lib. i, cap. 20, *fn.*: "Isis . . . est vel terra vel natura rerum subiaciens soli. Hinc est, quod continuatis uberibus corpus deæ omne densetur." *Vide* also the passage on Isis and Osiris translated (from Maspero's *Les Inscriptions des Pyramides de Saqqarah*, Paris, 1894) in Budge's "Book of the Dead," Introduction to Translation, p. cxxxiv. Athanasius (*κατὰ Ἑλλήνων*, cap. 26) says that the heathen held that: ἐκ μὲν γὰρ Διὸς τὴν παιδοφθορίαν καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν, ἐκ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὴν πορνείαν, καὶ ἐκ μὲν Ἑρας τὴν ἀσελγίαν ἐκ δὲ Ἄρεος τοῦς φόνοῦς, καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων ἄλλα τοιαῦτα μεμαθήκασιν.

ceremonies of Mithraism, its pretence to Eastern wisdom and great antiquity, its connexion with magic, its mysteries and secret doctrines known only to the initiated, its worship in dim caves and crypts, its solemn sacrifices, in which the victims were said not always to be merely animals,\* its orders and priesthood, and its claim to reveal the secrets of the after-life, all combined to attract the attention, arouse the curiosity, and revive the dying hopes of an age ever fluctuating between the utmost extremes of Atheism and abject superstition, unable to find the truth, unable to rest without it, unwilling to accept it when revealed, cruel, licentious, and devoid of hope for time and for eternity.

In its Eastern forms, the worship of Mithra can be traced among the Āryans to very early times. They carried it into India with them, perhaps as early as 2000 B.C. In the Rig-Veda, Mitra is one of the seven Ādityas or sons of the goddess Aditi, "the Expanse."† His father is at one time called Kaśyapa,‡ at another Daksha,§ and at another Rīta.|| Mitra is generally mentioned in close connexion with Varuṇa (Οὐρανός), so close indeed that the dual of the word Mitra¶ is used to denote Mitra and Varuṇa, while in the plural it means "the [three] friends," Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman. The Sun is the common eye\*\* of Mitra and Varuṇa. Mitra is rarely mentioned

\* The Ecclesiastical historian Socrates (*Hist. Ecc.*, Lib. iii, cap. ii, §§ 2-6) tells of a ruined temple of Mithra at Alexandria, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἕλληνες (i.e. Gentiles) τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Μίθρᾳ τελετὰς ποιῶντες ἀνθρώπων κατέθουον. Of the objects found in the ruins he says : ταῦτα δὲ ἦν κρανίαι ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ νέων τε καὶ παλαιῶν, οὓς λόγος κατεῖχε πάλαι ἀναερεῖσθαι. Sozomen, however (*Hist. Ecc.*, Lib. v, cap. vii, §§ 5, 6) does not mention the skulls. Cumont (*Mysteries of Mithra*, Eng. Version, p. 161) says : "Sometimes the terrified mystic took part, if not as an actor, at least as a spectator, in a simulated murder, which in its origin was undoubtedly real. In late periods the officiants were contented with producing a sword dipped in the blood of a man who had met a violent death."

† E.g., *Śatopatha-Brahmaṇa*, 2 Kāṇḍa, 3 Adhyāya, 4 Brāhmaṇa, śl. 37. It is said that "Aditi is this earth" (1 Kāṇḍa, 1 Adh., 4 Brāh., śl. 5 : and 1 Kāṇḍa, 3 Adh., 1 Brāh., śl. 15 and 17).

‡ *Agni-Purāṇa*, cap. xix, śl. 1 and 2 (where twelve Ādityas are mentioned).

§ Rig-Veda, Maṇḍala viii, Hymn 25, śl. 3 and 5.

|| Atharva-Veda, vii, 6, 1.

¶ *Vide* Grossmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, s.v. Mitra.

\*\* Rig-Veda, Maṇḍala vii, Hymn 61, śl. 1 :

Udvām cakshur, Varuṇa, supratikam devayor eti sūryas tatanvân :  
Abhi yo viśvâ bhuvanâni caṣhte, sa manyum martyeshv âciketa.

O Varuṇa, the Sun, the beauteous Eye of you two gods, having

alone, but one famous hymn\* in his sole honour speaks of him as having borne both earth and sky, as viewing the races of men without winking, as overspreading earth, stream, and sky, as bearing all the gods (or the *Viśva-devas*), and as protecting his worshippers from trouble, defeat, and death. He is spoken of as *priyatamo nrindam†* ("the most friendly of males?" "the greatest friend of males?"). Though Mitra is the Sungod in the Rig-Veda, yet in later hymns we find his *fertilising* energy dwelt upon to some extent. Thus in the Atharva Veda,‡ while Varuṇa is god of waters, including especially the ocean, Mitra and he are conjointly gods of *rain*. In Persia this aspect of his character, that of giver of fertility, was further developed.

When we turn to the latter country we find Mithra spoken of in the Avesta as son of Ahura Mazda by his own daughter Speñta Ārmaiti, and as brother of the other Amesha Speñtas, of Ashi Vañuhî, Sraosha, Rashnu, and many other deities.§ He holds a high position, his praise is sung in long poems,|| he punishes untruth and breaches of faith, presides over justice, and is famed for his wisdom. He sees and hears everything that occurs. He is distinctly the Sungod, as is evident from very many passages, of which it suffices to quote the following :

"Mithra, owner of broad pastures, the watchful one, do we honour, him whom red, swift, yoked steeds draw in a chariot with one golden wheel : and his spear-points are all-resplendent if one bears offerings towards his abode."¶

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risen, is coming : he who has graciously beheld all beings has comprehended zeal in mortals."

\* Rig-Veda, Maṇḍala iii, Hymn 59.

† Rig-Veda, Maṇḍala vii, Hymn 62, śl. 4.

‡ Atharva-Veda v, 24, śll. 4-5.

§ *Vide* Yasna, xlv, 4 ; xxxiv, 10 ; Yasht xvii, 16 ; xvii, 2 ; Yasna xi, 2 ; xxxvi, 3 ; xlvii, 2. In the Pahlavi commentary on Vendidad xi, 5 ; Ahura Mazda is husband of other female divinities besides Ārmaiti ; cf. Yasna xxxviii, 1 ; Visp. iii, 4.

|| The whole of the long tenth Yasht is in his honour.

¶ Yasht x, 136 :—

Mithrem vouru-gaoyaoitīm, etc., jaghaurvōñhem.

yahmāi aurusha aurvanta

yūkhta vāsha thanjasōntē

āeva cakhra zaranaēna :

asānasca viśpō-bāma,

yēzi-shē zaōthrō baraiti

avi-shē maēthanem.

Notice his *wheel* (disc) ; *cakhra* = Skt. *cakra*, his *red* steeds (*aurusha* = Skt. *arusha*, used of Agni and his horses), his resplendent spear-points or rays, and his association with Ahura Mazda.

He is often closely associated with Ahura Mazda, as in the Rig-Veda with his equivalent Varuṇa. Thus we read :

“Mithra, Ahura, the lofty ones, the imperishable, the righteous, do we honour: . . . Mithra, lord of all the provinces, do we honour.”\*

He aids Ahura Mazda in his long contest against Anrô Mainyuš, “the Hurtful Spirit,” and all the evil beings which assist him and his evil creatures. Since the Sun visits the Underworld at night, Mithra was held to be one of the rulers of the world of the dead. On the fourth day after death, when the spirit of a deceased Zoroastrian reached the entrance to the “Bridge of the Judge” (*Chinvat-peretu*), which stretched from the Alburz to the Chakât Dâitih, he was there tried by Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu, of whom the latter weighed his deeds in a balance. If he passed this test, the bridge expanded before him to the width of a parasang. His good deeds, assuming the form of a beautiful girl, came to meet and welcome him to Paradise, Garô-nmâna, † “the Home of Hymns,” the Heaven of Ahura Mazda. The wicked could not cross the bridge, but were driven to torment. ‡

High as was Mithra’s position under the Zoroastrian reformation, § it was apparently lower than it had been before Zoroaster’s time. He had previously been one of the chief deities, perhaps the greatest and most popular of all: whereas now he was not included among the Amesha-Speñtas, || who

\* Yasht x, 145 :—

Mithra Ahura berezanta

aithyêjanha ashavana yazamaidê : . . .

Mithrem višpanâm dahyunâm

daiñhu-paitim yazamaidê.

† In the Gâthâs called *Garô-demâna*.

‡ *Vide Vendidad* xix, 100, 101 ; Artâ Virâf Nâmak, iii, 1 ; iv, 7 ; v, i, 2 ; xvii, 1 ; *Bând* xii, 7, etc.

§ Before this reformation the religion of the Persians must have been more similar to that of the Âryans in India. The names of many beings worshipped in India remain in the Avesta, as Indra, Mithra (Skt. Mitra), Airyaman (Skt. Aryaman), Asha (Skt. Rita), Ahura (Skt. Asura), Apâm Napô (Skt. Apâm Napât), Tištriya (Skt. Tishya ?), Râman (Skt. Râma), Vâyu, Vâta, etc. But some of these have become demons (*e.g.* Indra, who in the Avesta is the demon of untruthfulness) ; and *deva* (deus, *θεός*), “god,” has become *daêva*, “demon.”

|| “Or Bounteous Immortals” ; Ahura Mazda, Vôhu Manô, Asha Vahišta, Khshathra Vairya, Speñta Ârmaiti, Haurvatât and Ameretât. Ahura Mazda was their chief, and was generally regarded as father of the rest, Speñta Ârmaiti, his spouse (*tâ câ višpâ*, Ahurâ, thwahmî, Mazdâ, *Khshathrôbi â vöyathrâ*, *Yasna* xxxiv, 10), being his own daughter (*Yasna*, xlv, 4). In Yasht xviii, 2, Ashi Vañuhi is said to be Ahura Mazda’s daughter : in

correspond with the Âdityas of the Rig-Veda. Yet the Avesta shows that attempts were made to restore him to his lofty place by making him equal to Ahura Mazda. In fact in one passage it is said that "Ahura Mazda adored" Mithra "near (*or* with) brilliant Garô-ninâna."\* Elsewhere we are told that Ahura Mazda had made Mithra as great as himself "to keep guard over all this moving† world," and that he had rendered him as great in dignity and honour as‡ himself. This shows that it was felt necessary to prevent rivalry between Ahura Mazda and Mithra by recognising their equality. In other words, the later parts§ of the Avesta show that Zoroastrianism was decaying and Mithra was again coming to the fore. This prepared the way for his Western conquests.

As early as the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, we find Mithra honoured and worshipped in connexion with Ahura Mazda. Thus in an inscription of this King we read: "King|| Artaxerxes

v. 16 of the same *yasna* we read of her: "Thy father is Ahura Mazda . . thy mother is Ârmaiti Speñta." This name means "Bountiful or Productive) Pleasure" (Sanskrite verbo *â-ram*, "requiescere," "gaudere," nonnumquam de re venerea utuntur), and she is the tutelary goddess of the earth. Originally, in many cases at least, the other Amesha Speñtas were personified attributes of Ahura Mazda. One proof that Mithra is in no sense a "manifestation" of Ahura Mazda, but a separate deity, is the fact that Mithra is *not* an Amesha-Speñta, though, like all the latter and also Rashnu, Sraosha, etc., he is in the Avesta one of Ahura Mazda's children (Yasht, xvii, 2, 16.) Yet Mr. J. M. Robertson (*Pagan Christs*, 2nd Ed., p. 320), assures us that Mithra was the *chief* of the Amesha-Speñtas.

\* *Mithrem . . . yim yazata Ahurô Mazdô raokhshnât paiti Garôn-mânât* (Yasht x, 31, 123.)

† Yasht x, 103; Yim haretâremca aiwyâkhštâremca.

Fradathat Ahurô Mazdô.

Vispayô fravôis gæthayô.

"Whom Ahura Mazda set forth as both guardian and overseer of all this moving world" (i.e., cattle, etc.)

‡ Yasht x, 1; Mraot Ahurô Mazdô Spitamâi Zarathuštrâi; Âat yat Mithrem, yim vouru-gaoyaoitîm, frâdadhâm azem, Spitama, âat ðim dadhâm avôittem yêsnyata, avôittem vahmyata, yatha mâmcit, yim Ahurem Mazdâm.—"Ahura Mazda said to beneficent (?) Zoroaster, 'Then, when I set forth Mithra, lord of broad pastures, O beneficent one, then I rendered him as great in worshipfulness, as great in venerableness, as even myself Ahura Mazda.'"

§ It is as yet impossible to fix the date of the composition of the various parts of the Avesta. The Gâthâs were probably composed by Zoroaster (Zarathuštra) himself, about 600 B.C. or a little later, while the Khorda Avesta consists of prayers, etc., which received their present form under the editorship of Âhdarpâdh Mahraspand in the reign of Shâpûr (Sapor) ii (A.D. 310-379.)

|| Thâtiy Artakhshatrâ khshâyathiya: Mâm Auramazdâ utâ Mithra

saith: 'May Auramazdâ and the god Mithra protect me and this province.' Artaxerxes Mnemon associates Anâhita (Anahata) with the other two deities, and prays thus: "May\* Auramazdâ, Anahata, and Mithra protect me." This is the earliest inscription known to us in which Anâhita takes her place beside Mithra. In the much more fully developed polytheism of most of the Avesta, many other deities are worshipped with him. It was easy therefore for Mithraism to associate with this god the deities of the lands to which it afterwards spread towards the West.

Here, however, we must notice one of the great differences† between Avestic and Western Mithraism. Zoroastrianism taught that between the Good and the Evil Principle (Ahura Mazda and Ahrô Mainyuš) there raged a life and death struggle, that the latter should at all costs be opposed, that neither Ahriman‡ nor any of his evil *daévas* should be worshipped,

baga pâtuv utâ imâm dahyum (Spiegel, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften* p. 70).

\* Auramazdâ Anahata utâ Mithra mâm pâtuv (restored, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

† The differences seem to have been many and great, so much so that we can accept only with much hesitation the teaching of the Avesta as representing in any way what was held by Western Mithraists. For example, regarding Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spēntas, the Bull, the kind of sacrifices used, the state of the spirits of the dead, the disposal of dead bodies, eschatology, sexual morality, Ahriman and his allies, and many other subjects, the divergence of Western Mithraism from the teaching of the Avesta must have been great and wide.

Professor Hermann Oldenberg (*Die Iranische Religion*, p. 85 of *Die Orientalischen Religionen*, 1906) says: "Wenn durch die Weiten des römischen Reichs der Mysterienkult, der sich an den Namen des Mithra knüpfte, wenn Manis tiefsinnige Lehre von der Läuterung des Lichts aus dem Kerker der Finsternis in Orient und Okzident unberechenbaren Erfolgen nah zu kommen schien, so sind das nicht mehr Siege des Mazdaglaubens gewesen. Die völkerbezwingende *Genialität der Weltreligionen* war diesen nicht eigen." That is to say, the religion had to admit much lower and debasing elements to enter it before it could enter on the conquest of the world.

‡ It may be well to give the various forms which the names of the Good and Evil Principles assumed in course of time and in different languages.

	<i>The Good.</i>		<i>The Evil.</i>
Avesta ... ..	Ahura Mazda	... ..	Ahrô Mainyuš.
Achaemenian Inscr.	Auramazdâ	... ..	(not found).
Pahlavi ... ..	Aûharmazd	... ..	Aharman.
Old Pers. ... ..	Hôrmazd...	... ..	Ahriman.
Mod. Pers. ... ..	Ôrmazd	... ..	Ahraman, Ahrîman
			Ahran, etc.
Greek ... ..	Ἄρομάζης	... ..	Ἄρεμάνιος.

adoration being due only to Ahura Mazda (Ōrmazd) and his good creatures. Hence a fierce contest was carried on against the worship of idols and evil deities. Thus, in the so-called Bahman Yasht, Mithra orders the destruction of idol-temples.\* But in Western Mithraism no such opposition to the powers of evil is found. Plutarch tells us that in it† Mithra was styled the Middleman (μεσίτης) between Ahriman and Ōrmazd. He adds that worship and sacrifice were offered to both the Good and the Evil Principle, and that the Mithraists, mixing wolf's blood with the juice of the *moly* (μῶλυ = *haoma* perhaps), used to pour it out as a libation in a sunless place. Hence we find in a Mithraic inscription a dedication to *Ahriman*!‡

In passing through Armenia and Phrygia into Europe, Mithraism seems to have adopted some of the worst abominations of Nature-worship, and not least those distinctive of the religion of Attis and the Mother of the Gods. The reason of this is not far to seek. Although the Avesta sternly condemns unchastity,§ yet Mithra was never the guardian of *purity*. He was the god of fertility in every sense, and blessed men by raising up for them "virtuous offspring."|| Persian Zoroastrianism seems to have had little idea of holiness or purity, except¶ in a ceremonial sense. The great distinction between Ahura Mazda and Anrô Mainyuš was that the former created and the latter

\* Bahman Yasht, Ch. III, 35.

† Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. 46, says: Νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν, οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα θεόν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον δαίμονα καλοῦσιν ὡσπερ Ζωροάστρησ ὁ μάγος . . . οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλεε τὸν μὲν Ὀρομάζην, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν εἰκέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δ' ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ, μέσον δ' ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐδίδαξε δὲ τῷ μὲν εὐκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δ' ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά· πᾶν γὰρ τινα κόπτοντες Μῶλυ καλουμένην ἐν ὄλμῳ, τὸν Ἄϊδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι.

‡ "D(eo) Arimanio Agrestius v(ir) c(larissimus) defensor magister et pater patrum voti c(ompos) d(at) : "Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, vol. ii, p. 98 : *cf. op. cit.*, pp. 96, 110, 119, etc., for inscriptions to various other deities. The title *pater patrum* shows the dedication to have been not only a Mithraist but one of the very highest grade.

§ On the ground that prostitution hindered the growth of the population.

|| Yasht X, 108.

¶ See the *Vendidad passim*.

destroyed. Even the creatures he made were\* destructive. On the other hand, all that was conducive to the production and growth of plants, harmless animals and men, was associated with Ahura Mazda and his allies. To them the term *speñta*, often rendered "holy," but really meaning "productive,"† was applied as a consequence of this. The procreative side of Mithra's character was therefore readily developed. In all systems of Physiolatry, sky and earth, the sun and water, heat‡ and moisture, are deified as the procreative§ powers of nature. So in Persia, Mithra the Sungod was associated with Aredvī Sûra, which was a mythical river called *anâhita* or "undefiled" because of the purity of its waters. This was personified as the goddess of|| fertility, and became known as Anâhita (in Greek Ἀναΐτις). In Armenia especially the "Golden Anahit" was as popular a deity as "golden Aphrodite" in the Hellenic world, and was served with much the same abominable rites as the Cyprian goddess.¶ It was but natural that Mithraism through its early association with the worship of Anâhita should in Phrygia form the same close alliance with that of the

\* *Vide, e.g., Vendidad, Fargard I.*

† The root *span*, *spên* = Skt. *svi*, "to swell, grow." The Pahlavi commentary renders *speñta* by *afzânîk*, "causing to increase." So *anra*, "evil," comes from the root *angh* (Germ. *enj*), "to narrow, decrease, destroy." Anrô Mainyuš is therefore often described as *Pôuru-mahrka*, "full of death."

‡ *Cf.* what the Egyptians said to Solon, that Nêith (Athene) had reared certain people, ἐκ Γῆς τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου τὸ σπέρμα παραλαβοῦσα (Plato, *Timæus*, 3).

§ *Cf.* Albrecht Dieterich's "Mutter Erde," also Frazer, "Adonis, Attis, Osiris," *passim*.

|| *Cf.* Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*, cap. 17: Συνεργεῖ γὰρ γενέσει τὸ ὕδωρ • διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κρατήρσι καὶ ἀμφιφορεύσι τιθαιβώσσοουσι μέλισσαι, τῶν μὲν κρατήρων σύμβολον τῶν πηγῶν φερόντων, καθὼς παρὰ τῇ Μίθρᾳ ὁ κρατὴρ ἀντὶ τῆς πηγῆς τέτακται, τῶν δ' ἀμφιφορέων, ἐν οἷς τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἀρνόμεθα. He adds that anciently souls were represented by the bees, and that the ancients called Demeter's priestesses bees as *μύστιδες* of the Earth goddess.

