

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

PayPal

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

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

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_jtvi-01.php

JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

VOL. LIII

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

VOL. LIII.



LONDON:

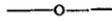
(Published by the Institute, 1, Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W. 1.)

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

1921.

LONDON :
HARRISON AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

P R E F A C E .



THE last year has been one of considerable encouragement to this Institute.

The increase in member and associateship bespeaks a firm hold on the thinkers of to-day, while the good and sometimes large attendances show how the interest in the papers and objects of this Institute is spreading.

Although the war has long since ceased, its aftermath has been nearly as distasteful as the conflict itself ; and even now an unsolved problem lies before humanity, which, as I write, the keenest minds in the world are attempting to grapple with at Washington—" How to make peace a permanent asset of civilization."

Thirteen meetings have been held during the past year (including the General Meeting), and have proved of deep and varied interest. A new member, Dr. David Anderson-Berry, gave us a fresh view of human psychology from the experimental standpoint, that excited a somewhat lively discussion, which was followed by a paper from Bishop Ingham on the " Conservation of our national position."

The succeeding paper by Dr. Amand Routh, with Dr. Scharlieb in the chair, was of exceptional value in its solid foundation of fact, its sound ethics, and its wise counsels ; and the discussion that followed is well worth reading.

Col. Molony's paper on the first coming of Christ was able and welcome. A succeeding explanation by E. Walter Maunder, of the Greenwich Observatory, of Joshua's Long Day was very plausible, though stoutly contested in the subsequent criticisms. The reader might well study these and also the lecturer's very full reply.

" Fetichism," by W. Hoste, B.A., produced another interesting discussion. Indeed, I think we may say this volume is specially marked by the lively character of the discussions, which throw many sidelights on the papers.

The well-known Canon Parfit gave us one of his instructive Mesopotamian lectures. Some of his theological statements, however, provoked a good deal of criticism. The veteran Gossett-Tanner, at the age of ninety, read a well-reasoned paper on the Tripartite Nature of Man; and the Annual Address, by the Very Rev. Dean Wace, of Canterbury, on the present state of Old Testament Criticism, brilliantly closed this successful year.

Everything goes to show the great value of the method of this Institute in having the papers placed in the hands of the audience at the time; for there can be no doubt psychologically of the wisdom of the words entering the brain through the double channel of eye and ear, rather than by the ear alone. Although the expense is very considerable, the benefit is so great that the Council are resolved to continue the present custom.

The Victoria Institute is greatly indebted to those gentlemen who have come forward and read papers of such varied and interesting characters, and the Council is looking forward to an interesting year, with still further increased members. The list of forthcoming papers is full of varied interest.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD,
Editor.

November, 1921.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1920	1
CASH STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR 1920	7
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING HELD ON MONDAY, APRIL 18TH, 1921, ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, ESQ., M.D., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR	9
HUMAN PSYCHOLOGY—EXPERIMENTALLY CONSIDERED. By DAVID ANDERSON-BERRY, ESQ., M.D., LL.D.	12
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by Prof. H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc., Dr. Schofield, the Rev. J. J. B. Coles, M.A., Lieut.-Colonel Hope Biddulph, D.S.O., Mr. W. E. Leslie, Mr. W. Hoste, B.A., Lieut.-Colonel Mackinlay ...	15
SOME REFLECTIONS ON HOW EMPIRE CAME TO US, AND CAN ALONE BE CONSERVED. BY THE RT. REV. BISHOP E. GRAHAM INGHAM, D.D.	34
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by the Chairman, Mr. Alfred W. Oke, B.A., LL.M., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. Theodore Roberts, the Rev. James Thomas, Lieut.-Colonel F. A. Molony, O.B.E., the Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, M.A., D.D.	45
MOTHERHOOD. BY AMAND ROUTH, ESQ., M.D., F.R.C.P.	55
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by the Chairman, Dr. Mary R. Scharlieb, C.B.E., Dr. A. T. Schofield, Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Alves, Lieut.-Colonel G. Mackinlay, Dr. David Anderson-Berry	71
PREDICTIONS AND EXPECTATION OF THE FIRST COMING OF CHRIST. BY LIEUT.-COLONEL F. A. MOLONY, O.B.E., LATE R.E.	79
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by the Chairman, Mr. W. Hoste, B.A., Dr. A. Jukes, Dr. A. Withers Green, Mr. Sidney Collett, Mr. Theodore Roberts, the Rev. J. Gosset-Tanner, M.A., Dr. A. T. Schofield	92
PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION. BY THE REV. H. COSTLEY WHITE, M.A., HEADMASTER OF WESTMINSTER SCHOOL	103
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by the Chairman, Prof. H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc., Mr. W. E. Leslie, Lieut.-Colonel Hope Biddulph, D.S.O., Mr. W. Hoste, B.A., Mr. Sidney Collett, Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Alves	115

	PAGE
JOSHUA'S LONG DAY (JOSHUA, CHAPTER X). BY E. WALTER MAUNDER, ESQ., F.R.A.S.	120
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by the Rev. J. J. B. Coles, M.A., Mr. Sidney Collett, Mr. W. Hoste, B.A., Lieut.-Colonel G. Mackinlay	136
FETICHISM—IN CENTRAL AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE. BY WILLIAM HOSTE, ESQ., B.A.	149
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by the Chairman, Dr. D. Anderson-Berry, Lieut.-Colonel G. Mackinlay, Mr. Theodore Roberts, Prof. H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc., Dr. A. T. Schofield, Lieut.-Colonel A. P. Ford-Moore, Lieut.-Colonel F. A. Molony, O.B.E., the Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, M.A., D.D.	165
RELIGION IN MESOPOTAMIA. BY THE REV. CANON J. T. PARFIT, M.A. 177	
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by Mr. Theodore Roberts, Dr. A. T. Schofield, Mr. W. Hoste, B.A.	184
THE TRIPARTITE NATURE OF MAN. BY THE REV. JAMES GOSSET-TANNER, M.A.	188
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by the Chairman, the Rev. Prebendary H. E. Fox, M.A., the Rev. J. J. B. Coles, M.A., Dr. A. T. Schofield, Lieut.-Colonel M. A. Alves, Prof. H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc., Dr. D. Anderson-Berry, Mr. Sydney T. Klein, F.L.S.	196
THE BOOK OF DANIEL: SOME LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE REGARDING ITS DATE. BY THE REV. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, D.D.	206
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by the Chairman, Prof. T. G. Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S., Lieut.-Colonel G. Mackinlay, the Rev. A. H. Finn, Mr. W. E. Leslie, Mr. Theodore Roberts, the Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, M.A., D.D.... ..	246
THE ROMAN WALL IN NORTH BRITAIN. BY THE REV. PREBENDARY H. E. FOX, M.A.	256
<i>Discussion.</i> —Remarks by the Chairman, Mr. W. Dale, F.S.A., the Rev. James Thomas, Dr. A. Withers Green, Dr. A. T. Schofield, Mr. G. Wilson, Mr. Peter F. Wood	261
ANNUAL ADDRESS: THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE PRESENT STATE OF CRITICISM. BY THE VERY REV. HENRY WACE, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY	269
LIST OF MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES	283

VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1920.