¶ So Strabo, p. 532, and others. *Vide my Hist. of Conversion of Armenia* pp. 45, 46; also the Armenian *Ēntir Hatouadsner*, Tiflis, 1889, pp. 118 sqq. In Agathangelos, King Tiridates calls Anahit not only "Queen" but also "the glory and life-giver of our nation," and says that through her "the land of the Armenians lives and supports its vitality" (ch. v: Tiflis Ed. of Armenian text, pp. 40, 41, 47, 48). On the whole repulsive subject, see Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough* and *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*: also *Armenia* in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. On Anahita's popularity in Armenia *vide* Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. xxx, 24. The 5th Yasht is in her honour.

corresponding local Nature-goddess Mâ (Cybele, Magna Mater, Mater Deûm), and should carry the abominations of that worship into the Roman world. In the West, some hold that men only were allowed to worship Mithra, their women\* devoting themselves to Cybele.† Others say that there were female Mithraists called "Hyænas,"‡ not a very attractive name. In Phrygia, Mithra seems to have been in large measure identified with Attis, also a Sungod; hence the violet and the pine-tree,§ both sacred to Attis, were in Western Mithraism consecrated to Mithra. Agdistis, another Phrygian deity and

\* So Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 173, etc.

† "The most ancient Mithraeum known to us was contiguous to the μητροῶν of Ostia, and we have every reason to believe that the worship of the Iranian god and that of the Phrygian goddess were conducted in intimate communion with each other throughout the entire extent of the Empire" (Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 179). He adds: "Further, since men only were permitted to take part in the secret ceremonies of the Persian liturgy, other Mysteries to which women were admitted must have formed some species of alliance with the former to make them complete. The Great Mother succeeded thus to the place of Anâhita; she had her *Matres* or 'Mothers,' as Mithra had his 'Fathers.'"

‡ Or "Lionesses," according to another reading, Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, Lib. iv, cap. 16, quoted below, p. 262, note †.

§ Ovid (*Metam.* x, 104) says that Attis was transformed into a Pine-tree, because of his self-mutilation under such a tree (Servius on *Æn.* ix, 114). The violet was also sacred to Attis, since garlands of violets were bound on the pine when solemnly brought (Arnobius v, 16 and 39) into Magna Mater's temple. It was also sacred to Mithra (*Bûndakishnêh*, xxvii, 24). Julius Firmicus Maternus (a late writer not by any means reliable) says that, in the Phrygian rites of the Mater Deûm, "per annos singulos arbor pinea caeditur, et in media arbore simulacrum iuvenis subligatur" (*De errore Prof. Rel.*, cap. 28), cf. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xvii, 10). It is usual to consider that in these and the Mithraic rites the pine-tree signified immortality, but this seems more than doubtful. It more probably denoted the vigour of youth, manly vigour, reproductive energy. Perhaps this explains why it was sacred not only to Cybele (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, vi, 9: Verg. *Æn.* x, 230) and to Diana (Hor. *Od.* iii, 22, 1: Propert. ii, 15, 17) but also to Faunus (Ovid, *Her.* v, 137) and to Pan (Propert. i, 18, 29). The words *pinea* and *πίτυς* (Skt. *pîtu-dâru* and *pîta-dru*) are from the root *pl*, which in the Rig-Veda means "to render fruitful," "to increase." In the Avesta the root has the same meaning. The pine was not well suited to express the idea of a victory over death, because, rightly or wrongly, it was held in ancient times that, if cut down, it never springs up again. Hence Croesus of Lydia (not very far from Phrygia) threatened *πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν* the people of Lampsacus, i.e., to destroy them utterly, as is explained in Herodotus vi, 37. From this came the proverb current in Greece later *πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψεσθαι*.

father, in a certain\* sense, of Attis, was said to be the son of Jupiter and of a huge rock.† As Agdistis is evidently “a double‡ of Attis,” it was not difficult to transfer to Mithra the statement that he was born of a rock, especially as in Avestic Persian the same word *asman* (in Vedic Sanskrit *aśman*) means not only *rock*, but also *cloud* and *sky*. It was evident to all that the Sungod was born afresh from the sky day by day. As the Avestic account of Mithra’s birth§ does not mention either sky or rock, it is evident that the birth from the ‘*petra genetrix*’ was borrowed, with so much else, from Phrygia. From the same source came the *taurobolion*|| and *kriobolion* ceremonies,

\* *Vide* the story in Arnobius, Lib. v.

† Arnobius, Lib. v. The account is said to be taken from the Mysteries of the *Mater Deum*, but it is not fit for quotation.

‡ *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 224.

§ No details are given, but, as we have seen, Mithra is said to have had Ahura Mazda for his father and Ârmaiti, the Earth-spirit, for his mother.

|| Aurelius Prudentius gives the following graphic description of this rite (*Peristephanon*, Lib. x, 1011-1050) :—

“Summus sacerdos nempe sub terram scrobe  
arta in profundum consecrandus mergitur,  
mire infulatus, festa vittis tempora  
nectens, corona tum repexus aurea,  
cinctu Gabino sericam fultus togam.

Tabulis superne strata texunt pulpita,  
rimosa rari pegmatis compagibus,  
scindunt subinde vel terebrant arcam  
crebroque lignum perforant acumine,  
pateat minutis ut frequens hiatibus.  
Huc taurus ingens fronte torva et hispida,  
sertis revinctus aut per armos floreis,  
aut impeditis comibus, deducitur :  
necnon et auro frons coruscat hostiae  
setasque fulgor bractealis inficit.

Hic ut statuta est immolanda bellua,  
pectus sacrato dividunt venabulo :  
eructat amplum vulnus undam sanguinis  
ferventis, inque texta pontis subditi  
fundit vaporum flumen et late aestuat.  
Tum per frequentes mille rimarum vias  
inlapsas imber tabidum rorem pluit,  
defossus intus quem sacerdos excipit  
guttas ad omnes turpe subiectans caput,  
et veste et omni putrefactus corpore.  
Quin os supinat, obvias offert genas,  
supponit aures, labra, nares obicit,  
oculos et ipsos perluit liquoribus,  
nec iam palato parcit et linguam rigat,  
donec cruorem totus atrum conbibat :” etc.

originally belonging to the worship of Cybele, in which a bull and a ram respectively were slain and their blood allowed to stream down upon a priest or other devotee seated in a pit beneath the place of slaughter. These played an important part in European Mithraism.

All students of nature-worship are aware how much stress is laid in them on the procreative power of the sun.\* So it was in Mithraism too, at least in Europe. Porphyry speaks of Mithra as the "Dêmiourgos† Bull," and as "Lord of Generation" Herodotus, the earliest extant European writer to mention Mithra, was so much impressed by the immortality which, even at that early date, attended his worship, that he fell into the mistake of stating that the Persians under this name spoke of

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\* Hence in Sun-worship the phallic emblem is so very common. So in a Mithraeum found at Spoleto, near an altar inscribed *Soli invicto Mithrae sacrum*, "stood two large stones, one triangular and the other conical and perforated" (Pullan, in article on "Mithraism" in vol. xxx of 9th ed. of *Encyclop. Brit.*: see picture in Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, vol. ii, p. 255. This is explained by similar objects found in India (the *linga* and *yonî*), and especially among the Phœnicians and in the Zimbabwe ruins. Cf. the "towers" pictured in Bent's *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 149, and the "cone" (p. 150) depicted on a coin of Byblos. See also pp. 187-189, 203, 204, of the same book, and cf. (Lucian) *De Syria Dea*, § 16: *φαλλοὶ δὲ ἐστῶσι ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι δύο κάρτα μεγάλοι*. The *rose* has an obscene significance at Zimbabwe: ita etiam Arabice penis أبو الورود, *pater* (i.e., qui possidet) *rosæ* dicitur. In Cumont's book, vol. ii, p. 191, fig. 17, there is a sculpture thus described: "Mithra-Attis coiffé d'une tiare élevée, vêtu d'une tunique à manches attachée sur la poitrine par une bouche ronde et d'un large pantalon, qui laisse l'abdomen et les parties génitales à découvert, maintient du genou un taureau abattu," etc. On this subject Julian the Apostate thus writes, speaking of the Sungod (the identity of whom with Mithra he seems to recognise in 155 B): *Εἴπερ χρὴ πεῖθεσθαι τοῖς σοφοῖς, πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τοῦτον κοινὸν πατέρα. λέγεται γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἀνθρώπος ἀνθρώπων γεννᾶν καὶ ἥλιος · ψυχὰς [δὲ] οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν σπεῖρειν εἰς γῆν* (131 C.). He speaks of the sun as *τελειότητος καὶ συνοχῆς καὶ γοιῖμου ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς οὐσίας τὰ μέσα ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ* (142 A.). He seems to be the real author of the erroneous fancy so often repeated nowadays, that *moral purity* was taught by these Nature religions, for he asks: *τίς μὲν ὁ Ἄττις ἦτοι Γάλλος, τίς δὲ ἡ τῶν θεῶν μήτηρ, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀγνείας ταυτησαί τρόπος ὁποῖος;* (*Orat.*, V, *in initio*). Julian also speaks of Hélios' connection with *Aphrodite*, and seeks to explain it (150 B., C.).

† *De Antro Nympharum*, xxiv (cf. xviii): *ὡς καὶ ὁ ταῦρος δημιουργηὸς ὢν [ὁ Μίθρας] καὶ γενέσεως δεσπότης*.

Aphrodite,\* whom he identifies with the goddess Mylitta,† of whose vile worship at Babylon he gives such a fearful account.‡ It was not Mithra but his female associate and *sister*§ (according at least to the Armenian myth), Anâhita, who was really the counterpart of the Nature-goddess, and was worshipped in a similar way in Persia and Armenia. In later times in the West, the majority at least of the female devotees of Mithra were, as already stated, worshippers of Cybele,|| regarding the rites of which goddess not even the greatest ingenuity of the imagination of our modern mythologists has been able to invent the theory that they were distinguished by the "inculcation of moral purity."

We have seen that Mithra was entitled the "World-producing Bull" (ὁ ταῦρος δημιουργός). In Egypt, India and other lands, the Bull was one of the most usual symbols of reproduction. One of the most common of the bas-reliefs in Mithraic temples represents Mithra kneeling upon a bull, into the throat of which he is driving a dagger. The particular form in which this idea is expressed owes much to Greek artistic influence; in fact it is largely copied from a Greek statue of Nikê¶ slaying a bull, and it is supposed to have been adapted to Mithraism by a sculptor belonging to Pergamum. But it is well known that it is usual in many cases for the animal upon which a deity is seated to be but another representation of the deity itself. Thus in India the rat is the *vâhuna* or "vehicle" of Gaṇeśa, the bull (Nandin) of Śiva, etc. Hence Mithra may, from one point of view, be himself the bull. On the other hand the same thing may be intended by his slaughter of the bull, it being an established fact that in many forms of Nature-worship the deity and the victim offered to him are regarded as identical.

\* Καλέουσι ἐν Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα . . . Πέρσαι ἐν Μίτραν. (Herod., i, 131.)

† Μύλιττα = Babylonian *muallidat gimrišunu* (omnium eorum *genetrix*), called also *Bêltu muallidtu* (Domina Genetrix), *i.e.*, Ishtar.

‡ Herod., i, 199.

§ The same relationship is implied, however, in the Avesta. Hence, perhaps, the next-of-kin marriages for which Persia was infamous. They were styled in Avestic *hvaētavadâtha*, in Pahlavi *Khvêttâkdas*, when between relatives of the first degree.

|| Similarly, "the Roman Silvanus has a niche in one Mithraeum, and in another Saturn and Jupiter, Mars, Mercury and *Venus*, are figured, beside the purely Eastern symbols of the planets and the signs of the zodiac" (Dill, p. 592, referring to Donsbach, p. 17).

¶ The Νίκη ταυροκτόνος of Athens.

In any case the slaying of the bull by Mithra is borrowed from Phrygia and not from Persia. In the Avesta and later Zoroastrian writings there is not the slightest trace of any sacrifice of a bull by Mithra. It is true that we are told that the first creature of Ahura Mazda was a bull, and that this was killed, but its death was due to a wasting disease caused\* by Anrô Mainyuš. The second Gâthâ, probably by Zoroaster himself, contains the lament uttered by the bull's soul because of the cruel treatment it had received. This bull most probably represented the earth (as in Sanskrit and Avestic the words *Gaus* and *Gâuš*† respectively do, being cognate with *γαῖα*, *γη* as well as with *βοῦς* and *bos*). Hence the *Bûndahishnîh* tells us that in the original‡ creation men passed from region to region upon it," and that the vegetable§ principle proceeding from its limbs and marrow caused grain and medicinal plants to spring up where it fell. It is true that the same book proceeds to state that, when Saoshyañs|| comes to produce the renovation of the world, he will raise to life again this ox, called Hadhayôš and Sarsaok. He¶ will then slaughter it as part of a sacrificial rite\*\* (*yazišn*), and from its fat, mingled with the juice of the *haoma* plant, he†† and his assistants will prepare the beverage

\* Bûnd, ch. iii, § 14, § 18: ch. iv, § 1, etc. The bull's seed was said to be preserved in the Moon, and the bull was the cause of the upspringing of some 280 species of plants, according to Strôzah I, 12: Vend. xxi, i, 1: Bûnd xi, § 3: etc.

† In Yasna lxiv, 61, *Gâuš*, the bull, is evidently the earth. There we read: "Give me, O thou who didst make the bull (*gām*, cf. *γη*) and the waters and the plants, immortality, health—O most bountiful Spirit, Mazda—strength, might, through Vôhu Manô, I say."

‡ Bûnd, ch. xix, 3, cf. xv, 27.

§ Bûnd, ch. x, § 1: ch. xiv, §§ 1, 2.

|| *Vide* Yasht xix, § 88, 89-94: Yasht xiii, §§ 128, 142: Bûnd, cap. 75.

¶ Note that the killing of the bull is *not* done by *Mithra*, but by *Saoshyañs*, quite a different person in every way.

\*\* Bûnd, ch. xix, § 3 (cf. Dâdhistân i Dinâk, Part II, answer no. 89): ch. xxx (xxxii), § 25: cf. ch. lxxv.

†† Saoshyañs is the third of the three great deliverers who were to be born of Zoroaster's seed. His mother's name was to be *Vispa-taurvâ*. De hoc Horomazae nuntio futuro, illo in libro qui *Creatio* (*Bûndahishnîh*) appellatur, dicitur fore ut, saeculi iam appropinquante fine, haec puella, in eo lacu, cui nomen *Kâsavî*, corpus abluens, e Zoroastris semine ibi servato grâvida facta filium pariat. Nostri temporis scriptores saepe affirmant, in libris Persicis scriptum esse hunc vatem *virgine* nascendum. At quaeritur, num puella virili semine grâvida *virgo* appellari possit. The account of the conception of the other two prophets is similar. *Vide* Vendidad xix, 4-6: Yasht xiii, 128, 142: Bûnd, xxxii, 8, 9.

called *Hūsh*,\* which means "mind," "intelligence," by drinking which the dead man is rendered immortal when recalled to life by Saoshyāns. De Harlez holds that this book was composed in the era of the Sāsānides (A.D. 218-640) and received its final form after the Muḥammadan conquest of Persia, A.D. 640.† Yet it doubtless contains many ancient‡ legends. It is very doubtful, however, whether any part of this Bull-legend was accepted by the Western Mithraists. There is some reason to think that the Phrygians were—at least in large measure—Aryans: hence we may perhaps connect the slaying of the bull by Mithra (as represented in the Mithraea) with the Vedic sacrifice of cattle, with the Taurobolion, and possibly with the idea that the Earth might be spoken of as a bull, or as a cow. On the other hand the fact that the *clouds* are often called *cattle* in the Rig-Veda, where Indra is their owner, and that the epithet *βουκλόπος* or "stealer of oxen" is given to Mithra by Porphyry,§ renders it possible that the striking a dagger into the bull refers rather to the smiting of a rain-cloud in order to pour down the life-giving stream to fertilise the|| earth. The sacrificial significance of the act is rendered very doubtful by the fact that nowhere do we find any legend which represents Mithra as offering sacrifice to Ahura Mazda (Ormazd), though we have found a reference to something similar on Ahura Mazda's part towards Mithra.¶ In Western Mithraism Ormazd seems to have been almost or altogether eclipsed by Mithra, and is hardly ever mentioned.

It is easy to reconstruct the theology of India and Persia in relation to Mithra: but we have hardly any *data* to go upon if we endeavour to state the Mithraic theology of the West. We

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\* Avestic *ushi* (cf. also *ušta*, health, healthy): Pahlavi *hūsh*, Mod. Pers. *hūsh*.

† De Harlez: *Manuel de la langue pehlie*, p. 85.

‡ Cf. *Bānd*, §§ 3-5 with Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. 47.

§ Cf. Yasht x, 86. Compare the Greek story of Cacus and the cattle rescued by Herakles. In Armenian and Persian the names given to the Milky Way bear evidence to some tale about stealing cattle, or at least straw for them. But in Armenian the thief was not Mithra but Vahagn (=Avestic Verethraghna.) In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* the Galaxy is called "the Path of Aryaman," an associate of Mithra in the Rig-Veda. Strangely enough, in Coptic and among Arabs, Syrians, Chaldeans, and Ethiopians, it was known as "the strawy way" (Kircher in Peyron's *Lex. Copt.*, p. 258).

|| Similarly in Mithraic carvings Mithra is often represented as shooting an arrow into a rock (*i.e.*, a cloud) and causing water to flow from it.

¶ Yasht x, 123, *vide* p. 247, note \*.

have no extant Mithraic scriptures,\* and all that is told us by Porphyry (Eubulus) and the various other Greek and Latin writers who mention the matter, is far too scanty in amount and fragmentary in character to justify any scholar in attempting to give a full account of the beliefs of Mithraists. Nor can we recover any Mithraic myth—if there ever was one—from the carvings found in the Mithraea, of which so many have been discovered. Accounts are given us *by modern European writers* of Mithra's birth, death, resurrection and ascension: but on examination these are found to be romances, put together partly through confounding Persian with Western Mithraism, but mostly through misunderstanding certain casual references contained in early and later Christian writers. A vivid imagination too often supplies the place of knowledge, and conjecture that of investigation. Common as this method of dealing† with some subjects is in our day, it can hardly be said to be scholarly, scientific, reliable, or even honest.

With reference to Mithra's birth we have already stated all that is actually known to have been held by his worshippers. The modern idea that they conceived of him as having been born of a Virgin, and entering the world as an infant, has absolutely no foundation whatever. An Armenian Christian writer‡ of the fifth century does, it is true, tell us that the Christian bishops of Armenia, in reply to an attack upon their faith by the Persian viceroy Mihr Nerseh, taunted the Persians with holding that "the God Mithra was born of a§ woman," and in another place he explains this by affirming that a Persian sage had taught that "the God Mithra has been incestuously born of a mortal|| mother." The reference is doubtless to the Avestic legend referring to Mithra as son of Ahura Mazda and Armaiti, which was of course an incestuous birth.¶ But as to

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\* The *Ἀπαθαντισμός*, published from a *Zauber-papyrus* by A. Dieterich under the title of *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, is held not to be Mithraic by Cumont. Mithra's name occurs in it only once, nor does it tell us anything about him.

† Mr. J. M. Robertson's *Pagan Christs* is only one, though perhaps the most striking, example of this unsatisfactory method.

‡ Eghishé (Elisæus), *Concerning the Vardans and the Armenian War*, Armenian original, Venice, 1864.

§ *Mihr astouads i' knockê dsnav*; (*op. cit.*, p. 53).

|| *Mihrn astouads mairadsin ê i marâkanê* (*op. cit.*, p. 57).

¶ Another Armenian writer, Eznik, in his *Refutation of Heresies* (Bk. II, cap. x, p. 133, Armenian original) tells a story as to the Persian belief of the coming birth of one of the three future prophets, in which he

the mother's *virginity* nothing is said, but the very contrary is implied. In the same way we nowhere find any account of Mithra's death or resurrection. Until proof is forthcoming that the whole of the legend of Attis was taken up by the Mithraists, we have no right to assume that this was accepted by them. Nor, even were this shown to be the case, would it be necessary to do more than repeat what has already been written about the Attis legend by various scholars. A modern writer has endeavoured to prove that Mithra was supposed to have died, been buried in a rock tomb, and come to life again.\* The only proof he can give is a passage from a Christian writer, Jul. Firmicus Maternus: but this writer not only *does not mention Mithra at all* in this passage, but does not even say anything of either a rock-tomb or a resurrection. The context, moreover, shows that he is describing the interment of Osiris.† It is unsafe

attributes to *Ormazd* the procreative part to be played by *Zoroaster* in both the Avesta and in later Persian accounts (*vide* above, p. 255, note ††).

In such matters it is hardly wise to attach too much importance to late foreign and hostile writers, like Eznik, when we have the original authorities to which to refer. Moreover this example should warn us not to trust to the complete accuracy of similar statements in other writers of ancient times whose works show that they had not made a careful study of Mithraism.

\* Mr. J. M. Robertson, *Pagan Christs*, pp. 317, 318, 323 of 2nd Ed.

† Maternus (writing about A.D. 344, according to Migne, note on cap. 30) says: "Nocte quadem simulacrum in lectica supinum ponitur, et per numeros digestis fletibus plangitur . . . Tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguuntur: quibus perunctis, sacerdos hoc lento murmure susurrat,

ἠαυτοῦ θαρπεῖτε, μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου,

ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.

. . . . Dei tui mors nota est, vita non comparet, nec de resurrectione eius divinum aliquando respondit oraculum. . . . Idolum sepelis, idolum plangis, idolum de sepultura profers, et miser, cum hæc feceris, gaudes. Tu deum tuum liberas, tu iacientia lapidis membra componis, tu insensibile corrigis saxum" (*De Errore*, cap. xxiii (*al.* xxii)). This passage evidently refers to *Osiris*, not to Mithra (Mr. Robertson), nor to Attis (Dr. Frazer). Careful study of the words used (for instance, *Dei tui mors nota est*, true of Osiris, not of Mithra) shows that they suit Osiris' case and not Mithra's. The *θηαρπεῖτε* reminds us that the "motto of the Isiac faith, inscribed on many tombs, was *εἰς ψυχῆς*" (Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 575), with the same significance, and the *θεοῦ σεσωσμένου* suits the case of Osiris admirably, since Isis had to collect the scattered fragments of his body, torn in pieces by Typhon (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, capp. 2, 13, 18) and bury them. This she did. It may be worth while calling attention to the fact that the Egyptians did not believe Osiris to have risen from the dead (*Vide my Mythic Christs and the True*, pp. 55-57).

therefore to state that Mithraists in the West believed Mithra to have died and risen again. Certainly no such idea ever existed in Persia,\* and we have not the slightest indication that it did elsewhere, either in the East or in the West.

Fancy sketches have been drawn of Mithraic theology, and it has been stated that the titles Holy Word, Mediator, Incarnate Word, were given to Mithra, that he was regarded as son of the Most High God, as equal to Ahura Mazda (Ôrmazd), as his Manifestation, and as a suffering Saviour.† Much of this is due to a misunderstanding. We have seen that, in Persia, Mithra was one of Ahura Mazda's numerous offspring, as were most of the other gods and goddesses. He was a rival of Ahura Mazda, and finally in the West entirely eclipsed him, being spoken of as the Creator. In ancient Persia he was doubtless said to be equal to Ahura Mazda, but so were other deities, such for instance as Tištrya.‡ This probably indicates Henotheism, as a similar phenomenon does in India. In no sense is Mithra called a *manifestation* of Ahura Mazda, nor is he ever represented as a "suffering Saviour." The latter idea has been suggested only by the fact

\* What Mr. Robertson quotes (p. 323 of *Pagan Christs*, new edition) from Wait is so obviously a blunder of an ignorant Arab (in the *Burhân i Qâti'*) who mistook *mîhr* for *mîr*, root of *murdan*, "to die," and *gân* for *Khân*, that, though repeated (with other and more probable stories as substitutes) in the *Shamsul' Lughât*, it forms no exception to this statement.

† By Mr. Robertson, Mr. Vivian Phelps ("Philip Vivian") and others.

‡ Yasht viii, 50 :—

Azēm dadhām, spitama Zarathuštra,  
aom stārem, yim Tištrim,  
avōñtem yēsnyata,  
avōñtem vahnyata,  
avōñtem khshnaothwata,  
avōñtem frasastata,  
yatha māmcit, yim Ahurem Mazdām.  
"I created, O bountiful (?) Zoroaster,  
this star, Tištrya (Sirius),  
as great in worshipfulness,  
as great in venerableness,  
as great in worthiness of being propitiated,  
as great in praise,  
as even myself, Ahura Mazda."

If we compare this with what is said about Mithra in Yasht x, 1 (above, p. 247, note †), it will be evident that even *more* is here said of the greatness of the Dog-star than is said of the dignity of Mithra. So in the *Shâyast lâ Shâyast*, cap. xxiii, §§ 2 and 3, it is said: 'Din-pâ-Ātarô is just like Aûharmazd . . . Din-pâ-Mitrô is just like Aûharmazd, Mitrô is more judicial, Srôsh is more vigorous.'

that sometimes his face when slaying the bull exhibits a look of reluctance.\* The title of "Mediator" seems never to have been given him in the Christian sense at all. Plutarch (who was not a Mithraist), indeed, in one passage,† in mentioning the religion of the "Persians," says that they named him *ὁ Μεσίτης*, but the reason he gives is that he was regarded as standing *midway between Ormazd and Ahriman*, not as "in more senses than one the 'Mediator' between man and the Most High," as a modern writer‡ ventures to assert. What Plutarch here states is§ quite incorrect on this point regarding Avestic (*Persian*) Mithraism, so it probably refers to the Western form of that religion, and *may possibly* be true in reference to the latter. But if so, *μεσίτης* cannot here be correctly rendered by "Mediator" in the modern theological sense: it means rather "intermediary." If Mithra was regarded as a link between the Good and the Evil Principle, this shows how much lower the moral conceptions of Western Mithraism were than those of Avestic.||

Of a Logos doctrine in Western Mithraism we know nothing. In Persian Mithraism it is certain that there was nothing of the kind. In the Avesta the words *māthrō speñtō*, "sacred¶ text," occasionally occur, and some translators have rendered

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\* As in the head (from the Mithraic statue of the Capitol) pictured on the cover and on p. 192 of Cumont's *The Mysteries of Mithra*. Cumont describes "the singular mixture of exultation and remorse depicted in the countenance of" the god Mithra when he has succeeded in slaying the Bull (p. 211, see also p. 135).

† *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. 46, quoted on p. 249, above, note †.

‡ Mr. Mallock, in *Nineteenth Century and After*, Sept., 1905.

§ I mean about Mithra being a *μεσίτης*, and also about worship (at least according to the Avesta) being offered to Ahriman by the "Persians." A good deal of the rest of what Plutarch tells us about Zoroastrian teaching, especially in capp. 46 and 47, is correct to some considerable degree.

|| Hence doubtless it was that Mithraism in the West admitted to its pantheon such a large number of the gods of the various tribes with which it came in contact, without at all shutting out those that were distinctly associated with immorality. A man might be a Mithraic priest and yet hold a high position in the service of other gods at the same time. The inscriptions quoted by Cumont (*Textes et Monuments figurés*, vol. ii) give many instances of this. One cited by A. Dieterich may be given here. It runs thus: "Pater sacrorum summi invicti Mithræ, sacerdos Isidis, dei Liberi archibucolus, sacratu Eleusiniis, tauroboliis, deum matris pontifex, hierofanta Hecatæ (Dieterich, *Eine Mithrastiturgie*, p. 210, Second Ed.). Zoroastrianism would never have permitted this.

¶ If for the sake of convenience we render *speñtō* by "sacred": but see note †, p. 250, above.

them "Holy Word." But *māthró* is connected with the Sanskrit *mantra*, "a hymn"; it does not mean "word," and the context shows that it denotes simply the *text* of the Avesta. The latter is connected with Ahura Mazda, "whose spirit is the sacred\* text" itself. Mithra is nowhere identified, directly or indirectly, with this "sacred text." Another mistake is responsible for the fancy that Mithra is called the "Incarnate Word." The vocable thus rendered, *tanu-māthró*, is an *adjective*, and means either "having the Text as his body," or, more probably, "subjecting his body† to the Text" in obedience. It is *never* applied to Mithra, but it is applied to inferior and merely human persons, such as the hero Karesna,§ and even to the priest|| who offers prayer for a worshipper. The term cannot possibly therefore mean "Incarnate Word." Inaccuracies such as these cannot be too carefully avoided by all who wish to form a true conception of the doctrines of Mithraism or of any other faith.

Western Mithraism, instead of the belief in Paradise and Hell, and ultimately in a Resurrection¶ brought about by three

\* *Yénhé urva mathró spēñtô*: *Vend.*, Farg. XIX, 14.

† This is West's rendering (*cf.* Yasht xi, 23: xi, 18: xxiv, 85).

‡ From *tanu*, "body," and *māthró*, "text": *cf.* *tanu-druj*, "subjecting one's body to a *druj*."

§ Yasht xiii, 106:—

Karsnahê zburvaithinahê,  
ashaonô fravashîm yazamaidê,  
takhmahê, *tanu-māthrahê*,  
darshi-draoš, âhûiryêhê.

"We worship the Genius of Karesna, son of Zburvañt, the pious, the strong, *body-texted* (or *subjecting his body to the Text*), mighty-spared, godly."

|| Yasht x, 137:

Ušta ahmâi nairê mainyâi,  
(uiti mraot Ahurô Mazdâ),  
âi ashâum Zarathuštra,  
yahmâi zaota ashava  
anhéuš dahmô, *tanu-māthró*,  
frasteretât paiti baresmen.

"Hail to that spiritual man,"  
(thus spake Ahura Mazda),  
"O pious Zoroaster,  
for whom a pious priest  
good of (=in) the world, *body-texted*,  
did spread forth [an offering]  
with the pomegranate-twigs."

¶ The word "Resurrection" (*ristâkhîz* in the Patêl, a *very* late Pahlavi work: from *irista* "deceased" and *khîz*=Avestic *hwîs*, "to rise") does not occur in the Avesta at all. There however in late passages, we find the

future prophets\* in three stages, with an interval of a thousand years between them, had adopted the then extremely popular doctrine of Metempsychosis.† There is only a very slight trace‡ of this doctrine having obtained in Persia in late Zoroastrian times, and it is not found in the Avesta or in modern Pársism. But Pythagoras had introduced it into Europe,

word *frashō-kereti* ("made before," "previous creation," Pahlavi *frash-kerti*) with the sense of *restoration* to a previous condition. Neither phrase occurs in any passage that is not much later (according at least to Darmsteter) than the removal of the Israelites (2 Kings xvii, 6) to Media, the country in which it seems certain that Zoroaster was born. Even accepting (as I do not accept) the Higher Critical theory of the date of Daniel, the passage Dan. xii, 2, would precede the occurrence of any reference to the doctrine in the Avesta, even that in Yasht xix, 89.

\* Cf. Yashts xiii, 128, 142; xix, 88-94, about Saoshyāñs, the last of the three: also *Bāndakish*, etc., etc.: also Eznik, "Refutation of Heresies," Armenian original, Bk. ii, cap. 10, p. 133 of Constantinople Ed. of 1873. Saoshyāñs is also called *Āstvat-ereta*; his companions (or rather predecessors) are *Ukhshyat-ereta* and *Ukhshyat-nemañh*.

† Porphyry, *De Abstinētia*, Lib. IV, cap. 16: *Παρά γε μὴν τοῖς Πέρσις οἱ περὶ τὸ θεῖον σοφοὶ καὶ τούτου θεράποντες μάγιοι μὲν προσαγορεύονται . . . διήρηντο δὲ οὗτοι εἰς γένη τρία, ὡς φησὶν Εὐβουλος ὁ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Μίθρα ἱστορίαν ἐν πολλοῖς βιβλίοις ἀναγράψας, ὧν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ λογώτατοι οὐτ' ἐσθίουσιν ἐμψυχον οὔτε φονεύουσιν, ἐμμένουσι δὲ τῇ παλαιᾷ τῶν ζώων ἀποχῇ · οἱ δὲ δεύτεροι χρώνται μὲν, οὐ μέντοι τῶν ἡμέρων ζώων τι κτείνουσιν · οὐδ' οἱ τρίτοι ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφάπτονται πάντων · καὶ γὰρ δόγμα πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν πρώτων τὴν μετεμψύχωσιν εἶναι, ὃ καὶ ἐμφαίνειν εἰκάσιν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις · τὴν γὰρ κοινότητα ἡμῶν τὴν πρὸς τὰ ζῶα αἰνιττόμενοι εἰς τῶν ζώων ἡμᾶς μηνύειν εἰώθασιν · ὡς τοὺς μὲν μετέχοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ὀργῶν μύστας λέοντας καλεῖν, τὰς δὲ γυναικᾶς λεαῖνας [al. υἰάνας], τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετοῦντας κόρακας. ἐπὶ τε τῶν πατέρων [lacuna] . . . ἀετοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἑρακῆς οὗτοι προσαγορεύονται. ὃ τε τὰ λεοντικά παραλαμβάνων, περιτίθεται παντοδαπῶς ζώων μορφάς · ὧν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀποδείδους Πάλλας ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Μίθρα τὴν κοινὴν φησὶ φορὰν οἶσθαι, ὡς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου ἀποτείνειν · τὴν δὲ ἀληθινὴν ὑπόληψιν καὶ ἀκριβῆ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν αἰνίττεσθαι, ἅς παντοδαποῖς περιέχεσθαι σώμασι λέγουσι.*

‡ The only one I have been able to find is that, in the Yasht-Sádeh, Ōrmazd informs Zoroaster that the victorious Bahrām (Varahrán), the most active of the Yazatas, came first as a wind, second as a golden-horned ox, third as a golden-eared horse, fourth as a camel, fifth as a Virāj, sixth as a youth of 15 years of age, seventh as a bird sacred to Ōrmazd, eighth as a boar, ninth as a buck, tenth as a shining lamb with a golden head. (Cf. Bhagavad Gítá, bk. iv, śll. 7 and 8, for reasons of Vishṇu's avatáras.) But this story may have nothing to do with a belief in transmigration.

from India, or, much more probably, from Egypt,\* and it had spread very extensively, commending itself to Plato† and many later philosophers, including the Neo-Platonists. It was one of the leading doctrines of the Mithraism of the West. This very fact itself seems to confute the assertion that Western Mithraists believed in a *Resurrection* to be brought about by Mithra himself. Even in Persia, where in very late times belief in the Resurrection was found, *Mithra* took no part in it.

In early Christian times the widespread belief in Transmigration on the part of the heathen world was dependent on the doctrine that the human spirit had come into this lower world from a higher and more ethereal‡ one. Even in the Rig-Veda we discover a trace of the same idea, for, to the departing spirit, these words are addressed: "Having abandoned imperfection, go thou home again."§ Just in the same way the setting sun is said to be "going home." Much later, when belief in transmigration had become almost universal among Hindûs,|| the terms *dehin* and *śarīrin*, "the embodied,"

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\* Herodotus, ii, 123. Diodorus Siculus (*Bibl.*, i, p. 62) thinks Pythagoras learnt it in Egypt. Cf. Diogenes Laërtius (lib. vii, cap. i) and *Prooemium*, § 7, Lactantius and Augustine (cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Quaest.*, i, 16) ascribe the introduction of belief in metempsychosis to Pherecydes, who learnt it in Egypt, according to Josephus (*Cont. Apionem*, lib. 1). Sayce (*Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 102, 108) denies that the Egyptians held the doctrine. Yet in the popular *Tale of Two Brothers* there is something very similar. In the rubrics to caps. 72 and 86 of the "Book of the Dead," and also in capp. 77, 78, 81, *a* and *b*, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, the *ba* can in the Underworld transform itself into a hawk, lotus, phoenix, heron, swallow, serpent, crocodile, etc.

† Cf. *Phaedo*, capp. xxx, xxxi: *Republic*, x, capp. 11-16: *Meno*, capp. 14, 15, etc. Pindar (*Olymp.* ii, 68, cf. *Thren.*, fr. 4), Empedocles, Porphyry, Carpostrates, etc., also held the doctrine.

‡ Empedocles (444 B.C.) taught this clearly, so also, it is thought, did both the Orphic and the Pythagorean mysteries. Hence Apuleius (*Asclepius*, cap. 12) says that to those who have lived wickedly, "Et reditus denegatur in caelum et constituitur in corpora alia indigna animo sancto et foeda migratio." Of the teaching of the Hermetic Books, J. L., in Buchberger's *Kirchliches Handlexicon*, vol. i, says: "Nach dieser Lehre, die aber die Volkstüml. Götter duldet, schafft Gott den *νοûς* und dieser die Seele, die der Wanderung durch verschiedene Körper unterworfen ist."

§ Rig-Veda, *Maṇḍala* x, hymn 14, śl. 8: "Hitvâyāvadyaṃ punar astam ehi, saṃ gacchasva tanvâ suvarcâh."

|| It does not occur in the Rig-Veda, though traces of it are found in the Yajur-Veda. The dead go to Yama's realm (*Rig-Veda*, x, 14, § 1, 2, 7-13, etc.: *Śatapatha-Brahmana*, i, 9, 3, 10: cf. *Mahâbhârata*, iii, śll.

came to mean "the spirit," and are so used in the Bhagavad Gitâ\* and elsewhere. Pythagoras distinctly taught the doctrine of transmigration, probably with the idea that the spirit would thus get rid of its faults and imperfections. In Western Mithraism the doctrine of the descent† of the human spirit upon earth and the means by which it might escape and reascend were explained to those who became initiated into its mysteries. These mysteries were celebrated in a natural or artificial cavern,‡ removed from the light of day. They are said to have included a pretended human sacrifice,§ which the Emperor Commodus, when being initiated, insisted on having

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1751 sqq.). Transmigration is taught in a very fully developed form in Manu's *Dharmaśāstra*, bk. xii, śll. 3-103, and elsewhere.

\* Cf. *Bhagavad Gitâ*, ii, 18 (*śarīrin*):

"Antavanta ime dehâ nityasyoktâh śarīriṇaḥ,"

(and for *dehīn*): *Op. cit.* ii, 13:

"Dehino 'smin yathâ dehe kaumâram yauvanam jarâ,"

and ii, 22:

"Vasâñsi jīrnâni yathâ vihâya navâni grihnâti nâro 'parâni,  
tathâ śarīrâni vihâya jīrnânyanyâni sañyâti navâni dehī."

"Just as a man, having left worn-out garments, takes other new ones, so the embodied soul (*dehīn*), having left worn-out bodies, betakes itself to other new ones." It is remarkable that the Egyptians thought the "justified" soul could enter any material form it chose, and could change those forms at will, like a garment (Sayce, *Religions of Anc. Egypt and Bab.*, pp. 102, 108).

† Nonnus, though his account of the number of "punishments" or painful tests which the Mithraic neophytes had to undergo may be exaggerated, at least makes this clear. He (*Συναγωγὴ Ἱστοριῶν*, § 6, p. 139, quoted by Lajard, p. 117) mentions *ὑπόβασις* and *ἀνάβασις* (see note †, to p. 264, below).

‡ Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum* (Ed. Ang. Nauck), cap. vi.: Οὕτω καὶ Πέρσαι τὴν εἰς κάτω κάθοδον τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ πάλιν ἔξοδον μυσταγωγούντες τελοῦσι τὸν μύστην, ἐπονομάσαντες σπήλαιον [τὸν] τόπον· πρῶτα μὲν, ὡς φησὶν Εὐβουλος, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφνέες σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεισι τῆς Περσίδος ἀνθηρόν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιερῶσαντος εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου, εἰκόνα φέροντος [αὐτῶ] τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου ὃν ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημιούργησε, τῶν δὲ ἐντὸς κατὰ συμμέτρους ἀποσιτίσεις σύμβολα φερόντων τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων καὶ κλιμάτων· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ζωροάστρην κρατήσαντος καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, δι' ἄντρων καὶ σπηλαίων εἶτ' οὖν αὐτοφνέων εἶτε χειροποιήτων τὰς τελετὰς ἀποδιδόναι.