READ AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 18TH, 1921.

1. *Progress of the Institute.*

With the presentation to the Members and Associates of the Fifty-second Annual Report, the Council acknowledge with thankfulness to God an unusually good year; bespeaking a return to pre-war times. There have not been so many additions to the ranks of the Institute for a long period as in the past twelve months. The papers have been of high quality and interest, and the attendances have formed a welcome contrast with those of the long war-period, when, necessarily by the very circumstances of the case, fewer were free to attend.

2. *Meetings.*

Eleven ordinary meetings were held during the year 1920. The papers were—

- “The Ruined Cities of Palestine, East and West of the Jordan.”
By ARTHUR W. SUTTON, Esq., J.P., F.L.S. (with Lantern Illustrations).
- “The Psychology of the Female Mind.” By ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, Esq., M.D.
- “India.” By Sir ANDREW WINGATE, K.C.I.E.
- “The Silences of Scripture.” By the Rev. A. H. FINN.
- “Metaphor and Simile in the Fourth Gospel.” By the Rev. Professor A. S. GEDEN, M.A., D.D.
- “The Walls of Jerusalem at Various Periods.” By ERNEST W. G. MASTERMAN, Esq., F.R.C.S. (with Lantern Illustrations).
- “The Pentateuch of the Samaritans: When they got it, and Whence.” By the Rev. J. E. H. THOMSON, M.A., D.D.
- “Babylonia during the Reign of Nebuchadrezzar.” By Dr. T. G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S. (with Lantern Illustrations).

- “ Monumental Art in Early England, Caledonia and Ireland.”
By the Rt. Rev. Bishop G. FORREST BROWNE, D.D. (with
Lantern Illustrations).
- “ The Meaning of the Æsthetic Impulse.” By the Rev.
STEWART A. MCDOWALL, M.A., B.D.
- Annual Address: “ Freedom and Discipline.” By the Very
Rev. W. R. INGE, D.D., Dean of St. Paul’s.

3. *The Journal of Transactions*

was issued in January, 1921. The papers themselves are published in full, with transcripts of the remarks of Members and others taking part in the discussions. The Volume was further enriched with four beautiful plates from photographs, provided by Mr. Sutton in illustration of his lecture which in his enforced absence was in a most able way delivered by Dr. Ernest Masterman, Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, from his own intimate knowledge of the localities represented on Mr. Sutton’s slides. The thanks of the Council are due to Dr. Masterman for this most valued and efficient service.

4. *Council and Officers.*

The following is the List of the Council and Officers for the year 1921 :—

President.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Halsbury, P.C., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. Canon R. B. Girdlestone, M.A.
Very Rev. H. Wace, M.A., D.D., Dean of Canterbury.
Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S.
Rev. Prebendary Fox, M.A.
Lt.-Colonel George Mackinlay, late R.A.
Alfred T. Schofield, Esq., M.D., *Chairman of Council*
The Rt. Rev. Handley Moule, D.D., Bishop of Durham (the late).

Honorary Treasurer.

Arthur W. Sutton, Esq., J.P., F.L.S.

Honorary Editor of the Journal.

A. T. Schofield, Esq., M.D.

Honorary Secretary, Papers Committee.

Lt.-Col. H. Biddulph, D.S.O.

Honorary Secretary.

William Hoste, Esq., B.A.

Council.

(In Order of Original Election.)

Rev. Chancellor Lias, M.A.
 T. G. Pinches, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.
 Arthur W. Sutton, Esq., J.P., F.L.S.
 Professor H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc.
 Rt. Rev. Bishop J. E. C. Welldon, D.D.
 Sydney T. Klein, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S.
 Rev. H. J. R. Marston, M.A.
 J. W. Thirtle, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.
 E. J. Sewell, Esq.
 Alfred William Oke, Esq., B.A., LL.M.,
Deputy Chairman.

R. W. Dibdin, Esq., F.R.G.S.
 T. B. Bishop, Esq. (the late).
 H. Lance Gray, Esq.
 John Clarke Dick, Esq., M.A.
 W. Hoste, Esq., B.A.
 Alfred H. Burton, Esq., B.A., M.D., C.M.
 Ernest W. G. Masterman, Esq., F.R.C.S.
 Theodore Roberts, Esq.
 Lt.-Col. F. A. Molony, O.B.E., late R.E.
 Lt.-Col. Hop' Bidulph, D.S.O., late R.F.A.
 Col. C. W. R. St. John, late R.E.
 W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S.

Auditor.

E. Luff Smith, Esq. (Incorporated Accountant).

5. *Election of Council and Officers.*

In accordance with the rules the following Members of the Council retire by rotation—

The Right Rev. Bishop J. E. C. Welldon, Dean of Durham,
 Sydney T. Klein, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S.,
 Professor H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc.,
 John Clarke Dick, Esq., M.A.,

and offer themselves and are nominated by the Council for re-election.

6. *Obituary.*

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

W. Batchelor, Esq., Sir Algernon C. P. Coote, Bart., Mrs. Margaret D. Gibson, LL.D., William J. Horner, Esq., Professor Theodore Flournoy, R. Luke Howard, Esq., The Rev. Edward Hicks, D.D., D.C.L., the Rt. Rev. Bishop G. A. Lefroy, D.D. (of Calcutta), The Rt. Rev. Bishop H. C. G. Moule (of Durham), Mrs. Hayward Porter, Mrs. Caroline Stovin, The Hon. Sir C. Abercrombie Smith, John Wood, Esq.