§ Eusebius quotes Porphyry, Philo, Dionysius, Diodorus, etc., to prove that human sacrifices continued to be offered in the Roman Empire, until the Emperor Hadrian's time (*Praeparat. Evangelica*, Lib. iv, 15 and 16).

performed\* in reality, as there is reason for believing had formerly been† customary. The doctrine of metempsychosis was inculcated, and the neophytes were taught their kinship with the lower animals,‡ in which dwelt spirits that had once perhaps inhabited human bodies and might do so again. Here we are forcibly reminded of the Hindû doctrine as taught, *e.g.*, by Manu§ in his *Dharmaśāstra*. Of the three classes into which the Mithraic hierophants were divided, the highest abstained altogether on this account from killing and eating animals, the second class ate animal food but would not slay any tame animal, while the third class abstained from certain kinds of flesh.||

Jerome¶ informs us that the initiate was at first admitted to the lowest of seven\*\* grades or orders, that of *corax* (κόραξ). From that he passed to the order called *cryphius* (κρύφιος) and then successively became a *miles*, a *leo*, a *Persês*, a *Heliodromus*

\* Lampridius, *Commodus*, cap. ix. : "Sacra Mithriaca homicidio vero polluit, quum illic aliquid ad speciem timoris vel dici vel fingi soleat."

† Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 161.

Is it possible to derive this Mithraic habit of human sacrifice from an old Persian legend (afterwards revived by Mânî, though repudiated by the Zoroastrians)? We find the legend in *Sikand Gâmânîk Vijâr*, cap. xvi, 10-20 (translated in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxiv, pp. 243, 244), where it is said that Mânî taught that "the sky is from the skin, the earth from the flesh, the mountains from the bones, and the trees from the hair of the demon Kuni" [probably the Kuñda of *Vend.* xi, 28, 36 : xix, 138, the Kundak of *Bând.* xxviii, 42] . . . "And Kuni is the commander of the army of Aharman, who, to be liberated by his nails from the divinity Aûharmazd, in the first conflict swallowed the light; and in the second conflict the demon Kuni was captured by them, together with many demons. And it is in binding the demon Kuni on the [celestial] sphere that he is killed, and these magnificent creatures are preserved from him and formed." The first part of this story reminds us of the Hindû myth of the slaughter of Purusha and the Norse account of the killing of the giant Ymir. But much the same story is found in China about Pwân K'ü, and in ancient Babylonia it was told regarding Tiâmat (*vide* the "Creation Tablets").

‡ Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, Lib. iv, cap. 16, quoted in note †, p. 262, *supra*.

§ Especially in *Dharmaśāstra*, Book xii.

|| Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, Lib. iv, cap. 16.

¶ Jerome, Ep. 107, § 2.

\*\* It is to the ceremonies introductory to admissions to these that Modern Mythologists refer when they speak of "seven Mithraic sacraments."

(ἡλιόδρομος) and a *Pater*.\* Porphyry says that the initiated were styled *lions*, if men, *lionesses* (or *hyænas*)† if women; while the attendants were called *ravens*. He mentions also that some of the *Mystæ* were entitled *eagles* and *hawks*, and that while being initiated into the order of *lions*, the neophyte had to assume the appearance of various animals. Some held that this was intended to represent the sun's course through the signs of the zodiac, others explained it as setting forth the progress of the spirit from body to body. Those seeking initiation had to undergo various very severe trials, sometimes described as punishments or torments. Nonnus‡ says that there were no fewer than eighty degrees of these. He connects them with the doctrine of "descent" and "ascent" already referred to. The lighter tests came first, then the more severe. The neophyte had to pass through fire, through icy cold, to endure hunger and thirst and much more, before he had sufficiently proved his hardihood to be admitted into the society.§

Part of these tests were probably derived from ancient Persian Mithraism. For, in the *Avesta*, when Zoroaster enquires how the faithful are to please Mithra, Ahura Mazda replies: "Let|| them for three days and three nights wash their bodies; let them suffer thirty strokes for a sacrifice and petition to Mithra, lord of wide pastures. Let them for two days and two nights wash their bodies; let them suffer twenty strokes

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\* The chief of the *Patres* was styled *Pater patrum*. It is not known whether these *Patres* acted as sacrificial priests, but certain sacrifices were offered to Mithra by *sacerdotes*, whose chief was apparently styled *summus sacerdos* (Prudentius quoted above, note || to p. 252).

† *Op. cit.*

‡ Quoted by Lajard, p. 117: 'Ο τοίνυν Μίθρας νομίζεται παρά Πέρσαις εἶναι ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ θυσιάζουσι αὐτῆ, καὶ τελούσι τινὰς τελευτὰς εἰς αὐτόν· οὐ δύναται οὖν τις εἰς αὐτόν τελεσθῆναι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον διὰ τῶν βαθμῶν τῶν κολάσεων παρέλθοι. βαθμοὶ ἐεἰ εἰσι κολάσεων, τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὀγδοήκοντα (?), ἔχοντες δὲ ὑπόβασιν καὶ ἀνάβασιν· κολάζονται γὰρ πρῶτον τὰς ἐλαφροτέρας, εἶτα τὰς δραστικωτέρας· καὶ εἰθ' οὕτω μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν διὰ πασῶν τῶν κολάσεων, τότε τελεῖται ὁ τελούμενος· αἱ δὲ κολάσεις εἰσί, τὸ διὰ πυρὸς παρελθεῖν, τὸ διὰ κρίου, διὰ πείνης καὶ δίψης, διὰ ὀδοιπορίας πολλῆς, καὶ ἀπλῶς διὰ πασῶν τοιούτων. Nonnus repeats this in substance in p. 143, § 47, quoted by Lajard, *ibidem*.

§ Suidas, quoted by Windischmann, *Über Mithra*, p. 68, says: Οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἰς αὐτόν ἐνησαιτό τις τελεσθῆναι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τινῶν βαθμῶν παρελθῶν τῶν κολάσεων δεῖξει ἑαυτὸν ὄσιον καὶ ἀπαθῆ.

|| Yasht x, 30, 122.

for a sacrifice and petition to Mithra, lord of wide pastures." Western Mithraists bathed the neophyte and branded him (apparently with a hot iron) on the forehead. They had a rite in which bread and water\* were eaten and drunk.† In at least one Mithraic subterranean sanctuary a sculpture represents seven priests at table, and the inscriptions are described as equivalent to "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow‡ we die." Plutarch§ is the only writer who tells us that one of the libations offered in Mithraic crypts was composed of wolf's blood and the juice of the plant which he calls *μῶλον*, but we know from others that certain of the initiated were suffused with the blood of a bull or of a ram (the so-called *ταυροβόλιον* and *κριοβόλιον* respectively) poured upon them from an elevated platform.|| Tertullian mentions that at one of their ceremonies a crown or garland was placed upon the "Soldier of Mithra's" head, but that he was required to refuse it, saying that Mithra was his crown.¶ One or all of these rites together

\* On the significance of this, *vide* Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*.

† Tertullian (*De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, cap. 40, ed. Erwin Preuschen) says: "Sed quaeritur, a quo intellectus interpretetur eorum, quae ad haereses faciunt? A diabolo scilicet, cuius sunt partes interverendi veritatem, qui ipsas quoque res sacramentorum divinorum idolorum mysteriis aemulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos; expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit, et sic adhuc initiat Mithrae. Signat illic in frontibus milites suos, celebrat et panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis inducit, et sub gladio redimit coronam. Quid, quod et summum pontificem in unius nuptiis statuit? Habet et virgines, habet et continentes. Ceterum, si Numae Pompilii superstitiones revolvamus, si sacerdotalia officia, insignia, et privilegia, si sacrificalia ministeria, et instrumenta et vasa ipsorum sacrificiorum, ac piaculorum et votorum curiositates consideremus, nonne manifeste diabolus morositatem illam Iudaicae legis imitatus est?" The only important varied reading given by Preuschen is *memini Mithrae* for *initiat Mithrae*, the latter being the best supported.

‡ As admitted by Mr. Robertson, *Pagan Christs*, p. 325, new ed.

§ *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. 46, quoted above, note † to p. 249.

|| *Vide* the description of the *taurobolion* in Prudentius, quoted above p. 252, note ||.

¶ Tertullian, Ed. Migne, vol. ii, p. 102, *De Corona Militis*, cap. 15: "Erubescite, commilitones Eius, iam non ab ipso iudicandi, sed ab aliquo Mithrae milite, qui cum initiatur in spelaeo, in castris vere tenebrarum, coronam interposito gladio sibi oblatus, quasi nimum martyrii, debinc capiti suo accommodatam, monetur obvia manu a capite pellere, et in humerum, si forte, transferre, dicens Mithram esse coronam suam, atque exinde nunquam coronatur, idque in signum habet ad probationem sui, sicubi tentatus fuerit de sacramento: statimque creditur Mithrae miles, si deiecerit coronam, si ram in deo suo esse dixerit. Agnoscamus ingenia diaboli, idcirco quaedam de divinis affectantis, ut nos de suorum fide

were supposed to confer immortality,\* for on Mithraic monuments the phrase *Renatus in æternum* not unfrequently occurs.

A sentence used by Tertullian in the first of the two passages to which we have just referred† has led some to assert that Mithraism inculcated moral purity and self-restraint. But the restoration of the correct reading makes it clear that Tertullian teaches nothing of the kind, that the words *Habet et virgines,‡ habet et continentes*, do not in any way refer to Mithra and his religion. A very careful study of all that remains to us of Mithraism, Eastern as well as Western, has not enabled me to find what their moral code was. In Persia it inculcated truthfulness and fidelity to one's obligations, and this *may* have been the case with Western Mithraism too. But that the latter was "a religion of inward holiness, of austere self-discipline and purity," though often asserted, is a statement not only unproved, but contrary to all that we know of all

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confundat et indicet." This treatise was written A.D. 201, when Tertullian had become a Montanist. He here objects to a Christian's wearing a garland, and says that by refusing it a *niles Mithrae* set Christians a good example. This has been distorted into a statement that, *in matters of moral conduct*, Mithraists set a good example to Christians!

\* Cf. Julian the Apostate (*Convivium*, *fin* : Hertlein's Ed. vol. i, p. 432). Σοὶ δὲ, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγων ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἐέδωκα τὸν πατέρα Μίθραν ἐπιγινῶναι. σὺ δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἔχου, πείσμα καὶ ὄρμον ἀσφαλῆ ζῶντί τε σεαυτῷ, παρασκευάζων, καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν ἐνθένδε ἀπιέναι εἴη, μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἡγεμόνα θεὸν εὐμενῆ καθιστὰς σεαυτῷ. Here Julian is possibly letting the Christianity he had renounced colour his language.

† P. 31, note ¶ (*De Praescriptione*, cap. 40).

‡ This was first pointed out to me by the Rev. C. C. Martindale. The subject of *signat* is *ipse*, i.e., *diabolus*. The *summus pontifex* is the *Pontifex maximus* of Rome (a fact that has escaped the notice of the writer of the article "Mithraism" in the new Ed. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*), not the *Pater Patrum* or *summus sacerdos* of the Mithraists. It is known that the old Roman religious law allowed only one marriage to the *Pontifex maximus*, which suits the context here. The *habet et virgines* refers to the *Vestal virgins* at Rome, the subject of *habet* being *diabolus* once more. Hence, thinking of the old Roman worship, Tertullian quite naturally proceeds to mention Numa Pompilius. The *habet et virgines* has by some, misled by an incorrect reading, been supposed to mean that there were virgins in connexion with *Mithraism* : and, on this slender foundation (if it were a fact, which the present reading shows not to be the case at all) has been constructed the often repeated assertion that Mithraism was "a religion of inward holiness, of austere self-discipline and purity." Mr. Robertson (*Pagan Christs*, 2nd Ed., p. 308) falls into the error of understanding the *virgines* and the *summus pontifex* as belonging to Mithra.

§ Mr. Mallock in *Nineteenth Century and After* for Sept. 1905, p. 496.

other Nature-religions (such as the worship of Isis,\* for instance), and to the association of Mithraism with the worship of Cybele and other such deities, to say nothing of Anâhita.

Mithraic sculptures are abundant. The figure of Mithra himself slaying the bull is generally the leading ornament in a Mithraeum. He is represented as a vigorous youth, wearing a Phrygian cap and attire, striking a dagger into the flank or neck of a bull, whose nostrils he is holding. A dog and a serpent are drinking the bull's blood, or trying to do so, and a scorpion endeavours to destroy the animal's reproductive organs. Panels containing the twelve signs of the Zodiac, through which the Sun's apparent path lies, enclose this central bas-relief. At other times the panels contain carvings which seem to represent Mithra's exploits, some of which resemble (if we may judge from the engravings) certain of the labours of Hercules, and possibly, like the latter, have an astronomical meaning. Attempts have been made to reconstruct from these sculptures the details of the whole Mithraic myth, but conjectures such as these are too fanciful to dwell upon here. Nor is it necessary to speak at length of the Kronos-Zervân statue occasionally found in association with Mithraic remains. The nude lion-headed human figure with four wings, enfolded in the coils of a monstrous serpent, may represent the *Zrvâna-akarana* ("Boundless Time") so seldom mentioned in the Avesta,† from which sprang both Ôrmazd and Ahriman according to the later Persian philosophical myth, but it has little practical concern with Mithra-worship. It should be noticed, however, that in Persia the twelve signs of the Zodiac

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\* Mr. Mallock and others speak of *purity* as distinctive of the Religion of Isis. M. Renan's opinion is rather different, and he is supported by classical writers. He says (*Marcus Aurelius*, Hutchinson's version, pp. 284, 285): "Courtesans especially were nearly all devotees of Isis and Serapis; the temples of Isis had the reputation of being rendezvous for lovers. . . . There were fasts and austerities and days of continence. Ovid and Tibullus complain of the wrong these holy days do their pleasures, in a tone that clearly indicates that the goddess demanded very limited mortifications from her fair devotees." Cf. Ovid, *Amores*, Lib. I, El. viii, 74: Lib. III, El. ix, 30: Propertius II, 33, 3: Tibullus I, 3, 23. "Statues of Dionysus and *Venus* and *Priapus* stood in the court of the Isium at Pompeii" (Prof. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 581). *Vide* also Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* Lib. xviii, 3, 4.

† Though in *Vendidad*, Fargard xix, § 1, Ahura Mazda bids Zoroaster invoke Zrvâna-Akarana as well as other deities.

were held to be on the side of Ōrmazd, and the seven planets\* on that of Ahriman. This distinction does not seem to have been emphasized in the West.†

Mithraism undoubtedly, like every other religion, taught men the certainty of an after-life. We have seen that with this in Western Mithraism was connected belief in transmigration. How that transmigration was to end, and what form of happiness was to be finally enjoyed, we do not know. There are difficulties in connecting the doctrine of metempsychosis with belief in a resurrection. Yet Tertullian‡ and some other Christian writers use the latter word in connexion with Mithraism. We may therefore suppose that Western Mithraists still held something of the eschatology of later Zoroastrianism. According to the latter, the 9,000 years' contest§ between Ōrmazd and Ahriman

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\* *Dinā ī Mainōg ī Khrad*, cap. viii, 17-21: "Every good and the reverse which happen to mankind, and also to the other creatures, happen through the seven [planets] and the 12 [constellations]. And those 12 constellations are such as in revelation are the 12 chieftains who are on the side of Aūharmazd, and those 7 planets are called the 7 chieftains who are on the side of Aharman. These 7 planets pervert every creature and creation, and deliver [them] up to death and every evil. And, as [it were], those 12 constellations and 7 planets are organising and managing the world." Cf. *Sikand-Gūmandīk Vijār*, cap. iv, 28-45. (From S.B.E. version.)

† At least, if the Ἄπαθανατισμός be really a Mithraic work. In p. 10, lines 15 and 16, of the 2nd Ed., mention is made of οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ τοῦ κόσμου, and these Albrecht Dieterich holds to be the planet-gods (p. 69).

‡ *De Praescript. Haer.*, cap. 40: quoted p. 267 above, note †.

§ *Bundahishnih*, §§ 3-5: "Therefore Ōrmazd said to the Evil Spirit, 'I appoint for the contest a period, in mixture (of good and evil), of 9,000 years.' For he knew that, in that period, he would render the Evil Spirit impotent. Then the Evil Spirit, through blindness and ignorance, agreed to that treaty. . . . It was Ōrmazd who, through omniscience, knew that, of these 9,000 years, 3,000 would pass according to Ōrmazd's will, 3,000 years in a mixture of the will of Ōrmazd and Ahriman, and finally for 3,000 years that the Evil Spirit will be powerless, he will be restrained from working opposition. Then Ōrmazd repeated the prayer *Ahuna Vairya*, he pronounced *Yathā Ahū Vairya*" (the first words of the *Ahuna Vairya*) "in 21 words. Thereupon: he showed to the Evil Spirit the accomplishment of his own victory, the defeat of the Evil Spirit, the destruction of the demons, the resurrection, the final" (*i.e.*, future) "body the unopposedness of the creations for ever and ever. And the Evil Spirit, because he beheld his own defeat and the destruction of the demons, became disheartened: he fell back into thick darkness. . . . He remained in dejection for 3,000 years. During Ahriman's dejection, Ōrmazd made the creation. He first produced Vōhu Manō, who was the

was to end in the final triumph of the Good Principle and the destruction of Ahriman and all his assistants and evil creatures. (This is probably a very old Âryan myth, for it reappears in a somewhat different form in the Eddas of Scandinavia.)\* Then comes Saoshyañs and raises the dead. "First the bones of Gâyômarđ† are raised up, then those of Mâshya and Mâshyôî, then those of the rest of mankind. In the fifty-seven years of Sôshyans‡ they prepare all the dead, all mankind arise; whoever is righteous and whoever is wicked, every human creature do they arouse from the place where its lifeš departs." The whole world will then be restored to its original state of happiness, and the just will be immortal. Such was the *Zoroastrian* view, but how much of it was held by the Western Mithraists we have no means of knowing. For, as has been said above, the Western form of the religion had lost so much that was good in Zoroastrianism and adopted so much that was bad from other faiths, losing sight of the eternal and necessary opposition between Ahura Mazda and Anrô Mainyuš for one thing, and adopting the worship of the latter and of many impure deities, that it would be rash to conclude that it had retained in its full grandeur the Zoroastrian doctrine of the final victory of the good and true.

It has been held by some that, before ultimately becoming extinct, Mithraism exercised a considerable influence upon Christianity. This may be admitted with regard to sculpture and painting. Possibly, too, the term "Father" (*pater*) as applied to a Christian presbyter has the same source.|| The same influence may have favoured the admission of the sacerdotal idea, which Bishop Lightfoot is¶ undoubtedly correct in tracing

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prosperity of Ôrmazd's creation." Elsewhere the *Bull* is said to have been the first creature made by Ôrmazd. It is nowhere said that he first produced *Mithra*, as is sometimes asserted. Indeed, this is contrary to the Avesta, which represents Mithra as son of Ôrmazd and Speñta Ârmaiti. As for the date of the *Bând.*, vide De Harlez, *Manuel de la langue pehlvie*, p. 85.

\* *Gylfaginning* (Wilken's Ed. of old Norse text), cap. liii : Vgluspá, §§ 61-66.

† Gâyômarđ (*Cow-man*), in the Avesta *Gayo-meretan*, is the first man created : Mâshya and his wife Mâshyôî (called also Matrô and Matrôyâó) sprang up at his death (*Bând.* ch. xv.)

‡ Pahlavi form of *Saoshyañs*.

§ *Bând.* ch. xxx (or xxxi.) § 6.

|| Contrast our Lord's command, Matt. xxiii, 9.