7. *New Members and Associates.*

The following are the names of new Members and Associates elected up to the end of the year 1920 :—

MEMBERS.—W. P. Annear, Esq., F.C.I.S., Miss K. M. Cordeux, Sir James H. Cory, Bart., M.P., Alfred Charles Cross, Esq., J. Norman Holmes, Esq., John Hoskin, Esq., K.C., LL.D., Miss L. M. Mackinlay, Miss M. Mackinlay, Lieut.-Col. F. A. Molony, O.B.E., Miss S. F. Pelham-Burn, Theodore Roberts, Esq., Alexander Ross, Esq., Amand Routh, Esq., M.D., E. Luff-Smith, Esq., H. Maurice Smith, Esq., Kenneth S. Maurice Smith, Esq., Col. W. Sidebottom, J.P., James Steel, Esq., The Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, M.A., D.D., Henry Owen Weller, Esq., B.Sc.

LIFE ASSOCIATES.—The Rev. Edmund De Long Lucas, Ph.D., Miss Eleanor A. Parker, F.R.Met.Soc., Bertram Seymour Whidborne, Esq., M.C.

ASSOCIATES.—Donald S. Ainslie, Esq., M.A., The Rev. W. L. Armitage, M.A., Basil F. C. Atkinson, Esq., Rev. Chas. J. Bailey, Miss Georgiana Biddulph, Lieut.-Col. Hope Biddulph, D.S.O., Mrs. Annie C. Bill, Bernard S. M. Blythe, Esq., Miss Margaret L. A. Boileau, M.B., B.S., Lady Caroline Borwick, Dr. J. P. Brooks, Rev. J. A. Brunberg, B.D., Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Calcutta, Miss A. C. Carpmael, Rev. Ivo F. H. Carr-Gregg, M.A., The Hon. Mrs. Carr-Gregg, Miss T. Cazalet, Albert E. Cope, Esq., M.D., B.S., Miss Ethel L. Curteis, Rev. Arthur T. Dence, Edward C. De Segundo, Esq., A.M.Inst.C.E., Alfred Dixon, Esq., Miss A. C. Dick, The Ven. Archdeacon O. G. Dobbs, M.A., Mrs. H. Ellis Dobson, Ernest A. Dubois, Esq., William E. Dyer, Esq., J. S. Edwards, Esq., Dr. Mary R. Fleming, M.A., Lieut.-Col. Arthur Ford-Moore, Dr. Charles Fox, William A. J. Giles, Esq., Phm.B., Alfred W. Gray, Esq., Rev. Harry C. Green, Michael Gutteridge, Esq., Mrs. H. Harington, Mrs. F. Henlé, Mrs. Howard Hooke, Mrs. A. H. Husbands, J. S. M. Jack, Esq., Rev. Horace L. Jennins, L.Th., Miss Florence E. King, Smetham Lee, Esq., Wilson E. Leslie, Esq., Rev. Dr. J. T. Marshall, Miss Honor Matthews, Rev. George B. Macgarr, Robert McCormick, Esq., Hugh M. Messenger, Esq., Henry J. Peirce, Esq., Arthur J. S. Preece, Esq., Lieut.-Col. Allan S. Roberts, Miss Nowell Salmon, Arthur Rendle Short, Esq., M.B., B.S., B.Sc., Mrs. Isabel M. Spackman, Col. C. W. R. St. John, Rev. J. Maurice Turner, Thomas Verrinder, Esq., Rev. A. E. Williams, L.Th., J.P., Alex Wills, Esq.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.—The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Llandaff, The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Accra, The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Honan, The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Bendigo.

8. *Number of Members and Associates.*

The following statement shows the number of supporters of the Institute at the end of December, 1920 :—

Life Members	..	..	..	..	17
Annual Members	..	..	..	..	87
Life Associates	..	..	..	..	57
Annual Associates	..	..	..	..	260
Missionary Associates	..	..	..	..	16
Library Associates	..	..	..	..	28
					<hr/>
Total	..	..	..	..	465
					<hr/>

showing an increase on the previous year (taking into account losses by death, etc.) of fifty new Members and Associates.

9. *Finance.*

The Council think the present a favourable moment, when interest in the work of the Victoria Institute is on the increase, to place the Society on a firmer financial basis. This is a matter of urgency. In spite of the increase in our membership, the accounts show that we have overstepped our income by £242 in the past year. This is chiefly due to the enormous rise in the cost of printing, which alone has cost us £381 in the last twelve months, as compared with £267 pre-war. The duties of the Secretary, once salaried, are now discharged gratuitously by three Members of the Council, to whom our thanks are due, and we are endeavouring to economize as far as possible in printing. We have not increased our subscriptions, as other societies have done, nor are we having recourse to an appeal for contributions to a special fund—an appeal so liberally responded to in 1919—but we are making an appeal for a united effort on the part of the Members and Associates to get additional adherents to the Institute by special invitation. A circular has therefore been sent round to all Members and Associates inviting their co-operation. The Council recommend this to the serious attention of all.

10. *Donations.*

The following special donations have been received: A. H., £5; Col. A. W. C. Bell, 11s.; A. Greenlees, Esq., £1 1s.; Col. W. Sidebottom, J.P., £10 10s.

11. *Audit.*

At a meeting on March 10th, 1920, the Council decided to have the accounts audited by an accountant, instead of the two gentlemen who had hitherto so kindly lent their services, and Mr. E. Luff Smith, incorporated accountant, was appointed for the year.

12.

The sale of "Tracts for New Times" has continued to give satisfaction. The Council are hoping soon to reprint No. 5, "The Bearing of Archæological and Historical Research upon the New Testament," by the Rev. Parke P. Fournoy, D.D., for which there has been a special demand. They hope, too, to

be able to bring out a fresh issue of tracts from papers read before the Institute, specially chosen to meet the needs of the present day.

13. *Conclusion.*

The past year has been one in which the powers of evil, far from laying down their weapons, have been more active than ever in certain fields. Spiritism continues to spread, nor is this the most ominous thing about it. It increasingly claims to be the ally of Christianity. It must be a spurious Christianity which can accept the alliance of a system which denies the Deity of Christ, the Fall, the Atonement, and every distinctive truth of Christianity. Perhaps this is not to be wondered at, however, when a certain blatant ecclesiasticism is publicly denying some of these very truths, and attacking unwearyingly the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures. As an Institute, our first object is to "investigate in a reverent spirit important questions of Philosophy and Science, especially those bearing upon Holy Scripture," and this we will endeavour to carry out, believing as we do that there can be no antagonism between whatever can be proved true in any field of human research, and Him who is Himself the embodiment of Eternal Truth.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

HALSBURY.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT *for the year ending December 31st, 1920.*

EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Rent, Light, Cleaning, and Hire of							
Lecture Room		71	9	6			
„ Salary		179	19	2			
„ National Health Insurance		0	17	4			
„ Life Assurance		2	9	0			
„ Printing		381	19	9			
„ Stationery and Binding		26	18	8			
„ Expenses of Meetings and Reporting		20	4	1			
„ Postages		62	12	9			
„ Library purchases		1	4	10			
„ Audit fee		3	3	0			
„ Fire Insurance		0	12	0			
„ Bank Charges and Sundries		3	19	6			
		755			9	7	
		£755			9	7	
		£755			9	7	

INCOME.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions—							
Members		170	2	0			
Associates		270	18	0			
Proportion of Life Subscriptions		3	3	0			
		444			3	0	
„ Arrears collected			3	3	0		
„ Dividends received		8	15	0			
„ Income-tax recovered		3	15	0			
		12			10	0	
„ Interest on Deposit			9	8	10		
„ Sale of Publications			44	1	1		
		513			5	11	
Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Income, transferred to Special Appeal Fund			242	3	8		
		£755			9	7	
		£755			9	7	

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31st, 1920.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID IN ADVANCE.....				6	6	0	CASH AT BANK—			
LIFE SUBSCRIPTIONS received during 1920.....	31	10	0				On Current Account	130	5	1
<i>Less</i> Amount carried to Income and Expenditure Account	3	3	0				“ Gunning Prize ” Account	52	12	8
				28	7	0	SUBSCRIPTIONS IN ARREAR estimated to produce	23	2	0
AUDIT FEE owing				3	3	0	INVESTMENTS—			
TRACT FUND—							£500 2½ per cent. Consolidated Stock (Market value at 44¼ = £223 15s.).			
Balance at 1st January, 1920	128	9	6				Gunning Fund—			
Add Sales	46	5	10				£508 Great Indian Peninsular Railway 3 per cent. Guaranteed Stock (Market value at 86¼ = £438 3s.).			
				174	15	4				
<i>Deduct</i> Cost of Printing	68	6	9							
				106	8	7				
“GUNNING PRIZE” FUND—										
Balance at 1st January, 1920	19	10	8							
Add Dividends received	26	8	4							
Income Tax recovered	6	13	8							
				52	12	8				
SPECIAL APPEAL FUND—										
Balance at 1st January, 1920	234	4	2							
Additional Donations	17	2	0							
				251	6	2				
<i>Deduct</i> Balance of Income and Expendi- ture Account	242	3	8							
				9	2	6				
				£205	19	9				
								£205	19	9

BALANCE SHEET.

I have examined the foregoing Balance Sheet with the Cash Book and vouchers of the Victoria Institute and certify that it is correctly made up therefrom. I have verified the Cash Balances and Investments. A valuation of the Library and Furniture has not been taken.

37, WALBROOK, LONDON, E.C. 4.
2nd March, 1921.

E. LUFF SMITH,
Incorporated Accountant, Auditor.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

VICTORIA INSTITUTE

WAS HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, APRIL 18TH, 1921, AT 3 P.M.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, ESQ., M.D., VICE-PRESIDENT,

TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting, held on March 15th, 1920, were read, confirmed, and signed.

The HONORARY SECRETARY was then called upon to read the notice convening the present Meeting, and then to present the Report. He suggested that as the Report was in the hands of Members, it should be taken as read, but desired to emphasize one or two points. First he would remind the Meeting that the past year had been one of encouragement, characterized by good attendances, good papers, and what was perhaps more tangible, a net increase, when all losses by death and retirement were allowed for, of fifty Members and Associates. As compared with a loss of seventeen the previous year, this marked a considerable step in advance. But there was also a serious matter which urgently calls for attention: that our expenditure had surpassed our income by about £240. He explained that this was owing in large measure to the great rise in the price of printing, binding, etc. The deficit had had to be made up from our deposit account. Such an expedient could not be repeated, so immediate action was called for. A circular had been sent round to all Members and Associates with suggestions. He would make an additional proposal: that all Members and Associates should send to him a list of names of those they considered likely to wish to join the Institute, and that papers explaining the aims and history of the Society would be sent to

all such. At this point Mr. E. Luff Smith, the Auditor for the year, rose and explained the balance sheet and income and expenditure account for 1920, and answered questions by Mr. Rudd and others on the same. He expressed regret that in some unexplained way the liabilities and expenditure, which in cases of this sort always appeared on the left, had been transferred, it was supposed by the printer, to the right of the balance sheet, and that this would give an unfavourable impression to any accustomed to peruse this kind of balance sheet. It was agreed, on the proposal of Mr. H. Lance Gray, that the printers be communicated with, and that this should be set right in the Volume of *Transactions*, also that a proof copy of the Report, with balance sheet, should always be sent to the Auditor for correction. Another question *re* the sum of £2 9s. Life Assurance was also answered by the Auditor. The Report was then adopted unanimously by the Meeting.

The CHAIRMAN then gave his Address, in which he warmly seconded the closing suggestion of the Hon. Secretary as to obtaining lists of names of possible candidates, and expressed his appreciation of the help rendered to the Institute by the last named, Lieut.-Colonel Hope Biddulph, the Papers Secretary, and Lieut.-Colonel G. Mackinlay, the late Chairman of Council, still an energetic member of the Council, to whom the Institute owed so much in the past. He felt it most important that the work of the Institute should continue, because of the increasing need of such a testimony, and because we were the only body in London attempting to carry it out. He then proposed

“That the Right Rev. Bishop J. E. C. Welldon, Dean of Durham, Sydney T. Klein, Esq., F.L.S., Prof. H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc., and John C. Dick, Esq., M.A., retiring Members of Council, be re-elected, and that Mr. E. Luff Smith be reappointed Auditor for the year.”

This was seconded by Lieut.-Colonel MACKINLAY.

The second resolution was then proposed by Mr. H. P. RUDD and seconded by Lieut.-Colonel A. S. ROBERTS:—

“That the Report and Statement of Accounts for the year 1920, presented by the Council, be received and adopted,

and that the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Council, Officers and Auditor for their efficient conduct of the business of the Victoria Institute during the year."

This was passed unanimously.

Lieut.-Colonel HOPE BIDDULPH, D.S.O., then rose to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman. He felt he was only voicing the general opinion of the Meeting and Council when he expressed his conviction that they were to be congratulated on possessing a Chairman of such ability and learning as Dr. Schofield. He felt sure all were thankful to have him back, after his short absence through illness.