¶ *Dissertation on the Christian Ministry*.

to a heathen origin. The word *ιερεύς* is, as is well known, never applied to a Christian presbyter in the New Testament, and is first so used by Lucian.\* But we have already seen that the facts of the case absolutely refute the suggestion that the teaching of the *New Testament* owes anything to Mithraism. Some of the early Christian writers† were struck with a resemblance‡ between certain Mithraic rites and those in use in the Christian Church, as, for instance, the Mithraic dipping or bathing and Christian baptism; or, again, the Mithraic ceremonial sharing of bread and water (sometimes mixed with wine) among the initiated and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But solemn ablutions|| in connexion with religion are found almost everywhere, and so is participation in a common mystic meal. If there was any borrowing, it must have been on the part of the religion of Mithra, which we have seen readily admitted both rites and doctrines from nearly every faith with which it was brought in contact. Just in the same way at the present day,

\* Quoted by Lightfoot, *op. cit.*

† Justin Martyr, Tertullian, etc. The passage from Tertullian (*De Præscript*, cap. 40) already quoted is a sufficient proof of this. In *De Baptismo*, cap. 5 (Ed. A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissow, Pt. i, pp. 204, 205), he says: "Sacris quibusdam per lavacrum initiantur, Isidis alicius aut Mithrae, . . . Certe ludis Apollinaribus et Eleusiniis (*var. lect. Pelusii*) tinguntur, idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem periuriorum suorum agere præsumunt." Justin Martyr (1<sup>st</sup> Apol. cap. 66), after mentioning the Gospel account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, adds: "Ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις παρέδωκαν γίνεσθαι μιμησάμενοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες." Here he distinctly states his belief that the Mithraic feast was instituted later than and copied from the Lord's Supper.

‡ The word *mître* (*mîtra*, *μίτρα*) reminds us of the name of the Sungod: but, if derived therefrom, it must have come into use ages before Mithraism had spread in the West. Sayce (*Rel. of Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 357) says that *μίτρα* is from the Sumerian *mutra*, Ass. *mutru*, and points out that "the *mîtra* properly signified the Oriental turban; but as no such head-dress was worn by the Greeks, it is already used by Homer for the girdle of the waist." One may regret that it was not left to women and effeminate young men, as at Rome at one time. But, whether borrowed from Mithraism or not, it is not a proof of Mithraic influence on New Testament doctrine.

|| Observe that the Mithraist ablutions were frequent, probably like those enjoined in the Avesta (*Yasht X*, 30. 122, quoted in p. 30, *supra*), and similar to those observed by Hindûs and Muḥammadans to-day before offering prayer. We have no proof of anything resembling Christian baptism among them, though such a simple and natural rite might easily have commended itself to them and have been borrowed, or even reinvented, by them.

in Japan, India, and Ceylon especially, Shintoism, Buddhism, and Hindûism are boldly borrowing and adopting much that is Christian, often endeavouring to claim it as originally their own. It is possible, however, though by no means certain, that the practice of celebrating our Lord's birth on the 25th December is due to the desire to turn to Christian use not only the ancient Roman festival of the Saturnalia but also the Mithraic celebration of the winter solstice on that day.\*

Christianity had endured centuries of danger, discouragement, and persecution. Mithraism had been favoured for centuries by the state,† and had on its side the army, and many of the wealthy and powerful. More than one Emperor had either been initiated into its mysteries or had at least openly encouraged its spread. Julian did his best to make the worship of the sun, whom he identified with Mithra, the religion of the Empire. Yet, when he died and when persecution fell in turn (as, alas! was the case) upon the Mithraic community, it showed none of the unconquerable vitality of the Christian Church. It soon vanished from the face of the earth, leaving little trace of its having existed, except the sculptures in its hidden, underground sanctuaries. Christianity had behind it the invincible might of the truth. Therefore the cosmic myth of Mithra, with all its works of darkness, its unhallowed mysteries, its alliance with the lowest and most licentious forms of heathenism and superstition, after centuries of struggle, vanished at last like a morning mist before the rays of the Sun of Righteousness.

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\* Only after Aurelian's building of a temple to the Sun at Rome (Vopiscus, *Aurel.*, 39), A.D. 270, does the 25th December seem to have been observed there as the *Sun's* "birthday," i.e., the time when the day begins perceptibly to lengthen after the winter solstice; but about A.D. 220 Hippolytus mentions it as the day on which the Western Church in his time celebrated the Nativity of Christ. Almost certainly this was the wrong date. Evidently the early church had not observed such a day at all, but when it became desirable to fix a day for the Christmas festival, it was natural to endeavour to convert to that purpose a day already religiously observed at Rome. The Roman Saturnalia under the Republic fell on December 19th. Julius Cæsar's reformed calendar fixed this festival on the 17th December. Augustus extended it over the 17th, 18th, and 19th. Later it lasted for five, and finally for seven days.

† Openly from the time of Commodus' initiation (Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, pp. 83, 84, 87-103), more privately long before (*op. cit.*, p. 87).

## DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have followed this paper with the greatest possible interest, and it certainly is valuable that we have heard so much about Mithraism. The writer has been careful to guard against the supposition of the derivation of Christian doctrines from this system, and his very careful statements have carried conviction.

At the same time, I cannot quite accept what he says on p. 240, viz., that “according to the latest scholarship of our day the synoptic gospels were written and published, the earliest about twenty, and the latest not more than forty years after Christ had been crucified.” In the footnote he refers us to Professor Petrie’s *Growth of the Gospels*. In this work the author states his belief that the “nucleus” of the Gospels, *i.e.*, the portion common to the three synoptic Gospels, dates probably from about A.D. 40. But he also holds that other streams of tradition became incorporated with this nucleus, at a later period. We have no evidence that the early Christian records, such as Papias refers to in the well-known passage quoted by Eusebius, were identical with the completed Gospels, as we now have them, whose earliest MSS. date from the fourth century. This apparent assumption has always seemed to me to mar Professor Salmon’s great work, and it seems to be shared by the writer of the paper to-day. With regard to the incorporation of earlier ideas into the Gospels, there is no doubt a remarkable correspondence between early Egyptian conceptions and Christian doctrines, and also between early Babylonian beliefs and Jewish ones. I think we may admit without danger of losing any really valuable truth, that in the formation of dogmas in centuries somewhat removed from Our Lord’s life-time, and also in the later expression of Jewish beliefs, even within the pages of the sacred writings, there was some colouring due to surrounding influences and pre-existing religious conceptions. At the same time the author of this paper is quite right to guard us against the theory of a manufactured Christianity.

The Rev. D. MACFADYEN said: The paper contained an examination and a refutation of some of the statements that have been made in a very careless and recklessly written book called *Pagan Christs* by Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P. Mr. J. M. Robertson is

carrying on work of a very dangerous character, dangerous because his intellectual eminence is admitted, and anything he says on subjects he knows very little about is accepted by large audiences. I heard him lecture yesterday and heard him describe how wherever the Bible had gone it had produced the deterioration of the people who used it. There are statements in this book referred to resting largely upon a clever imagination, but very little upon sound learning or careful examination of facts.

Dr. Tisdall, almost shall I say over-proved his case, at any rate he raised the question, how was it that Mithraism, if it were no more than he described, was a serious rival to Christianity for over three centuries as described in Sir Samuel Dill's book *From Nero to Aurelius*. The Mithraic priests must surely have learned a great deal from Christianity and must have incorporated much that they borrowed into their teaching. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how they were able to draw to themselves many of the best elements in Roman society. It would have been more convincing if Mr. Tisdall had explained what Mithraism became in its highest development. It is a very valuable thing to trace back a Pagan religion to its origin, because no religion can rise permanently higher than its origin. If we once know what is at the root of Mithraism we can understand why it vanished away when it came into acute conflict with Christianity, and people began to realise what they had to choose between in preferring Christianity to Paganism.

Rev. J. J. B. COLES, M.A., said : There is some underlying truth in all these ancient Mysteries ; there is some connecting link, and I think that possibly in our next session a paper on the continuity and essential unity of esoteric teaching in all these rites would be helpful and suggestive.

Not until we study Ancient Mysteries and Secret Societies from an esoteric standpoint shall we be able to find the true solution of many interesting problems.

Colonel ALVES said : As I remarked on a previous occasion (p. 234), there are undoubtedly points of contact between Christianity, which is completed Judaism, and the various pagan systems of religion. To deny this is not only foolish, but mischievous.

But whilst Christian doctrine is like a clear river, the various pagan streams are muddy and foul, and very confused.

The points of contact are easily understood. Man, by nature,

hates God, not as Creator, but as revealed in the Bible ; and, as man is by nature " a worshipping animal," he will worship either that God in a forbidden manner, or some false God.

The pre-Mosaic era evidently had a Bible of some kind, oral or written ; and it is only natural to suppose that, at the dispersion at Babel, the various tongues carried with them traditions which, being Divine, they would speedily corrupt. But corruption is neither absolute destruction nor denial ; points of contact between the true and the false are thus easily accounted for.

One thing, however, distinguishes the true, on the one hand, from all the false on the other. It is the power of the religion believed in to change the inward desires and outward life of the believer ; or rather, I should say, to give new desires and power to restrain the old desires, the new being stronger than the old ; for the " carnal mind " which remains in us till death, or change at the Lord's coming, is not and cannot be, subject to the law of God. The proof of this is shown in the fact that two saints bring into the world, not a little saint, but a little sinner. It is this power which differentiates between the Christian Religion and all other religions.

If we deny points of contact, we may cause people who search for themselves and give the result to others, to think, not only what is true, that all religions start from one source, but also that Christianity is only one branch from this source, instead of being, as it is, the true original source.

(At this point the CHAIRMAN had to leave and CHANCELLOR LIAS took his place.)

Lieut.-Col. MACKINLAY said: The paper we have just heard is a most valuable contribution to the Victoria Institute. The author has well shown the immense fundamental differences between Mithraism and Christianity. The former assimilated the beliefs of many religions, the latter teaches its followers that there is none other name given among men whereby we must be saved, Acts iv, 12. The resurrection of Christ, as proclaimed by the Apostle Paul, differed from anything known to the heathen world, for at Athens the learned philosophers mocked at the idea as quite beyond all belief, hence it was not familiar to them.

The highest morality the world has ever known is taught in the New Testament, and practised by those who are really Christians in heart. Our author tells us that the Mithraic scriptures are lost,

but all records tell us of the terrible immoralities practised by the followers of Mithraism.

The fact that some of our calendar arrangements have a heathen source is founded on convenience, and does not touch the question of any connection between the two religions. I am glad to notice that Dr. Tisdall maintains that 25th December was not the real day of the Nativity; it is doubtless to be regretted that a heathen festival has received a Christian name which is incorrect, but this does not demonstrate any connection between Mithraism and Christianity.

Our first Chairman maintained that the Holy Scriptures are coloured by the current beliefs of the days in which they were written. They were coloured by them doubtless to the extent that they refer to other religions to protest against them. In the Old Testament the prophets denounced the idolatry of the heathen nations, and in the New Testament the followers of Christ are exhorted to come out from the world and its worship and to be separate. (2 Cor. vi, 17.)

CHANCELLOR LIAS said: It is a great pleasure to me, as one of the oldest members of the Institute—my first paper was read in January, 1877—to welcome our newest recruit. We must all recognize the excellence of his paper, and the store of learning which he has opened out to us. And I may also express the pleasure I feel that this store of learning is employed in defence of the Christian position.

As a matter of fact genuine learning will always be found on the side of those who defend that position. I have noticed that in spite of the somewhat condescending attitude adopted by the modern critic towards those who take the traditional view of Scripture and the Christian scheme, his own learning is often only skin-deep. I thoroughly associate myself with Dr. Tisdall's criticism of the critics on p. 257 of his paper. I have noted how a certain type of critic ignores all that has been said for ages on the opposite side of the question to his; how often he cites no authority more than twenty-five, or at the utmost thirty, years old; how he views the question he treats from one, and only one, point of view, instead of endeavouring to approach it, as every large question should be approached, from various standpoints. I have been astounded at his large assumptions. In a question, for instance, such as the priority of Christian doctrine to that about Mithra, it is quite

sufficient to point out a resemblance between the Christian and any other religion in order to prove that Christianity must of necessity have borrowed it from that other religion. To assert, with a critic of this stamp, is to prove; to maintain the Divine origin of the Christian scheme is to show yourself incapable of reasoning and unworthy of attention. And he further assumes, and if experience is to go for anything, is quite wrong in assuming, that his belief is the final verdict of inquirers on the points with which he deals. I thought the last reader of a paper before the Institute seemed a little daunted by this attitude on the part of many critics. I am glad that Dr. Tisdall is not afraid to say—and to prove the truth of—what he thinks.

Before I sit down I should like to dissociate myself from the remarks of my predecessor in the chair on Dr. Tisdall's reference to Harnack on p. 240. But I will venture to go further than he does. I really don't care what the opinion of Harnack, or any other writer who may happen to be popular just now, may be on the question of the authority of the Gospels. I have lived long enough to have seen a whole array of theories as positively put forth as those which are supposed now to hold the field, pass away like a morning cloud. Strauss, Baur, Oldshausen, Tholuck, Meyer, De Wette, Lange, Pfeiderer, and a host of other authorities supposed in their time to be infallible, have had "their day, and ceased to be." I have read a good deal on both sides of the question whether the historical portions of St. Matthew or St. Mark are to be regarded as the earlier, and I venture to predict that a good deal more will have to be said before that difficult question can be regarded as settled. And as to the idea that the facts of Christ's life and teaching have been coloured by the prepossessions of those who handed them down to us, I would remind you that St. Mark was to St. Peter what Timothy was to St. Paul, was the cousin of St. Barnabas, and despite an unfortunate misunderstanding the friend and companion of St. Paul. His mother was, to use a Pauline expression, the hostess of St. Peter and of the whole Church in Jerusalem. Such a man got his information at first hand, and knew thoroughly well what he was saying. And as a previous speaker has said, the first disseminators of the Christian faith, strong in their personal knowledge of Christ and His truth, assumed a decided attitude of detachment from the prevalent opinions of their day. They were definitely

hostile to those opinions, and in no sense guided by them. And if, as nineteen centuries of Christianity have abundantly taught us, Christ was "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," sent forth from God to reveal His Mind and Purpose to the world, it were strange indeed if He did not make full provision for the faithful transmission of the Message He had sent.

I am quite sure I have your consent to thank Dr. Tisdall most cordially for his able and convincing paper.

Dr. TISDALL: Archdeacon Beresford Potter has apparently omitted to notice that the authority I quoted concerning the date of the composition of the Gospels was Professor Harnack's very latest work on the subject, as mentioned in my note, p. 240. A careful study of Petrie's *Growth of the Gospels* will, I think, show that it also supports my contention in the text, to which the Archdeacon takes exception. He forgets the immense number of ancient *quotations* from the Gospels, beginning with the "Apostolic Fathers," the many ancient versions of the New Testament, and a mass of other evidence, which permits of the issue of such an edition of the Greek text as that just published by Professor Alexander Souter at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. If two MSS. date from early in the fourth century and show a variety of readings, it is plain that the original work existed at least considerably earlier. If a writer of the second century quotes passages from a book in such a way as to show that he knows that his readers know and honour it, it is safe to conclude that the work had come into existence very considerably before his time. This has been exhaustively dealt with by a host of able writers. Consider one specimen fact out of many. Origen, who died A.D. 248, mentions our four Gospels by name as well known and generally accepted by Christians. His commentary on St. John's Gospel in thirty-two books is still extant and easily obtainable (Cambridge University Press, 2 vols., 1896). How long must that Gospel have been known and honoured *in its present form* before such a work on it was needed!

Some considerable study of Comparative Religion (*vide* my little book under that title published by Longmans) and a certain degree of knowledge of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* and the Babylonian creation and deluge tablets, etc., in their original languages have led me to a conclusion absolutely contrary to that of the Archdeacon regarding what he calls the "remarkable correspondence between

early Egyptian conceptions and Christian doctrines, and also between early Babylonian beliefs and Jewish ones." With this I have dealt in some measure in *Mythic Christs and the True* (Hunter and Longhurst) and in articles entitled "The Relation between the Hebrew and the Babylonian Cosmologies" (*Nineteenth Century*, August, 1905), and "Ḥasisatra and Noah" (*Churchman*, November, 1906). But of course my paper on Mithraism was not the place for dealing with these subjects.

Turning now to the kindly criticisms of the main subject of the paper, I may be allowed to say that I had to omit many important points because my time was so short. As it is, I fear I have unduly trespassed on the endurance of my hearers.

Professor Cumont gives only a *tentative* explanation of the carvings encircling the figure of Mithra and the bull in the bas-reliefs. We have no Mithraic scriptures to cast light on their real meaning. I have done my best to explain "what Mithraism became in its highest development," but I differ from certain writers on the subject in limiting my statements to facts proved by reasonably reliable evidence, instead of giving free reins to imagination. My reason for tracing Mithraism as far back in Persia and India as possible was to show that Mithra was *nowhere* regarded as having once lived on earth as a man. I think I have shown that he was not regarded as the *incarnation* of a deity. As we have no proof that he was believed to have been a man, to have died or to have been put to death, it is absurd to assert (as has been done) that his worshippers believed in his *Höllenfahrt* and in his "resurrection." It has been said that Mithraists believed in the final destruction of the world by fire. Of that I am unable to find any proof. The Stoics held that tenet, and it is taught in certain Indian Purāṇas, but no inscription or ancient author, as far as I know, attribute the same view to the Mithraists.

With regard to Mithra and the bull the question arises whether the killing of the animal was in sacrifice or not. Animal sacrifices are found, early or late, in almost all religions, but I am not aware of any passage in which *Mithra* is represented as offering a sacrifice or as worshipping any being superior to himself. It is therefore somewhat rash to conclude that the fact of his driving a dagger into the bull's neck proves that he offered a sacrifice to Ōrmazd.

## THE ANNUAL SUMMER MEETING.

BEING ALSO

### THE 521ST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING

WAS HELD IN

THE LECTURE HALL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS  
(BY KIND PERMISSION), ON MONDAY, 26TH JUNE, 1911,  
AT 4.30 P.M.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR HENRY L. GEARY, K.C.B., VICE-  
PRESIDENT, TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

An address to the King (see p. 316) was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman then introduced Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G., who read the Annual Address.

### *THE TRUE TEMPER OF EMPIRE.*

By Sir CHARLES BRUCE, G.C.M.G.

**B**ACON in his *Essay of Empire* wrote: "To speak now of the true temper of Empire: It is a thing rare and hard to keep"; and, in a speech in the House of Commons, he illustrated the meaning he assigned to the phrase by reference to Vespasian's eulogy of Nerva: *Divus Nerva res olim dissociabiles miscuit, Imperium et libertatem*, Nerva did temper things that before were thought incompatible or insociable, Sovereignty and Liberty." Proceeding to compare the Government of Nerva, who "tempered and mingled the sovereignty with the liberty of the subject wisely," with that of Nero, who "interchanged it and varied it unequally and absurdly," he led up to the conclusion that "the true temper of Empire" is exhibited in the state of things which exists when the two contraries, sovereignty and liberty, are mingled in fit proportions. While I have adopted Bacon's phrase as the text of my address, I do not limit myself to the interpretation of the idea of Empire implied in his essay. He understood by the term "Empire," the sovereignty of an individual over the liberties of the constituent elements of a single administrative unit. "Kings," he observed, "deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second-nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men-of-war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not

used." These dangers he illustrated in detail, indicating the true temper in which they should be guarded against. For my purpose to-day I define Empire as an aggregate of administrative units, of diverse constituent elements, professing allegiance to a central sovereign authority, and I define the true temper of Empire as a temper which "mingles wisely and in fit proportion" the sovereignty of the central authority with the liberties of the constituent areas.

Geographically, the British Empire is an aggregation of scattered territories separated by oceans and continents, subject to every variety of climate, comprising societies fundamentally dissimilar and in every stage of physical, intellectual and economic maturity. Collectively, they include one-fifth of the territorial surface of the globe, and more than one-fifth of its inhabitants, while the natural factors of distinction between the temperate zones and the tropics have determined a political classification into four main groups, approximately exhibited in this table.