Mr. H. LANCE GRAY seconded this, which was passed unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, after briefly thanking the Meeting for their kind expressions of confidence, declared the Meeting closed

623RD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 6th, 1920,
AT 4.30 P.M.

LIEUT.-COLONEL HOPE BIDDULPH, D.S.O., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed.
The HON. SECRETARY announced that the following Members and Associates had been elected since the last meeting in June:—

Members.—Sir James H. Cory, Bart., M.P., Alfred C. Cross Esq., Kenneth S. Maurice Smith, Esq., J. Hoskin, Esq., K.C., LL.D.

Associates.—H. J. Peirce, Esq., the Rev. A. E. Williams, the Rev. W. L. Armitage, the Rev. C. J. Bailey, the Right Rev. Bishop of Calcutta, H. M. Messenger, Esq., W. E. Dyer, Esq., W. S. Ainslie, Esq., Alex Wills, Esq., Alfred W. Gray, Esq., W. A. J. Giles, Esq., the Ven. Archdeacon O. G. Dobbs, M.A., the Rev. Dr. J. T. Marshall, Dr. A. E. Cope, the Rev. J. A. Brunberg, Dr. Margaret Boileau, Edward C. de Segundo, Esq., J. S. Edwards, Esq., the Rev. Harry C. Green, J. S. M. Jack, Esq., and Miss A. C. Carpmael.

Foreign Corresponding Members.—The Right Rev. Bishop of Honan, and the Right Rev. Bishop of Bendigo.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Dr. David Anderson-Berry to read his paper on "Human Psychology—Experimentally Considered."

HUMAN PSYCHOLOGY—EXPERIMENTALLY CONSIDERED. By DAVID ANDERSON-BERRY, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. (Edin.), F.S.A. (Scot.).

PSYCHOLOGY (Gr. *Psuche*, mind; *logos*, theory), literally *the Science of Mind*.

Science is knowledge systematized.

Knowledge is of two kinds: (1) Knowledge *a priori*, that is the apprehension of self-evident principles and facts. (2) Knowledge *a posteriori*, that is the knowledge of facts of perception, internal and external.

Knowledge of the first class is called *necessary* because its objects cannot be conceived as non-existing or existing in any way different from or opposite to what we apprehended them to be; whereas knowledge of the second class is denominated *contingent* as we are capable of conceiving their non-existence or their existing in a different form.

Try the experiment. Take the great reality *Space*. You will find that you cannot conceive its non-existence or apprehend it as being different from what it is. Take the realities of *Self* and *Body*, and you will find that you can conceive their ceasing to exist or existing in a different form from what they do.

Pure sciences such as mathematics are built on knowledge of

the former kind—self-evident principles and facts. The Mixed sciences are built on self-evident principles, principles known to have universal and necessary validity, and on facts of internal and external perception known with equal certainty to be real but with *contingent* knowledge. That is the first point I would gravely emphasize, because herein lies the germ of all the errors that have been or can be made ; as we shall see hereafter.

Now for a moment consider the way in which we systematize knowledge. It is by *Induction* and *Deduction*. There is an erroneous maxim that says, In *Induction* we argue from the particular to the general, whilst in *Deduction* we argue from the general to the particular. I say “erroneous,” for in reasoning from the particular to the general we make a false inference wherein the conclusion is broader than the premise ; whilst reasoning from the general to the particular, as Mr. Mill says, involves the vicious error of *petitio principii*.

What ought we to do, then ? Begin with a principle or axiom. Under such a principle facts are induced and arranged. This is *Induction*. From such principles and the facts induced and arranged under them conclusions are deduced. This is *Deduction*.

Permit me to illustrate this by a simple illustration. “ Things equal to the same thing are equal to one another,” is the principle. A and B are each equal to C, are the facts. This is *Induction*. Therefore A and B are equal to one another. This is *Deduction*.

So much for *Science* or *Knowledge systematized*. We come next to the field to be explored. The MIND. Some would say, *the Soul* ; but that term holds a theological bias. Others, the *Mind* ; but that connotes the dualistic antagonism between *Mind* and *Matter*. And in this conflict we are not yet ready to take sides. Still others, *the Consciousness* ; but in that there is the taint of begging the question. Perhaps the best term is EXPERIENCE, meaning thereby the process of becoming expert by experiment.

This brings me to the limitation in my title “ EXPERIMENTALLY considered.”

I do not pose as an expert in this subject, although many are the experiments I have made on myself and on others. This course of procedure dates back many more years than I care to number to my clinical studies in the great *St. Anne* asylum in Paris and under the direction of the famous *Charcot* at the *Salpêtrière* who honoured me by calling me “ friend ” ! In spite of all these years of experience garnered from the great field of personal and other-personal experiment I confess to being but a neophyte

in this vast and mysterious subject. What I say to you I say in all humility. I can show you some of my experiments, for their subject is at hand—the Mind. That being so you can verify them if you wish. And if you disagree with my conclusions, as very likely you will, the very disagreement may prove to be an incentive to fresh thought that brings new light. When I was a boy, in a bedroom where I visited there hung a card under the gas jet with this inscription beautifully embroidered on it, *Scratch my Back!* Of course when one turned the card to do so one found it covered with sandpaper on which to scratch a match. Well, if by friction between us light springs up in the darkness, in the gross darkness, that covers large parts of this field, my work, feeble and contemptible perchance though it may seem, will not have failed in the main part of its endeavour.

EXPERIMENT I.—To divide the universe into two parts psychologically.

Concentrate your minds on *I myself* and at once the opposite *Not I* comes into view. Thus the universe is divided into the *Ego* and *Non-Ego*, the *Self* and *Not Self*, the *Me* and the *Not Me*.

This is a basic fact, the fact of Personal Identity and all that it entails. It is this that makes Psychology in the first place an individualistic science as compared with all other sciences which are universalistic.

Before we go further let me suggest to you what seems to me a fair definition of a *power* or *faculty*.

“Knowledge implies a subject possessed of the power or capacity to know, and an object so correlated to this faculty, that when the proper conditions are fulfilled, knowledge of said object necessarily arises, in consequence of that reciprocal relation.”

Here is the subject, *I*, and the object *Not I*, what faculty or power or capacity do *I* possess that when the proper conditions are fulfilled knowledge of the *Not I* necessarily arises? I reply, the faculty of *Sense* or *Sense-consciousness*.

Again, asking the same question when *I* is both subject and object, the answer is *Consciousness* or *Self-consciousness*.

Here, then, are two primary faculties of the Mind. There is another, that faculty or power I call *Reason*, or the organ of implied knowledge.

The primary faculties of the Intelligence, then, are three. (1) *Self-consciousness*, or the organ of subjective knowledge by which the facts or phenomena of the Mind are directly, immediately or intuitively perceived. (2) *Sense*, or the organ of objective

knowledge by which the facts or phenomena called *physical* are perceived. And (3) *Reason*, or the organ of original implied knowledge, which apprehends the realities implied by the facts or phenomena presented to the Intelligence by the two other faculties.

In other words, from the facts presented by *Self-consciousness* and *Sense* Reason apprehends *Substance*, *Causes*, and *Laws*, which are implied by these facts. For instance, what do we know of *Time*?

EXPERIMENT II.—Try and apprehend *Time*. Has it any phenomena such as extension and form, or feeling, willing, knowing?

It is true we may speak of something as in the middle of the week, but that has not the same meaning as if we spoke of it as in the middle of the field or room. But we can perceive events as succeeding each other, and thus time as the place of events as space is the place of bodies. In other words, *succession implies Time*, and thus we directly, immediately or intuitively apprehend Time by that power I have ventured to denominate *Reason*.

Once more, take *Substance*. We have many theories as to the nature of substance; and I only wish I could dwell on our theories as to *molecules*, *atoms*, *negative corpuscles*, *knots in the ether*, etc., but if you study the subject you will see that none of these theories and hypotheses are built on the facts and phenomena supplied to the intelligence by the senses, by the direct observation of these bodies. No man has ever seen an *Atom*, but no thinker doubts its existence. Why? I venture to reply, Because through his *Reason* Substance (*sub*, beneath; and *stare*, to stand) is apprehended, for phenomena imply substance, and is apprehended with the same certainty as phenomena are perceived by faculties of sense and self-consciousness. That being so we cannot doubt its existence or else we must proclaim (as Sir William Hamilton said) "consciousness to be a liar from the beginning" and thus put an end to all science.

Naturally different phenomena imply different substances, although some may be common to both, hence the maxim, *It is not all gold that glitters!* How much more certain must we be, then, if no phenomena are (not one little phenomenon even) common to both. Now our *Sense* gives us as phenomena perceived *form*, *extension*, *colour*, etc; and our *Self-consciousness*, the phenomena of *feeling*, *willing*, *knowing*. These are two entirely different classes of phenomena. Therefore the substances implied by them must be entirely different. We call the

substance implied by the former *Matter*, and that by the latter *Spirit*.

There are thus four great realities in the Universe—Matter, Spirit, Space, Time.

Consequently there are four psychologies possible—four, no more, no less.

(1) *Materialism*, by which matter is proclaimed the only substance, and mind but a secretion of the brain as bile is of the liver.

(2) *Idealism*, by which spirit is proclaimed the only substance. Of Idealism we have four principal forms. (a) *Ideal Dualism (Immanuel Kant)*. Here we have spirit divided into two, first that which produces the *noumena* or what appears to be the world without, and that which produces the *phenomena* or the world within, with *space* and *time* as frameworks produced by the mind for the noumena and phenomena. (b) *Subjective Idealism (Johann Gottlieb Fichte)*. Fichte took away the external object which he denied. The mind was everything. Thus the advocates of this system in the German Universities used to close a lecture by saying "Having completed our generation of the universe, to-morrow, gentlemen, we will generate God." (c) *Pantheism (Freidrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling)*. Kant, to account for sensation, postulated an unknown entity exterior to the Ego. Fichte found the cause of sensation in some unknown and unconscious and spontaneous activities within the mind, and thus deduced Nature exclusively from the Ego. For this subjective and finite Ego, Schelling substituted an objective and infinite Ego which he called the Absolute. All the struggles, the sorrows, the sins and the sufferings of the world is the Absolute and infinite coming to consciousness in the Conditioned and finite. This is *Pantheism* or the All is God.

Still the Mind driven on in its search for Unity arrives at (d) *Pure Idealism (George Wilhelm Freidrich Hegel)*. This is the system that has as its basic fact the formula "Being and Knowing must be one and identical." And if you wish to learn how Hegel brings it about so that the mind bows before this formula and perceives Being and Knowing to be One and Identical, read Hutchinson Stirling's *Secret of Hegel* from beginning to end. The Thinker is gone. The object of knowledge is gone. Thought alone is left, alone is real.

*When you have done this you will be ready to perceive how *Scepticism* in the history of the world's thought always follows, as *Materialism* precedes, *Idealism*.

(3) Scepticism. Its basic principle is "All our knowledge is mere appearance, and the realities existing behind all appearances are and for ever must be unknown." This is the attitude of the Agnostic, or to translate his Greek name into the commoner Latin, the Ignoramus.

David Hume, the prince of Sceptics, whose arguments, once his premises are granted, are considered invulnerable to attack and impossible to refute, writes: "Should it be asked me whether I sincerely assent to this argument which I seem to take such pains to inculcate, and whether I be really one of those sceptics who hold that all is uncertain, and that our judgment is not in any thing possessed of any measure of truth or falsehood, I should reply that this question is entirely superfluous, and that neither I nor any other person was ever sincerely and constantly of that opinion."

Why, Mr. Hume? Mr. Hume answers: "Nature, by an absolute and uncontrollable necessity, has determined us to judge as well as to breathe and feed; nor can we any more forbear viewing certain objects in a stronger and fuller light upon account of their necessary connection with a present impression, than we can hinder ourselves from thinking as long as we are awake, or seeing surrounding bodies when we turn our eyes toward them in broad sunshine. Whoever has taken pains to refute the cavils of this total scepticism has really disputed without an antagonist, and endeavoured by arguments to establish a faculty which Nature has antecedently implanted in the mind and rendered unavoidable."

And once again: "Nature is always too strong for principle. And, though a Sceptic may throw himself or others into a momentary amazement and confusion by his profound reasonings, the first and most trivial event in life will put to flight all his doubts and scruples and leave him the same, in every point of action and speculation, with the philosophers of every other sect, or with those who never concerned themselves in any philosophical researches."

What is the fundamental error that lies behind these systems?

Let me put it in Sir Conan Doyle's words in respect to Spiritism what this fundamental error is. He writes, "the agnostic attitude, which is the ideal starting-point for the truly scientific mind." That is to say, if we put out one eye of our intelligence, either *Sense* or *Self-consciousness*, so that we can only apprehend *Spirit* or *Matter* to be the one or only substance, or better still all our eyes, so that we voluntarily put ourselves in the position

of the man who closes both eyes and says, "Now I begin to see!" we are on the high road to the discovery of all the mysteries of life and death and future destiny.