	Area in square miles.	Population.
United Kingdom ... ..	120,000	44,500,000
Dominions ... ..	7,500,000	18,000,000
Crown Colonies ... ..	1,860,000	40,000,000
India ... ..	1,800,000	300,000,000

I submit as a self-evident proposition that the existence of the British Empire depends on a recognition of the United Kingdom as the seat of a sovereign authority, and on the methods of exercise of this authority in relation to the Dominions, the Crown Colonies and India. I propose to discuss the true temper of Empire in the exercise of this authority in politics, economics and defence. In the term "politics," I include all that relates to executive, legislative and social functions; in the term "economics," all that relates to the development and distribution of natural resources; in the term "defence" all that relates to the maintenance of internal order and protection against foreign aggression. The temper of the sovereign authority in the United Kingdom in relation to the Dominions has been exhibited in a policy based on a mutual desire that they should remain in the empire, each building up a nationality in its own way, and gradually increasing its autonomy, until a

state of things has been reached in which they exist as nations, enjoying complete autonomy in politics, economics and defence within the area of their respective territories, the condition of their adhesion to the empire being complete liberation from the control of the Imperial Parliament. The question that is now testing the temper of the British Empire, so far as the Dominions are concerned, is the nature of the association that is to exist in the relations of these isolated autonomous units with the sovereign authority, with each other, with the Crown Colonies, with India and with foreign nations. Lord Beaconsfield, in a speech at the Crystal Palace on Midsummer Day, 1872, clearly indicated the difficulties to which the grant of self-government to the Colonies, without intelligent anticipation of its bearing on their relation to the rest of the Empire, has given rise. He said: "Self-government, in my opinion, when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation. It ought to have been accompanied by an Imperial tariff, by securities for the people of England for the enjoyment of the unappropriated lands which belonged to the sovereign as their trustee, and by a military code which should have precisely defined the means and the responsibilities by which the colonies should be defended, and by which, if necessary, this country should call for aid from the Colonies themselves. It ought, further, to have been accompanied by some representative council in the metropolis, which would have brought the Colonies into constant and continuous relations with the home Government. All this, however, was omitted because those who advised that policy—and I believe their convictions were sincere—looked upon the Colonies of England, looked even upon our connection with India, as a burden on this country, viewing everything in a financial aspect, and totally passing by those moral and political considerations which make nations great, and by the influence of which alone men are distinguished from animals."

It is not out of place to recall that in 1868 an Association called the Colonial Society was formed having for a main object the holding of a Conference in London of representatives authorised by their respective governments to consider the organisation of "some central body in the Constitution of the Empire, with effective legislative power and an influence over the laws and destinies of the Colonies." Lord Granville, however, on September 6th, 1869, addressed a circular despatch to the colonies dissociating himself from any connection with the propaganda of the Society, and strongly objecting to any

collective representation of the Colonial Empire in London. Nevertheless, the propaganda of the Society, and of the forces it represented, has resulted in the organisation of the constitutional apparatus styled the Imperial Conference, to discuss and advise on all questions affecting the relations of the Dominions with each other, with the Crown Colonies and India, and with foreign nations.

I do not propose to discuss the exercise of the autonomous authority of the Dominions within the areas of their jurisdiction. I shall devote myself to a consideration of the true temper of empire in the exercise of the sovereign authority of the United Kingdom in the Crown Colonies, and India. These territories contain some 350 millions of British subjects, aliens in religion, race, language, manners and customs, whose adhesion to the British Empire is conditioned, not by liberation from the control of the Imperial Parliament, but by the maintenance of that control, because on the efficiency of its exercise their existence as free communities depends.

Bacon in one of his essays grouped the areas of activity in which it is hard to reconcile sovereignty with liberty as "religion, justice, counsel and treasure." In the application of my text to the sovereignty of the United Kingdom represented by Parliament in the Crown Colonies and India, I may conveniently discuss it under these heads.

#### OF RELIGION.

In the term religion, I include education. The policy of the Imperial Parliament in the area of religious activity has long been to extend to the constituent parts of the Empire the operation of the policy which has controlled the relations of the State to the Church in the United Kingdom. The broad principle of religious toleration may be said to have been definitely accepted by the Imperial Parliament in 1828 when Lord John Russell, during the passage of the Act to repeal the Corporation and Test Acts, declared that "Statutes imposing penalties and restrictions on account of religions can be justified on no other ground than that of necessity. When that ground is taken away, the Acts remain in all their naked deformity of principle, and that principle is religious persecution." In the very same year, the policy of religious liberty was extended to our colonies in Africa in the fiftieth Ordinance of the Cape Legislature. It was confirmed in 1842 when a Constitution was granted to Natal, conditionally on the acceptance by the

Volksraad of a Proclamation by Queen Victoria in these terms : "There shall not in the eye of the law be any distinction of persons, or disqualification of colour, origin, language or creed ; but the protection of the law in letter and in substance shall be extended to all alike." The Proclamation was published by the Governor on May 12th and on August 8th, the conditions contained in it were formally agreed to and accepted.

This Proclamation, following closely the abolition of slavery, has always been considered by the coloured races as the Magna Charta of their liberties in Africa.

In Asia, the Government of India Act, 1833, declared that "no person by reason of his birth, creed or colour shall be disqualified from holding any office," and the Directors of the East India Company in transmitting it to their Agents in India, sent out elaborate instructions in order that "its full spirit and intention might be transfused through the whole system of administration." After declaring that they understood the meaning of the enactment to be that there should be "no governing caste in India ; that whatever other tests or qualifications might be adopted, distinctions of race or religion should not be of the number ; that no subject of the king, whether of Indian, or British or mixed descent should be excluded from any post in the covenanted or uncovenanted service," they declared that "out of this there arises a powerful argument for the promotion of every design tending to the improvement of the natives, whether by conferring on them the advantages of education or by diffusion among them the treasures of science, knowledge and moral culture." If the Mutiny of 1857 arrested for a moment the confidence of the Imperial Parliament in the policy of 1833, nothing in the history of the Empire is more remarkable than the rapidity with which it reasserted itself in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria to the princes and peoples of India. Lord Morley has recently called attention to the retention of the title "Defender of the Faith" in this memorable instrument. It was urged that in translation, it would convey to the Indian mind the idea of Defender of a creed antagonistic to the creeds of the country, and Lord Derby regarded it as a doubtful title "considering its origin." Apart from the significance of the title in this Proclamation, it is of really Imperial importance to remember the interpretations to which it has accommodated itself. Conferred on Henry VIII. by the Pope in 1521 in recognition of his defence of the Catholic Church against the doctrine of Protestantism, within a few years that sovereign had deserted from the service of the

Catholic Church and accommodated himself to an interpretation of the title confirmed by Act of Parliament as Defender of Protestantism against the Catholic faith. The repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts and the passing of the Act enabling Jews to sit in Parliament in the very year of the Proclamation had made the retention of the title practically inconsistent with any other interpretation than Defender of the equal liberties of every Faith. In any case, the words inserted by the Queen herself in the Proclamation make her Majesty's interpretation clear to all time: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects." The terms of the Proclamation proceeded: "We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

"Arising out of this," as the dispatch of 1833 argued, the policy of the Government has been to associate with a religious system based on the principle of toleration, an educational system designed to serve at once as an instrument of equality in the areas of physical and intellectual capacity.

Lord Beaconsfield summed up the imperial importance of physical health in the phrase, "*Sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas*," but it was left to Mr. Chamberlain to realise the extent to which the agencies of beneficial occupation in the tropics—industry, commerce, good government and defence—are dependent on the preservation of health against tropical diseases. The exigencies of space make it impossible for me to trace even in outline the varied direction of his energies in the work it was given him to do. The measures by which he sought to secure, and to a large extent succeeded, in securing health, strength and efficiency in our tropical possessions may be classed as—scientific research and investigation of the causes of tropical diseases; education in tropical pathology for all medical officers

servicing in the tropics ; the collection and publication of reliable annual records of work and research ; the preparatory measures necessary for the production of a complete Imperial Pharmacopœia ; and provision for the care of the sick by trained and skilled nursing.

The imperial result of his activity may be briefly summed up. On his initiative or with his encouragement, the attention of the Empire was directed to the study of tropical diseases ; research expeditions were sent abroad ; the cause and nature of diseases that have long ravaged the tropical world were discovered, and the means of prevention investigated ; new diseases affecting men and the lower animals in new spheres of our Empire have been brought to light and studied with a view to prevention and cure. Already the result of these researches has been an appreciable addition to the security of life and the comfort not only of British subjects engaged in the work of administration or in commercial and industrial enterprises, but of multitudes of natives. And to secure uninterrupted continuity in the work of research, medical men have been trained in schools which have served as models for other nations and have been taken advantage of by students from many parts of the world.

I turn to the uses of education as an instrument of social equality in the area of intellectual capacity. Mr. Cobden declared that "Education is the sole title to constitutional franchise, the sole guardian of political liberty, the sole qualification for self-government." In the same sense, an American administrator, in the Philippines, has recently summed up the colonial policy of the United States in the phrase, "We stake our whole job on the education of the people." Mr. Huxley well expressed the object and methods of our policy in comparing the modern and the mediæval ideal of the University : "The students to whose wants the mediæval University was adjusted looked to the past and sought book-learning while the modern looks to the future and seeks his knowledge of things." Macaulay, in his essay on Bacon, traced to that philosopher the origin of the modern system, the object of which he tersely declared to be the good of mankind, in the sense in which the mass of mankind always has understood and always will understand the word good. In another passage, he declared that two words form the key of the Baconian philosophy, Utility and Progress ; contrasting it with the philosophy it was destined to supersede, he declared that "The ancient philosophy dealt largely in theories of moral perfection, which were so

sublime that they never could be more than theories; in attempts to solve insoluble enigmas; in exhortations to the attainment of unattainable frames of mind. It could not condescend to the humble office of ministry to the comfort of human beings." Adopting the pragmatic method of illustrating a conception by its practical consequences, Macaulay summed up the results of the philosophy of Utility and Progress in a memorable passage: "It has lengthened life; it has mitigated pain; it has extinguished diseases; it has increased the fertility of the soil; it has given new securities to the mariner; it has furnished new arms to the warrior; it has spanned great rivers and estuaries with bridges of form unknown to our fathers; it has guided the thunderbolt innocuously from heaven to earth; it has lighted up the night with the splendour of the day; it has extended the range of the human vision; it has multiplied the power of the human muscles; it has accelerated motion; it has annihilated distance; it has facilitated intercourse, correspondence, all friendly offices, all despatch of business; it has enabled men to descend to the depths of the sea, to soar into the air, to penetrate securely into the noxious recesses of the earth, to traverse the land in cars which whirl along without horses, and the ocean in ships which run ten knots an hour against the wind. These are but a part of its fruits, and of its firstfruits. For it is a philosophy which never rests, which has never attained, which is never perfect. Its law is progress. A point which yesterday was invisible is its goal to-day and will be its starting point to-morrow."

This was written in 1840, and the three score years and ten—the accepted limit of a life-time—that have since passed have wonderfully confirmed the assertion that the point which yesterday was invisible is its goal to-day and will be its starting point to-morrow. On this law of Utility and Progress is based the whole educational system of the Empire in every stage of gradation from the infant school to the modern University.

#### OF JUSTICE.

In the term justice, I include the functions of the legislature and the judicature. Within the administrative units of the Crown Colonies and of India, is to be found a mosaic of legal systems bewildering in their number and complexity, the result of a principle, intimately allied with the principle of religious toleration, which has governed English history throughout its career of colonisation and conquest. The essence of this policy has been to adapt itself to the peculiar requirements of every

individual accession to the Empire, and our methods have consequently been as various as the communities for whom the legislation was designed. They may be grouped, however, in two systems—applicable respectively to territories obtained by settlement and those which have come to us by conquest or cession. In the case of settlements our policy is indicated by the Act of Settlement of William the Third: “If there be a new and uninhabited country found out by English subjects, as the law is the birthright of English subjects, so wherever they go they carry their law with them; and therefore such a new found country is to be governed by the laws of England.” The principle was not confined to uninhabited countries. It was the basis of the old factory system established in many not necessarily barbarous states, where the settlers carried with them “not only their own laws but the sovereignty of their own state; and those who lived among them and those who became members of their community became also partakers of and subject to the same laws.” Briefly, it may be said that in all settled territories the common law of England is the foundation of the local law. In territories acquired by conquest our policy has been, in the first instance, to preserve the established law in so far as it was not fundamentally at variance with our conception of justice, for it would obviously be inconvenient and unwise to replace the existing system by a body of laws of which the inhabitants were ignorant, and for which they might be in civil and political character entirely unprepared. In either case on its fundamental law every territory has erected and continues to erect a superstructure of local laws adapted to its own requirements and changing circumstances, borrowing largely from the United Kingdom and the other units of the Empire. The result of this process has been the accumulation of masses of legislative material formidable in bulk and intricacy, a natural consequence of the conditions under which the work of legislation is carried on. In the Crown Colonies all legislation is liable to be amended, modified or reversed to meet the exigencies of party politics in the Imperial Parliament, the shifting mind of the Colonial Office, or the views of governors who often follow each other in rapid succession, and are apt to subordinate continuity of policy to individual motives, generally laudable no doubt, but not seldom capricious. In these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that in many or most of our colonies the actual condition of the laws has been found to be one of confusion, contradiction repetition and disorder. To remedy this state of

things legislative activity is being directed to two main objects, codification and assimilation. In the term "codification," I include the preliminary or collateral process of consolidation. Consolidation is the term used for the combining of two or more statutes into one. Codification means putting into the form of a statute laws which have only been found in text-books or reports of decided cases or partly in such books or reports and partly in statutes, statutory regulations and Orders in Council.

Concurrently with, or supplementary to the work of codification, there is a growing tendency to undertake the work of promoting uniformity of legislation throughout the Empire by assimilation.

Speaking generally, the true temper of Empire recognizes that the assimilation of the laws of the component units cannot be carried to complete uniformity. Its aim is to find a measure of uniformity consistent with the preservation of their individual nationality.

The work of assimilation divides itself naturally into two areas of activity, criminal and civil law. In the assimilation of criminal law and procedure, the fundamental principle of the Victorian era has been to substitute for enactments of cruel severity penalties in accordance with the more humane spirit which recognizes that the object of the criminal law is not only the punishment of crime, but the reformation of the criminal class. It is difficult for us to realize the cruelty of the penal system of England up to a time within the recollection of persons still living. From the Restoration to the death of George III. in 1820, a period of 160 years, no less than 187 capital offences were added to the criminal code, while the subsidiary penalties of imprisonment and the lash continued to be applied with indiscriminate severity, even beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. In the assimilation of criminal law and procedure in the Crown Colonies the principles of the Indian Penal Code have found general acceptance, but the process has been slow. In 1869 the work of constructing a Penal Code for all the Crown Colonies based on the Indian Penal Code was undertaken by Mr. Robert S. Wright (afterwards Mr. Justice Wright). After three years of unremitting labour a code was produced and for ten months was under revision by Sir FitzJames Stephen. Conferences and discussions followed, leading to a concurrence on almost all the important points of difference; in 1875 the Draft Code was placed in the hands of the Secretary of State. Sir Henry

Taylor, commenting on this code, in a note in his *Autobiography*, in 1884, wrote: "What has become of it I have never heard. It was sent out to all the Crown Colonies, and the authorities of Jamaica at least, if not of the others, were ready and desirous to enact it, when a postponement was directed by the Home Government, I believe in order that Sir FitzJames Stephen's Criminal Code for England might take precedence, and any results of the discussion of that code might be available for the improvement of the other. How many years may pass before the British Legislature can be got to adopt such a measure as a Criminal Code for England, no one can tell, and in the meantime the benefits which the Crown Colonies might derive from theirs are thrown away. Such was the fate for no less than twenty-three years of the Indian Code constructed by Lord Macaulay and his brother commissioners, during which years more than two hundred millions of our Indian subjects were deprived of the inestimable benefits conferred upon them when it was enacted in 1860." Since this was written very general use has been made of Sir FitzJames Stephen's Code.

In advocating approximation to uniformity, in civil law, it must be remembered that there are classes of legislation in which even assimilation must be exercised with caution. I mean legislation affecting the personal law and religion of non-Christian communities, and especially legislation governing marriage and the law of inheritance. Inseparable from this class of legislation are laws affecting the political status of British Christians or non-Christians of non-European birth, outside of the administrative unit which constitutes their country of origin, that is, in short, the civil and civic status of natives of the Crown Colonies and India in the Dominions. The influence which these questions are exercising on the unity of the Empire is admitted, and it is impossible that they can be settled by local legislation. If a settlement is to be found it must be by the Imperial Conference. A proposal to submit them to the Imperial Conference was first made, I believe, by *The Times* a few years ago, when the formidable difficulties in the way of a settlement were clearly stated.

Should they be submitted to the Imperial Conference they must be discussed with reference to the exigencies of three groups of colonies—colonies in temperate zones, independent of the assistance or co-operation of coloured races, such as Canada; colonies in the tropical belt of the world, dependent on the coloured races for the elementary operations of industry, such as the West Indies; and colonies in sub-tropical zones where

the white man is associated with coloured races in the conditions generally prevailing in South Africa. Above all, the discussion will have to take into account the claims of India and the Far East. The true temper in which these questions should be submitted to the Conference by the Imperial Government was wisely indicated by *The Times*: "We have to state our own view. We should do so without reserve, taking the delegates so far as possible into our confidence as regards our whole foreign and Imperial policy, and laying down quite frankly the necessary conditions of our support and sympathy. Our present system of admonition, tempered by cajolery, and quite untempered by any serious bestowal of confidence, has not the influence upon colonial opinion which some statesmen would like to believe. A franker and more outspoken attitude, if accompanied by a real appreciation of the colonial point of view, would be better statesmanship and truer flattery. A genuine tradition of meeting colonial opinion wherever possible would soon bring that opinion half-way towards ours."

Outside the areas of religious and racial conflict a gradual assimilation of the law in matters affecting economic interests is of equal importance to the United Kingdom, the Dominions, the Crown Colonies and India. In one category may be mentioned laws affecting merchant shipping, bills of exchange and other commercial documents, patents, trade and merchandise marks, copyrights, monopolies in restriction of trade, and trade disputes. In an allied category may be mentioned laws affecting the administration of justice, the jurisdiction of foreign courts, and the execution of foreign judgments in British courts. In a third and distinct category may be mentioned laws affecting health and sanitation or aimed at promoting social morality in many aspects.

In the work of assimilating the legislation of the Empire, a basal principle has been the attainment of the greatest possible uniformity in regard to matters of Imperial moment consistently with a just recognition of local custom where this can be maintained without prejudice to Imperial interests. In the carrying out of this purpose an influence of recognised importance has been exercised by the Society of Comparative Legislation. The Society was established in 1894, mainly for the purpose of obtaining and diffusing a knowledge of the course of legislation in different countries, but more particularly in the several parts of the Empire. The work of the Society has always been heartily approved by the Colonial Office, and in 1902 Mr. Chamberlain invited both the self-governing and

Crown Colonies to adopt an organised method for the interchange of ideas and information between all parts of the Empire as to matters of legal importance and the promotion of unity of law and procedure. The Society justly claims that by the method adopted each member or part of the Empire may now easily ascertain the legislative methods and work of all other parts. The many *Statute Books* have by means of annual summaries, digests and indices, published by the Society, been made accessible as they never were before. The activity of the Society has recently been consolidated in the publication of a work entitled *The Legislation of the Empire*, edited under its direction by Mr. C. E. A. Bedwell. It presents a survey of the enactments of more than eighty legislative assemblies in the British Empire.

Intimately associated with the problem of uniformity in legislation is the problem of uniformity of judicial decision, and among the questions urged for consideration by the Imperial Conference the constitution of an Imperial Court of Appeal for the United Kingdom, the Dominions, the Crown Colonies and India is certainly not the least important.