(4) Realism. This is what I denominate the attitude of the thinker towards the world and himself. Matter, spirit, time, space, are to him the four great realities. He accepts them with the facts, attributes, phenomena, laws and principles, accompanying them as the truth.

I would add here that this is the philosophy of the Bible. Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose teaching is truth without any admixture with error, tells us that "God is spirit." The first verse of the Bible affirms the truth of Realism. "In the beginning" (*time*) "God" (*spirit*) "created the heaven and the earth" (*matter and space*).

You may say that all this is more metaphysics than psychology, but please remember what Mrs. Browning says poetically (and Ernst Haeckel says aggressively),

"A wider metaphysics would not harm our physics."

And Aristotle two thousand years ago wrote that they who forsake the nature of things or axiomatic first truths will not and cannot find anything surer on which to build.

Having dealt with the primary faculties of the mind let me just mention the secondary ones. These are four in number.

(1) The *Understanding* or conception forming faculty. From the elements given by the three primary faculties the Understanding builds up conceptions or notions, particular and general.

(2) The *Judgment* or logical faculty. It affirms the relations existing between conceptions or notions. Its declarations are of two classes, intuitive and deduced. Where we have the subject implying the predicate there we have an intuitive and necessary judgment. For instance, body implies space; succession, time; phenomena, substance; events, a cause: and, things equal to the same thing are equal to one another.

Where we find that the subject does not imply the predicate but the relationship between them is directly and immediately perceived, the declaration is a contingent judgment. When the relation is discerned not immediately but through other judgments, we have an inferred or derivative judgment.

(3) The *Memory* or Recollection. This is the associating faculty.

(4) The *Imagination*. This is the blending power by which the elements of thought given by all the other faculties are formed

into conceptions which do not correspond to realities as they are in themselves, but into ideas of the sublime, the beautiful, the grotesque, the grand, etc.

EXPERIMENT III.—*Concentrate your mind for a moment on yourself and you find that you are conscious of "I myself" apart even from the body.*

Thus I know that there is a co-ordinating presiding power somewhere within me. I am I. I am one!

When I was a student at the University of Edinburgh we of the Natural History class had the freedom of the magnificent Museum of Science and Art adjoining.

I remember standing before the case where the material constituents of a man were graphically displayed. A flask of water and a handful of dirt, with the intimation that (roughly speaking) 75 per cent. is water, and 25 per cent. are solids. Or, to take a human weighing 12 stone, the water weighs 9 stone, and the solids weigh 3. And that, the materialist says, is all!

That reminds me of the tale of the one-legged stork, or what the fool answered Hamlet when he asked, "Who is to be buried here?"

"One that was a woman!

But, rest her *soul*, she is dead."

Socrates, the wisest of the Greeks, knew better. Plato relates his saying on the eve of his death: "You may bury me if you can catch me"; and "Do not call this poor body Socrates. . . . I would not have you sorrow at my hard lot, or say at the interment 'Thus we lay out Socrates'; or 'Thus we follow him to the grave and bury him.' Be of good cheer: say you are burying my body only."

Let us turn to the contemplation of our bodies for a moment. The morphological unit is the *cell*; and seeing the amount of water we may well call the cells of our bodies aquatic cells!

Cienkowski made some interesting observations on the *Vampyrella Spirogyræ*.

This is a minute red tinged aquatic cell without any apparent limiting membrane, and quite structureless. This minute blob of protoplasm will take only one kind of food, a particular variety of algæ, the Spirogyræ. He describes how this minute cell creeps along the Confervæ until it meets with its prey. He never saw it attack any other kind of algæ, in fact, it rejected Vaucheriæ and Œdogoniæ put in its way. From his observations Cienkowski writes: "The behaviour of these monads in their

search after food and in their method of absorbing it is so remarkable, that one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the acts are those of conscious beings."

From his remarkable observations on the *Arcellæ* Engelmann writes: "It cannot be denied that these facts point to psychical processes in the protoplasm." Any of you who have worked out the opsonic index in a consumptive patient will agree with me that the actions of the white corpuscles of the blood lead us to the same conclusion. Take also the cells of the body that have specialized. Some will select the nitrogenous waste products in the blood and remove them. Others will select the materials that are needed to make up the fluid that is required for the nutrition of the young of the species. Think also of the newly discovered secretions, *hormones*, which, secreted by one set of cells, are required for the stimulus that will enable other sets of cells to secrete their substances in right proportions and due quantities.

The more one studies these cell actions the less one finds the mechanical hypothesis adequate and the more one is led to declare that psychical powers and phenomena are required to explain life and its processes even when these seem most material.

The functions and powers of the body may be divided into two classes, the *vegetative* and the *organic*. The former functions are those of assimilation, reproduction, growth, etc. The governing principle here is adaptation—adaptation to the body's environment and to the various relationships that arise.

The latter, that is, the organic, are the faculties or instruments (Gr. *organon*, an implement) by which that environment becomes known; or, in other words, the mediating powers between the world of matter and the world of mind. The energizing principle here is Motion.

As my kind friend, Sir David Ferrier, writes: "That the brain is the organ of the mind, and that mental operations are possible only in and through the brain, is now so thoroughly well-established and recognized, that we may, without further question, start from this as an ultimate fact. But how is it that molecular changes in the brain-cells coincide with modifications of consciousness; how, for instance, the vibrations of light falling on the retina excite the modification of consciousness termed a visual sensation, is a problem that cannot be solved. We may succeed in determining the exact nature of the molecular changes which occur in the brain-cells when a sensation is experienced; but

this will not bring us one whit nearer the explanation of the ultimate nature of that which constitutes the sensation. The one is objective, and the other subjective; and neither can be explained in terms of the other. We cannot say that they are identical, or even that one passes into the other, but only, as Laycock expresses it, that the two are correlated." (*Functions of the Brain*, pp. 255, 256.)

EXPERIMENT IV.—If you like to try it—*Press the point of a pin into your finger. You feel a pain.*

What causes that pain? The point stimulates the little bulbous bodies in which the sensory nerve fibres end and sets up changes, movements, waves, vibrations, what you like, in the nerve substance. This molecular movement runs up at the rate of 100 feet per second the sensory nerve; the posterior part of the spinal cord; and so on until it reaches the Rolandic area of the brain. It ends there—in cells.