#### OF COUNSEL.

In the term Counsel I include, for my present purpose, the constitutional advisers of the Sovereign, representing the group of advisers from whom Kings, in Bacon's time, took counsel, and in dealing with whom care and circumspection was needed to avoid dangers likely to arise. The main principles underlying the Sovereign's relations to his constitutional advisers in the government of the United Kingdom are, in brief, that the Sovereign is irresponsible; that for every act of his prerogative his ministers are responsible to Parliament. The recognition of these principles has been followed by a recognition of the duty of the Sovereign to select as his ministers persons enjoying the confidence of Parliament, and to retain them as his advisers so long, and only so long, as that confidence is continued.

It is not necessary to trace in detail the stages of evolution which have established these principles in the constitution of the United Kingdom. What concerns us is rather to consider their adaptation to the constituent parts of the Empire.

Our colonial policy has passed through three well-defined stages. In the first the Colonies were left free to govern them-

selves, but their commerce was made completely subservient to the interests of the Mother Country. In the second, having, by tampering with their internal affairs, lost the North American Provinces, we sought to hold our Colonies more firmly by governing them from home. In the third, we made it our aim to provide them with Constitutions designed to train them into a capacity to govern themselves with a view to their ultimate separation as independent States.

In all the possessions of the Crown up to the secession of the North American Colonies, the constitutional establishment was formed after the model of the Mother Country, and consisted of an Executive Council corresponding to the Cabinet and a Legislature of two chambers, one nominated and the other elected. But while the constitution resembled that of the Mother Country in form, it differed in the essential particular that the Executive Council was not responsible to Parliament. The Executive and its departmental officers were the servants of the Sovereign and subject to the control of his ministers through his representative. Under this form of constitution, the Colonies were allowed self-government in local affairs, but their trade was limited by the strictest control in accordance with the universally recognised principle of European colonisation at the time.

The principle was concisely stated by Mr. Bryan Edwards in his *History of the British West Indies*:—

“The leading principle of colonisation in all the maritime States of Europe (Great Britain among the rest) was commercial monopoly. The word *monopoly* in this case admitted a very extensive interpretation. It comprehended the monopoly of supply, the monopoly of colonial produce, and the monopoly of manufacture. By the first, the colonists were prohibited from resorting to foreign markets for the supply of their wants; by the second, they were compelled to bring their chief staple commodities to the Mother Country alone; and by the third, to bring them to her in a raw or unmanufactured state that her own manufacturers might secure to themselves all the advantages arising from their further improvement.”

In the now general condemnation of the old colonial system, it is apt to be overlooked that a fundamental principle of the system was the appropriation of the profits of monopoly to the defence of the colonies in the widest sense of the term—territorial security against the attacks of warlike natives and foreign aggression, and the protection of their sea-borne commerce.

The secession of the North American colonies was followed by a change of policy. While the form of the constitution was retained in the remaining colonies, the power of the Executive, responsible only to the Crown, to control the local legislature was extended from matters of external commerce to domestic concerns. In the colonies acquired after the secession, the form of government adopted was the combination of administrative and legislative power in the Governor, aided by a Council of official advisers. The evolution of the constitutions of these colonies shows well-marked stages of development. We find in the earliest stage a Chief Executive Officer, styled Governor or Administrator or Commissioner, assisted by two or more official advisers, nominated by and responsible to the Crown and entrusted with legislative and administrative functions. In the next stage we have the administrative and legislative functions, separated by the creation of an Executive Council and a Legislative Council, all the members of both Councils being nominated by the Crown. In Legislative Councils of this type, usage led to a gradual process of development, marked by an increase of the nominated members to represent a larger area of interests. The next stage was the creation of a Council consisting partly of nominated and partly of elected members. This form of constitution was first set up in New South Wales, and by an Act of 1850 was extended to all the Australian colonies, except Western Australia. Lord John Russell, in introducing the measure, declared its object to be "to train these Colonies into a capacity to govern themselves." The dominant principle of this form of constitution was the combination in a single chamber of legislature of the popular element and its required check, the necessity for the check being the tendency of the representatives of the democracy to make concessions to popularity at the expense of the public revenue, and the reasons assigned for the Single Chamber combination being the difficulty of finding in young colonies the elements necessary for a Second Chamber.

The form of constitution set up by the Acts of 1842 and 1850 has served as a model after which, with many important modifications, designed to meet local circumstances, all the Single Chamber constitutions established in British Colonies and in India have been modelled. But the Act of 1850 contained provisions enabling the legislatures it set up to reform their own constitutions, subject to the approval of the Imperial Parliament, and under these provisions they were enabled to revert to the constitutional form of Government

by the Mother Country, represented by a Governor and Executive Council, a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly. It is impossible for me to trace the history of the conflict which delayed the concession to the colonies of the principle of the subordination of the Executive to the Legislature. It was realised that the logical consequence of this concession must be the liberation of the colonial governments from the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. In 1775, Lord Mansfield declared in the House of Lords: "Take it upon which ground you will, the supremacy of the British Legislature must be complete, entire and unconditional or, on the other hand, the Colonies must be free." In 1837, Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons—I quote Viscount Morley—"took a firm stand against the pretensions in Canada to set their Assembly on an equal footing with the Imperial Parliament at home." That is exactly what Canada has done, with the result that the liberation of the Dominion Parliaments from the control of the Imperial Parliament has become the recognised condition of their adhesion to the Empire.

We have thus seen the development of three forms of Constitutional Government:—

1. Colonies in which the Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the Home Government.
2. Colonies possessing representative institutions, but not responsible Government, in which the Crown has only a veto on legislation, but the Home Government retains the control of public officers.
3. Colonies possessing representative institutions and responsible Government, in which the Crown has only a veto on legislation, and the Home Government has no control over any public officer except the Governor.

I need not trace the development of the constitutional principle of the subordination of the Executive to the Legislature, and its consequence in each of the units of the Empire now grouped as Dominions. Before 1860 eight colonies had received responsible government; the Cape was added in 1872, Western Australia in 1890, Natal in 1893, and the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony in 1906. Thus the circle of our self-governing colonies in the temperate zones is complete. In 1867, the North American colonies, with the exception of Newfoundland, which remains a separate unit, were federated in the Dominion of Canada by the British North

America Act; in 1900 the Australian Colonies were federated by the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act; in 1909 the South African Colonies were unified by the South Africa Act; in 1910 New Zealand was declared to be a Dominion.

The formal recognition of the colonies of this class as Dominions, owing allegiance to the Crown but independent of the control of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, has been followed by much discussion of schemes having for their purpose a further constitutional development by the establishment of some form of Imperial Council to deal with the relations of the Dominions to each other, to the United Kingdom, to the Crown Colonies and India, and to foreign States, with the corollary question of the organisation of an Imperial system of defence. History will recognise the true temper of empire in the design of the constitutional apparatus styled the Imperial Conference for the discussion of all these questions.

The Australian Act of 1850 led to an amazing amplitude of experiment with a view to adapting its principles to every administrative unit of the empire. Imperial Acts, local Ordinances and Orders in Council followed in rapid succession with a resulting confusion that may be studied in Sir Henry Jenkyns' *British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas*. But throughout the confusion there can always be traced a line of bifurcation between the self-governing colonies and the Crown Colonies, following the natural cleavages of the temperate and tropical zones. Coincidentally with the gradual emancipation of the self-governing colonies experience was proving that our tropical colonies did not fulfil the conditions of a homogeneous population essential to the success of the form of government contemplated by the Act of 1850. It was necessary therefore to cast about for constitutions adapted to administrative units including communities of widely varied capacities, and in widely different stages of civilisation. It was wisely determined to limit the constitutional development of the Crown Colonies to the type described in the second of the three constitutional forms that have been enumerated, in other words the type created by the immediate provisions of the New South Wales Act of 1842, without the provisions of the Act of 1850 designed to form a bridge to the full liberties of self-government.

The essentials of the type of Legislature set up under this form of constitution may be briefly described. It is a Legislature of three dimensions—including in a single Chamber *ex officio*, nominated, and elected members. The *ex officio* members are appointed by the Crown in virtue of their tenure of certain

administrative posts generally associated with a seat in the executive Council and, as in the case of Ministers at home or in the self-governing Colonies, their vote in support of the Government is inseparable from their tenure of office. The nominated members include two groups—an official and a non-official group. The official nominees, as they are styled, are appointed by the Crown as experts in departmental administration as, for instance, the Heads of the Customs, Public Works, and Survey Departments. They are bound when called upon to support the Government by their vote, at the risk of being called on to resign their seat in Council, though not necessarily their departmental office. The non-official nominees are appointed by the Crown, on the recommendation of the Governor, as representatives of communities or interests. They may be said to owe a dual allegiance to the Government and the communities or interests they represent. The members of the third element of the Chamber are independent of the Crown and responsible only to their electors. When the number of *ex officio* and official nominee members combined is in excess of the number of non-official nominees and elected members combined, there is constituted a permanent official majority. In Colonial practice the Government can and does allow the system to work without an official majority, reserving the power to create such a majority in matters of supreme local importance, such as the passing of the estimates, or to comply with an Imperial mandate. This arrangement is carried out generally in one or two ways; either vacancies are left in the number of official nominees, or the Council may be dissolved and reconstituted with an official majority.

In colonies where this type of Legislative Council exists, it has usually been found advisable to strengthen the Executive Council by adding to the official members two or more unofficial members holding no portfolio as advisory representatives of the principal dividing or conflicting elements of the population.

If any excuse is necessary for an analysis of this type of colonial constitution in my address, I plead the importance of bearing in mind that the introduction of this type, with various modifications, not all in a democratic sense, is a principal factor in recent reforms in India, and marks a stage in the assimilation of the constitutional status of the Crown Colonies and India.

Whether the aspirations of those in the Crown Colonies and in India who look forward to a time when the barriers which oppose the assimilation of this status to that of the Dominions by a further process of constitutional development may be

removed, is a question lying at the root of much imperial unrest. In dealing with it the true temper of Empire is to be found in a spirit of caution in every procedure which has a tendency to bring into collision the usages and prejudices of communities, a spirit giving time for the slow and silent operation of desired improvements, with a constant conviction that every attempt to accelerate the end will be attended with the danger of defeat, but at the same time with a constant conviction that any arrest or reversal of an accepted policy will be no less certainly attended with danger of defeating the end. Sir Donald Wallace closes a chapter on Imperial Federation, in his *Web of Empire*, with a warning that in attempting to realise the closer union of the Empire, it is probable that many mistakes will be made. He suggests, however, that their number may be reduced by the adoption of the old Horatian maxim, *Festina lente*. Lord Beaconsfield gave the same advice in his caution that in practical politics nothing is more necessary than to distinguish between the excellence of a principle and its premature or inopportune application. And in the same spirit, the American philosopher, Waldo Emerson, declared that there is nothing more remarkable than the ease with which a benefactor may become a malefactor by extending his activity into an area where it is not due.

It is not enough that the local legislature should be dominated by this spirit. The fundamental difference between the status of the Dominions and the Crown Colonies and India in their relation to the Crown is that in the Dominions the Sovereign reigns, in the Crown Colonies and India he not only reigns but governs and administers through his ministers, who are responsible for a continuity of policy in the true temper of Empire. The greatest of all perils lies in the pressure brought to bear on ministers to make the interests of the Crown Colonies and India subordinate to the exigencies of party politics at home. I believe that the Council of India is an effective agency against arrest or reversal of policy in India; and the opinion seems to be gaining ground that a similar Council connected with the Colonial Office would be an equally effective agency in securing continuity and at the same time gradual development of policy in the Crown Colonies.

#### OF TREASURE.

In the term Treasure, I include all the natural resources of the constituent parts of the Empire and I define the true

temper of Empire as a temper which encourages and promotes the development of the resources of each constituent part in the interest of all. The cleavage between the Dominions and the Crown Colonies and India in respect of their political relations to the United Kingdom had its origin in the factors of natural environment that distinguish the temperate and tropical zones.

The new Imperialism is dominated by two main ideas—closer union with the Dominions in the temperate zones and the economic interdependence of the Dominions with the tropical Crown Colonies and India. The international struggle for the control of the tropics has brought home to us that no aggregation of nations in temperate zones can constitute a self-sufficing and self-contained Empire. It has forced us to realise the extent to which the great staples of the world's commerce come, not from the temperate regions but from the tropics. They fall generally under three heads, agricultural and forest resources, mineral resources, and power resources. The agricultural and forest resources may be divided into two main groups, articles that enter into the primary and constant use of every family, even the poorest; and raw materials for manufacture upon an adequate and constant supply of which a vast majority of the wage-earning inhabitants of the United Kingdom and of the temperate zones generally depend for the means of existence. To the former group belong, among many other products, sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, spices, rice, bananas and citrus fruits, and tobacco; while to the latter belong cotton, rubber, fibres and oils. Among the commodities of the former group, sugar holds the first place, not only on account of the variety of its uses, but by reason of the many subsidiary agencies and interests dependent on its manufacture, cultivation and distribution. Lord Beaconsfield, in his life of Lord George Bentinck, picturesquely described the importance of the sugar industry: "Sugar has been embarrassing, if not fatal, to many Governments. Strange that a manufacture which charms infancy and soothes old age should so frequently occasion political disaster." And again, "Singular article of produce! What is the reason of this influence? It is all that considerations mingle in it: not merely commercial, but imperial, philanthropic, religious; confounding and crossing each other, and confusing the legislature and the nation, lost in a maze of intersecting and contending emotions?" Since these words were written, they have gained a much wider significance. With the abolition of slavery and other economic changes, the cost of labour in production and local transport threatened to

make the development of tropical resources unprofitable. The result of the changed conditions has been to supplement or substitute for the natural agencies of sunshine, manual labour and animal draught, the agencies of chemistry, engineering, and mechanical draught. And what is true of sugar is getting to be more and more applicable to the other commodities enumerated as of primary and constant consumption in the households of the people, by reason of the constantly increasing substitution of machinery for manual labour. In this way there has been opened to the British workmen a vast area of activity, in which he shares with the capitalist the profits of the development of tropical resources.

If we turn to the raw materials of tropical agricultural produce, cotton may be taken as illustrating the extent to which the temperate zones are dependent on the tropics, and among Mr. Chamberlain's many services to the Empire, not the least was the support which he gave to the British Cotton Growing Association. The national importance of the objects of the Association were set out in their prospectus in terms which are hardly yet generally appreciated. "It has been estimated that if all the cotton mills in this country were running three-quarters time instead of full time the loss would be not less than £300,000 a week, or at the rate of £15,000,000 per annum. A prolonged continuation of such a serious state of affairs cannot be contemplated with equanimity, and the cotton trade, in which it is estimated that 10,000,000 of the population of this country are directly or indirectly interested, has serious lessons facing it which must sooner or later react on the prosperity of the whole of the country, and eventually on other parts of the Empire.

"The objects of the Association are those of national importance, closely affecting not only spinners, manufacturers, and operatives, but also dyers, printers, bleachers, finishers, and other allied trades. Merchants, shippers and distributors are suffering severely; engineers, chemical manufacturers, colliery owners, machine-makers, bankers, lawyers, stock-brokers, insurance companies, railway companies, and shipowners, are affected by depression in the cotton trade. Owners of property, shopkeepers, brewers, provision merchants, farmers, and in fact all wholesale and retail dealers in every branch of trade, and all producers, are concerned in it directly or indirectly."

Among tropical forest resources rubber is of outstanding imperial importance. The value it has given our tropical estates may be illustrated by the case of Ceylon. In 1886, one

package of rubber of the value of twelve shillings was exported. The present annual value of the export exceeds £1,200,000. Rubber, though of many varieties, is entirely a tropical production and demand and supply are constantly increasing. It may safely be asserted that before long rubber will rival cotton in the importance of the subsidiary interests dependent on it, and as a factor in animating the struggle of nations of temperate zones for the control of the tropics.

In the development of our tropical estates, we have hardly touched the surface of their mineral resources. Apart from precious metals and gems the carbonaceous and bituminous minerals of the tropics, for instance, in the allied forms of asphalt and oil, within the small areas already surveyed, reveal possibilities of output likely to prove an imperial asset that is getting to be more and more appreciated. Vast as seem the capacities of the tropics for expansion in agricultural, forest and mineral resources, they seem to have an asset of even superior value in their power resources. The great falls and cataracts of their rivers are beginning to receive the attention of the electrical engineer and are being utilised as sources of electrical energy. To take a single instance. The caves of Mount Elgon in Africa are found to have been the home of vanished races, chosen under overhanging rocks in such a way that the cascades that fall over them obscure and protect the entrance. The utilisation of these waterfalls for the purposes of modern civilisation is now a question of practical engineering, and the day may not be far distant when the district may become the home of an industrial community able to generate electrical power sufficient to serve half the territory of Africa.

No economic question of the day is putting the temper of Empire to a severer test than the co-ordination of agencies and methods for the development and distribution of its tropical resources. Some of these I propose to consider.

*Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.*

Dealing first with agricultural and forest resources, the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, have for a hundred and fifty years been the botanical headquarters of the Empire. Since 1900, Kew has been officially recognised as "*in the first place an organisation dealing with and giving assistance to His Majesty's government on questions arising in various parts of the Empire in which botanic science is involved,*" and as having so far "*a distinctly imperial character.*" Generally speaking, the primary

motive of Kew is a desire to enable the Empire to compete with the United States, Germany and France in the struggle for the control of the tropics by abandoning the crude empiric methods long discarded by those powers in favour of methods based on scientific knowledge and specially adapted to the local environment of the areas of production. The work may be divided into three heads. It provides a school of research and scientific and practical teaching; a central depôt; and a clearing-house. In the school, young men are trained for appointments at botanical stations throughout the Empire. There are at present about a hundred and sixty men, trained at Kew, serving in Asia, America and Australia. As a central depôt, Kew carries on the work of identifying the species of economic plants best adapted to climatic and other conditions in various parts of the Empire. As a clearing-house, it distributes to stations throughout the Empire plants likely to form the foundation of new cultures. In the exchange of plants from these stations, they are received at Kew, nursed to recovery, repacked and re-distributed. In 1898 the inspiring genius of Mr. Chamberlain brought Kew into effective association with the local stations with which it had been for many years in relation, by the corollary establishment of a department of economic botany in the West Indies in charge of an officer styled the Imperial Commissioner of Agriculture. There is probably no other organisation in any part of the tropics where such diversified work is carried on over so large an area and under such varying conditions of soil and climate, so that scientific and practical training can be given in the cultivation of crops suited to all tropical conditions. The department has served as a model for the formation of a series of departments carrying on the same work, the first being the Imperial Department of Agriculture in India.

Other departments have since been formed or reconstructed on similar lines in Africa, Asia, and the Western Pacific. And the work of these departments is supplemented by local associations working in connection with them, of which the Ceylon Agricultural Society may serve as an illustration and model. Sir Henry Blake has given an interesting account of this Society in 1908. "Its object was to bring all classes down to the smallest cultivators into closer touch with the Government, with each other, and with the scientific staff of the Botanic Department, for, if any improvement was to be hoped for, science must go hand in hand with labour. The central society was formed of all the members of the legislature, some of the principal inhabitants, European and native, of each

province, and all the members of the staff of the Botanic Department. Local societies were formed by voluntary action in every part of the island, and were affiliated to the Central Board of Agriculture. They receive all the publications of the Society, and every information that can be of use to cultivators is sent out in thousands of leaflets in Sinhalese and Tamil to the local societies. Every member pays a subscription, and the feeling of self-respect is preserved. Instructors are appointed by the Central Board, who, on invitation, are prepared to attend any meeting of local societies, and give practical instruction upon any matter under consideration; and the staff of the Botanic Department, who from the first have placed their services unreservedly at the disposal of the Society, answer readily any questions submitted to them, and of themselves issue valuable advice that strikes the director, the chemist, the mycologist, or the entomologist as being of service on the general question, or in the event of the occurrence of a pest or disease. The result has been quite equal to my expectations. I will not say beyond them, for my experience has shown me that if the people believe that there is a *bona fide* anxiety to assist them they will respond. In May, 1907, the latest date for which I have statistics, there were 1,200 members of the Central Society, and fifty-two local branches had been established with an aggregate membership of 4,000. Numbers of native gentlemen came forward, some giving considerable sums, others sufficient areas of land for experimental stations."

In estimating the value of the institutions organised since the foundation of the Imperial department of Agriculture for the West Indies, it must not be overlooked that they are the result of the indefatigable labours of Kew, where with a brief intermission, four men, Sir Joseph Banks, Sir William Hooker, Sir Joseph Hooker, and Sir William Thiselton-Dyer, have for nearly a century in face of formidable obstacles urged the organisation of local agricultural and forest departments as corollaries of Kew.

#### *The Imperial Institute.*

It was not till 1893 that Kew found a co-operative agency to follow up the commercial results of activity in the tropics. In that year the Imperial Institute was opened as a memorial to commemorate the fiftieth year of the reign of Queen Victoria. The functions of the Institute as a central department

co-operating with Kew and the agricultural and forest departments of the colonies and India were well explained by the Director, Professor Wyndham Dunstan, in his presidential address to the British Association in 1907. The main object of the Institute is to promote the utilisation of the commercial and industrial resources of the Empire, especially of India and the colonies, by the collection, exhibition, and description of the products of its component parts, and by scientific, technical and commercial investigation and trial of their uses. The Institute has thus two principal branches or departments, the Department of Exhibition for purposes of illustrating the present position of the colonies and India in every aspect, as well as for scientific and commercial reference, and the Scientific and Technical Department for the conduct of investigations and the supply of special information. The Institute now has a considerable but insufficient staff of experts at work in these two departments.

In the Department of Exhibition new and important methods of displaying and describing the permanent colonial and Indian collections have been constantly adopted with a view to making them an adequate and intelligible representation of the resources of the Empire, of value alike for educational and commercial purposes.

The methods of the Scientific and Technical Department of the Institute may be briefly described. It ascertains, at first through chemical investigation in its laboratories, the composition of every natural product of the Empire referred to it. The results are submitted to some of the principal manufacturers in this country, who assist in determining the technical value of the materials investigated; and finally, eminent merchants and brokers report on their commercial value in the light of the scientific investigation and technical trials. These methods for determining the uses and market value of the products are supplemented by surveys and investigations conducted in the colonies by qualified experts acting under the supervision of the Director of the Institute in order to ascertain the capacities of the colonies or areas of origin. It is, in short, an expert agency for gauging the value of the raw materials of our vast possessions and advising on their utilisation. The staff consists of men who have been scientifically trained with special reference to the numerous branches of this work.

The Scientific and Technical Department is now working in co-operation with the Agricultural and Mines Departments in the colonies. It supplements their operations by undertaking

such inquiries and investigations as are of a special scientific and technical character connected with agricultural or mineral development. Mineral surveys, under the supervision of the Director, and conducted by surveyors selected by him, are in progress in Ceylon, Northern Nigeria, Southern Nigeria, and Nyassaland, and preliminary arrangements of a similar nature have been made in connection with British East Africa, and with the Anglo-Congolese Boundary Commission in Uganda. All minerals found which are likely to be of commercial importance are forwarded to the Imperial Institute where they are examined and their composition and commercial value ascertained.

Associated with the principal departments of the Institute is a department of tropical service training for candidates selected by the Colonial Office for administrative appointments in East and West Africa. Courses of instruction, including accounting, law, tropical hygiene, and a wide range of subjects connected with tropical cultivation and tropical products are arranged for.

#### *Transport.*

The Royal Commission sent to the West Indies in 1897 found that facilities of transport were a necessary corollary to the establishment of a Department of Economic Botany, and on their recommendation services subsidised by the Imperial Government were established to carry on regular inter-insular communication and connect the West Indies with the United Kingdom, Canada, and America. It is indeed obvious that the harvest of fertile lands cultivated with industry, however indefatigable, by methods, however scientific and appropriate, may be rendered worthless by cost of conveyance to market. Naturally the question of adequate transport for our sea-borne commerce is engaging the attention of all concerned in our insular empire in the tropics, while at the same time the process of adapting to our recently acquired continental possessions in Africa the policy of liberal expenditure on facilities of communication which has from the first distinguished our rule in India, is being carried out with energy. The policy which fifty years ago advocated the abandonment of all commercial enterprise in tropical Africa has been succeeded by a recognition of the enormous possibilities involved in opening equatorial Africa to commerce and civilisation. Railway construction is a material guarantee of the sincerity of the new policy. The initiative was due to Lord Ripon, who ordered the preliminary surveys.

The energy of Mr. Chamberlain, his successor, the hearty co-operation of those on whose technical knowledge the success of the work depended, and the courage and endurance of those who bore the burden of the climate and the labour of construction is doing the rest. In 1898 there was not a mile of rail open to traffic in West Africa. Within five years, nearly 500 miles were open to traffic on the Gold Coast and in Nigeria and Sierra Leone, and these lines are now being run with success and rapidly extended. They have been constructed through dense forests, in a deadly climate, which, in spite of every precaution in accordance with approved principles of malaria prevention, caused constant change in the staff of every grade: amid difficulties arising from heavy rainfall, from scarcity and inferiority of labour, from conditions under which cargo had to be landed, as on the Gold Coast, by surf boats and lighters on an open roadstead; while native revolts and military operations interrupted and delayed the work.

#### *Meteorology.*

But it is after all the transport of our sea-borne commerce upon which the economic prosperity of the Empire mainly rests, and among the problems of transport in tropical seas is the problem of the security of navigation from cyclonic disturbances. The science of meteorology is of the first importance to the security of navigation, and the tropical island of Mauritius, exceptionally situated as a station for the study of the law of storms, has made a large contribution to the practical results of the study. This was mainly due to the devotion of a single man, the late Dr. Charles Meldrum. His work had two main results in determining the law of storms. By study of the logs of ships traversing the Indian Ocean, and plotting on a chart the direction and force of the wind, the barometer reading, the temperature, the state of the sea-currents experienced by every vessel as nearly as possible at Mauritius noon, on successive days, he obtained a series of weather charts, showing the horizontal circulation of the atmosphere with the barometric and temperature gradients from day to day. From these charts he discovered, and was one of the first to announce, that the wind in cyclones blows spirally towards the centre and not in circles round it as was previously supposed. The importance to navigation of this discovery can hardly be exaggerated.

I will not dwell here on the many other valuable results of the study of meteorology at this station. A recent writer in

*Nature* has called attention to the imperial importance of a knowledge of meteorology as an aid to security of navigation and sea-supremacy, and has pointed out that the success of the work in Mauritius should stimulate further endeavour and the provision of other stations. Dr. Meldrum's work was carried on for many years by Mr. J. F. Claxton, who has recently been appointed Director of the Hong Kong Observatory. His association with the Hong Kong University promises to be of substantial advantage to the promotion of the study of meteorology at that station.

*Imperial Communications by Post and Telegraph.*

Problems of transport and the security of navigation lead naturally to a consideration of the problem of imperial communication by postal and telegraphic systems. The first year of the reign of Queen Victoria witnessed the commencement of a popular movement towards a goal which was only recently reached. In the year 1837 Sir Rowland Hill first advocated a low uniform rate of postage between all places in the British Isles, irrespective of distance, and after a vigorous contest in Parliament a uniform penny postage rate came into force in January, 1840. After half a century of struggle, in 1890 a uniform rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  to all parts of the Empire was instituted, and within the next ten years reduced to a uniform rate of one penny to all parts of the Empire except Australasia and the Cape. The uniform penny rate has now been extended to all parts of the Empire as well as to the United States of America. The names of two men will ever be associated with this economic reform—those of Mr. Henniker Heaton and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Mr. Henniker Heaton's advocacy of cheap postage was from the first associated with the advocacy of cheap telegrams, but it was not till 1908 that he definitely advocated a system of penny-a-word telegrams throughout the Empire. Without discussing the possibility of an early realisation of this proposal, a few words must be said in illustration of the interests of the Empire in ocean telegraphy and cheap telegrams. It has been justly declared that "submarine lines are the true nerves of the Empire; they are the nerves by which all the colonies are brought into simultaneous action with ourselves."

The interests of the Empire are fourfold; domestic interests, commercial interests, interests connected with the security of navigation and the supreme interest of defence. The true temper of Empire, while conscious of the claims of commerce,

does not fail to recognize that what has been called the cash-nexus, is not the only relation that links the King's over-seas dominions to each other and to the United Kingdom. When King George and Queen Mary returned from their colonial tour in 1901, and again after their Indian tour in 1906, his Majesty, then Prince of Wales, spoke earnestly of the need of a larger sympathy in the relations of the Empire; and perhaps only those who have lived in the Crown Colonies and India can appreciate the full significance of telegraphy as an instrument of sympathy. In most of the Crown Colonies the cost of telegrams is still prohibitive for domestic purposes. In the interests of commerce, which telegraphy supplies with the only instrument that can keep it in uninterrupted touch with the markets of the whole world, if a penny-a-word telegram rate is not at present possible, the experience of the past encourages us to hope, in spite of the combinations and methods which are the real obstacles to cheap telegraphy, a very great reduction of rate may be made. When the Atlantic cable was first laid, the minimum charge was £20 for a message not exceeding twelve words, and it was confidently asserted by the promoters of the cable that any reduction of that charge was impossible. However, in telegraphy, as in other things, the true temper of Empire recognises that it is always the impossible that happens. The charge got itself reduced to one shilling a word. In 1887, Mr. Henniker Heaton, at the Royal Colonial Institute, advocated the construction of a cable from the Cape of Good Hope to Australia. Sir James Anderson, who was present, said: "There is some talk of taking a cable from Australia to Mauritius across the route of the trade winds to the Cape. There is not even a sandbank on which to catch fish. There is not a port to which a cruiser or cable-ship can go to replenish their supply of coal, which they are certain to require to do. There are no ships going there. There is no trade and nobody wants to go there." Fourteen years later, a cable from Durban to Mauritius, and thence continued by an all-red route to Australia was laid, and arrangements were made to enable a chain of governors, on the opening day, to associate the whole Empire in a message of congratulation.

Passing to the interests of navigation in telegraphic communication, I need do no more than mention the transmission of weather telegrams indicating the track of cyclones and atmospheric disturbances. It only remains for a system of wireless telegraphy for communication with ships at sea to be established to complete the value of telegraphy for security of navigation.

In the last resort all interests are subsidiary to the vital interest of defence. All recent schemes of colonial defence are based on the principle of concentrating imperial forces at strategic bases. In the event of dangerous local disturbances or of foreign invasion, it is for the colonies to apply for aid from the nearest naval or military station, and to depend on their own police or territorial force during the period that must elapse before their requisition can be complied with. The success of this system obviously depends on adequate telegraphic communication.

#### OF DEFENCE.

It is evident that on adequate defence and protection the success of a policy of developing the resources of each constituent part of the Empire in the interest of all depends, and it remains to consider the true temper of Empire in the distribution of the burden of territorial defence and the protection of sea-borne commerce. The struggle for the control of the tropics which has proved our tropical possessions to be of political and commercial necessity has made it abundantly clear that naval supremacy is the condition of our tenure of them. I do not propose to discuss the principles of their defence, or any scheme of operations subordinate to those principles. But the questions of the incidence of the burden of imperial defence and of the basis of contribution are now demanding a solution with insistence. In a note to a return published by the Colonial and War Department in 1829, it is stated that "it has never been a principle of British rule to require that the Colonies should provide for their military defence," but at the same time the return showed that the Colonies did practically contribute £335,000 in the form of personal allowances called colonial allowances. To understand the significance of the return we must remember the source from which the expenditure on military and naval defence was originally provided.

Reference has been made to the old colonial system of commercial monopoly. It was out of the profits of this monopoly, in the extensive interpretation of the term indicated, and by the profits of the monopoly of the ocean and coasting trade secured by the navigation laws, that the cost of defence was met. Bacon, in addition to his essay on Empire, wrote an essay on *Plantations*, using the word in a sense much more nearly approaching the interpretation we now give to the word Empire than the sense in which he used the term. A

moment's consideration will suffice to show that the only source from which the revenue of the Plantations could be derived was the annual profit from the cultivation of the soil. Under the monopoly system, as we have seen, the colonists were compelled to bring the produce of this cultivation to the mother country alone, where on arrival the contribution of the colony was easily levied in practically the only way in which it could be imposed by duties of customs. The system, however it may now be condemned, had this advantage that the contribution varied automatically with the value of the produce, in other words with the capacity of the colony to bear the burden.

With the abolition of the monopoly system and the navigation laws, the fund which provided the mother country with revenues for military and naval expenditure disappeared while the mother country remained charged with the whole burden of imperial defence. The policy which brought about this result was based on the belief that colonies and India were alike politically mischievous and commercially useless. It was expressed in the phrase, attributed to Cobden, that "John Bull has for the next fifty years the task set him of cleansing his house of this useless stuff,"—the army and navy. The next fifty years brought about a complete reversal of the policy, and in the meantime, the steadily increasing burden had to be borne. The return of 1829 showed that a part of the burden was borne by a contribution from the colonies in the form of personal allowances. In 1859, a Departmental Committee was appointed to inquire into the whole question of colonial contributions to imperial defence. It reported that the colonies might be said generally to have been free from all obligations of contributing, either by personal service or money, towards their own defence; that the incidence of the small sums contributed was most unequal and chiefly borne by three colonies; and they particularly condemned the system of colonial allowances as most mischievous to our troops. This report was followed by the appointment in 1861 of a Select Committee of which Mr. Mills was chairman, to inquire into the defence of the colonies and the distribution of the cost between the Imperial Treasury and the colonial funds. It was found that the distribution of troops and the allocation of charges were based on no principle, and had grown up by chance modified by temporary exigencies. The general result of the report of the Committee was the decision of the Government that all colonies must bear the burden of their military establishments. It

must be remembered that during the 'sixties the idea of separation had grown to be a fixed purpose. This decision was immediately followed by the gradual withdrawal of all the Imperial troops from the self-governing colonies, a process practically completed in 1870. In the Crown Colonies, where it was found impossible to withdraw the Imperial troops, the military contribution was fixed on the basis of a capitation rate for each man on the strength, varying according to the branch of the service to which he belonged, and varying also in the different colonies. This system was a source of constant irritation, and has since been abandoned in favour of a contribution representing a percentage of the gross revenues of the colonies subject to certain deductions. As regards the Dominions, the question of their contribution is the gravest of the subjects submitted to the consideration of the Imperial Conference.

The conclusions of the Departmental Committee of 1859, were summed up by Sir Charles Adderley (afterwards Lord Norton) in a recommendation:—"That every part of the Empire should raise its own means of defence at home and at the sound of danger all should be ready to rally round the threatened point, the ocean being our proper medium of national inter-communication, and every enemy being made aware that on his temporary success in any quarter, the vengeance of the whole Empire waits." I conceive that this proposition expresses the true temper of Empire, but it has not always been accepted. In reviewing Seeley's *Expansion of England*, published in 1883, Viscount Morley wrote, "What is the common bond that is to bring the Colonies into a Federal Union? . . . Is it possible to suppose that the Canadian lumberman and the Australian sheep-farmer will cheerfully become contributors to a Greater Britain fund? . . . Is there any reason to suppose that South Africa would contribute towards the maintenance of cruisers? No, we may depend upon it that it would be a *mandat impératif* on every federal delegate not to vote a penny for any war, or preparation for war, that might arise from the direct or indirect interests of any colony but his own." History has signally falsified this prediction, and I venture to believe that the recommendation of Sir Charles Adderley's Committee commands the unanimous assent of the Imperial Conference. With that body it rests to find the practical methods of carrying it out. It will be a work of time. Sir Donald Wallace in *The Web of Empire* relates that a Canadian minister once said to him, "Believe me, the best way of strengthening the Empire is not to rush into

premature centralisation, but to strengthen the constituent parts, and to develop trade relations between them."

I conceive this to be in the true temper of Empire.

#### OF KINGS.

Although in the application of my text I have not adhered to the interpretation assigned to the word Empire by Bacon, the solemn ceremony of the Coronation suggests a word on the exercise of the true temper of Empire by the Sovereign in Bacon's sense of the phrase. I illustrate it by a parable from Macaulay's *Essay on Sir William Temple*. Referring to a conversation between Temple and King Charles II., Macaulay wrote: "He strongly represented to the King the impossibility of establishing either absolute government or the Catholic religion in England; and concluded by repeating an observation which he had heard at Brussels from M. Gourville, a very intelligent Frenchman well known to Charles: 'A king of England,' said Gourville, 'who is willing to be the man of his people, is the greatest king in the world, but if he wishes to be more, by heaven, he is nothing at all.' The King betrayed some symptoms of impatience during this lecture; but at last he laid his hand kindly on Temple's shoulder, and said: 'You are right, and so is Gourville; and I will be the man of my people!'"

This I consider to be the true spirit of Empire, but the conduct of Charles himself and his successors showed how hard it is to keep. It is always perilous to mark off history into epochs fixed by accession of sovereigns, but I venture to fix the date from which the true temper of Empire has been kept without solution of continuity by the sovereign of the British Empire as the date of the Coronation of Queen Victoria. The coronation of King George and Queen Mary may be accepted as a ceremonial trial and assay of the perpetuity of the temper.

NOTE.—*Many or most of the problems and points discussed in this address are elaborated in my work, THE BROAD STONE OF EMPIRE. It has not been thought necessary to encumber the address with notes of reference to its pages.*

## DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said: I am sorry that Lord Halsbury\* was unable to return in time to thank Sir Charles Bruce for his admirable paper. I venture to think that when the Volume of *Transactions of the Institute* comes to be printed no paper will be found in it of more general interest and value than this. One of the most remarkable things in it is the evidence that it gives that Sir Charles, among the manifold duties of his office of Governor of Mauritius, has yet found time to study the broad questions with which he deals so wisely. His was clearly not a post of idleness and retirement.

I will not presume to follow him in the capacity of critic, but I should like to say a few words on some of the points raised. (1) Foreign Policy:—It is clear that this must always lie with the Central Authority; it would be impossible for every colony to have its own. I refer to such subjects as the denial of the rights of British citizenship to the coloured races who are members of the British Empire and subjects of the same King. The treatment of Indians in South Africa, and of the yellow races in Canada are cases in point. There is a tendency to treat these as “aliens” and to exclude them from their rights in the colonies on various pretexts. (2) Transport:—In the colony I had the honour to govern there was not even a direct postal line of communication with the principal port. The only line was American, or by one indirect. Products which should have reached England if there had been direct British means of communication were diverted elsewhere. The evil is that if the mother country does not help, the colonies naturally turn elsewhere and form relations which are difficult ever to undo. (3) Defence:—This I recognise as most difficult. The colonies are so widely scattered that effective co-operation is almost impossible. It is only by free consultation and in a spirit of real sympathy amongst all the colonies concerned that the problem can be solved. There must be the concurrence and co-operation of all when any one is attacked. As far as Lord Morley is concerned, all

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\* Lord Halsbury, the President, who had attended the meeting of the Council just before this meeting, had expressed his intention if possible of returning from another engagement in order to hear the close of Sir Charles Bruce's address.

I can say is that he does not appear to understand the minds of the real colonial representatives.

There is no discussion to-day, as this is the Annual Address of the Institute, and I will not therefore add more, but content myself by proposing a vote of warmest thanks to Sir Charles Bruce for his paper, and the expression of our highest appreciation of its contents.

This was seconded by Colonel MACKINLAY, who said we were very happy in the choice of subject at this time as well as of the Lecturer. Both Sir Charles and the Chairman\* had been Colonial Governors; they were practical not merely theoretical men. We had been much enlightened this afternoon by what we had heard, and we all heartily join in the expression of loyalty with which the address closed. In comparing our Empire with any that has existed in the past, we could not shut our eyes to the fact that ours is far more complicated and contains far greater problems than were before the great empires of antiquity. On the other hand ours has elements of greater permanency; the influence of the Bible has caused our sway to be more sympathetic, as shown by the abolition of slavery and the provision of hospitals for the sick. He heartily seconded the vote of thanks to Sir Charles Bruce.

Sir CHARLES in reply said he only wished to say how grateful he was for the opportunity of expounding to the Members of the Institute the principles he had set forth, which had occupied the best thoughts of his life.

At this meeting a loyal address to Their Majesties the King and Queen was read and adopted with acclamation.—*See next page.*

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\* Sir Henry Geary was Governor of Bermuda 1902-1904.