Now we can prevent that pain by (1) poisoning the sensory nerve endings by certain drugs known as local anæsthetics; (2) by dividing the sensory nerve or injuring the spine; (3) by poisoning the brain-cells by drugs known as general anæsthetics. But we can go further, for (4) by hypnotism we can prevent the pain being felt without interfering with the brain-cells; that is to say, without interfering with the sufferer's consciousness. Permit me to suppose that this interference takes place just where mind and matter meet.

And may I not do so since McDougall in his explanation of Hypnotism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Ed., writes thus of the theory of *mental dissociation* which he thinks is the best explanation of hypnotism: "Suppose now that all the nervous connexions between the multitudinous dispositions of the cerebrum are by some means rendered less effective, that the association-paths are partially blocked or functionally depressed; the result will be that, while the most intimate connexions, those between dispositions of any one system remain functional or permeable, the weaker less intimate connexions, those between dispositions belonging to different systems, will be practically abolished for the time being; each system of dispositions will then function more or less as an isolated system, and its activity will no longer be subject to the depressing or inhibiting influence of other systems; therefore each system, on being excited in any way, will tend to its end with more than normal force, being freed from all interferences; that is to say, each idea or system of

ideas will tend to work itself out and to realize itself in action immediately, without suffering the opposition of antagonistic ideas which, in the normal state of the brain, might altogether prevent its realization in action."

Is that so? Well, if it is so I judge I may suppose that by *mental dissociation* is meant what I said, interference where spirit and matter, mind and brain-cell, meet.

Again, being in the quotation vein, I quote from Bain in his book *Mind and Body*: "Extension is but the first of a long series of properties all present in matter, all absent in mind. Inertia cannot belong to a pleasure, a pain, an idea, as experienced in the consciousness. Inertia is accompanied with Gravity, a peculiarly material quality. So colour is a truly material property; it cannot attach to a feeling, properly so called, a pleasure or a pain. These three properties are the basis of matter; to them are superadded Form, Motion, Position, and a host of other properties expressed in terms of these, Attractions and Repulsions, Hardness and Elasticity, Cohesion and Crystallization. Mental states and bodily states cannot be compared."

And Professor Tyndall: "Molecular groupings and molecular motions explain nothing; the passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is unthinkable: and if love were known to be associated with a right-handed spiral motion of the molecules of the brain, and hate with a left-handed, we should remain as ignorant as before as to the cause of the motion."

Here we are left then with your pain. We have traced it from its source in the finger to its destination in the Rolandic area of the brain, and we are left there with its being still a motion amidst molecules. But what you feel is not a motion but actual pain. It may be merely a pin-prick, still, as Tyndall says, the passage from motion in the molecules to pain in the mind is unthinkable. On the one hand there is something that moves; on the other there is something that feels. These are, they must be, different substances. True, Bain combines the two by saying that the phenomena of matter and the attributes of mind are but the two sides of one substance. That is to say, two irreconcilably antagonistic sets of phenomena and attributes belong to one substance.

There is, then, no truth in what we saw to be a principle, necessary and universal, to wit, *phenomena imply substance!* and, consequently, *different phenomena imply different substances.*

But we agreed that it is true, so Professor Bain is wrong. As Professor Tyndall truly says, "It is no explanation to say that the objective and subjective effects are two sides of one and the same phenomenon. Why should the phenomenon have two sides? This is the very core of the difficulty. There are plenty of molecular motions which do not exhibit this two-sidedness. Does water think or feel when it forms into frost-ferns on a window-pane? If not, why should the molecular motion of the brain be yoked to this mysterious companion—consciousness?"

The doctrine of materialism, namely automatism, claims for "the growing province of matter and causation" that it will carry "the concomitant gradual banishment from all the regions of human thought of what we call spirit and spontaneity." Leibnitz taught that the chain of physical causation is not influenced by the human mind; that the chain of mental causation is equally unaffected by matter: and that the two chains are mutually independent although in correspondence—the two parallel series are like two unconnected clocks so constructed that when one points to the hour the other strikes it—but that this harmony is one pre-established by the Creator. Thus Malebranche, with his "We see all things in God," says: "It is He who retains together the objective and subjective worlds, which, in themselves, are separate and apart." The materialist agrees in their separation but holds that whilst the material series is independent the mental is dependent, and drops the notion of a pre-established harmony. Man is a conscious automaton.

Not so the Realist, at least so I venture to think. Brought face to face with the hieroglyphical inscriptions of Egypt and the cuneiform ones of Assyria the mind of man was long baffled in its attempts to read their meaning, but succeeded. Matter spoke to Mind. Here we have two substances face to face, matter and spirit. The phenomena presented by the former are molecular motions caused by the pressure of that pin, or by the etheric vibrations caused by these lights, or the waves in the air caused by my voice. The attributes of the latter are feeling, willing, knowing.

Consequently because of its nature it feels the vibrations and knows the pain as it wills to do. Interference with the willing (as by hypnotism) breaks the chain between feeling and knowing: to put facts immaterial into language belonging to the material. Granted that mind is of an independent substance possessing these attributes, then to me the phenomenon known as telepathy is simple to understand. For instance, my son and I on a winter's

evening would sit beside the fire on opposite sides of the hearth. One of us would take whatever coppers happened to be in his pocket, and choosing one would concentrate his mind on the date stamped thereon. The other would give that date correctly.

It was a modest little experiment, but I relate it because there can be no doubt as to the *bona fides* which have been questioned in the case of more striking ones. Mind spoke to Mind.

EXPERIMENT V (AND LAST).—Please concentrate your minds on yourselves.

Look back to the dawn of consciousness. Many things have happened to you since then, many strange experiences perhaps, but they are like beads strung on one cord, they all happened to and were felt by you. Personal Identity is that cord. Now here is the more difficult part, and I am ready to admit that we may not agree. Look forward to the moment of your departure from this world. I have often in this manner stood there, and I have never felt that at that moment I might cease to exist as the *I* or *Ego*. I have tried but in vain to conceive of this mysterious self within that feels, wills, knows, sinking into nothingness. It has survived so many shocks that the longer I live the more I become assured that oblivion, and that for ever, is not its goal. As I say, you may not agree with me, but there it is ; one at least feels it.

I wish to turn your attention in this experiment to the beginning of your existence. A minute cell or ovum ; a still more minute (so minute that three million would not fill a cubic millimetre) sperm-cell : these two unite and the germ cell begins to split up into two, then four, and so on, until is built up that organism I know as myself. What is evolved must first be involved. From that conjunction comes not only a man, any man, but *the* man with physical and mental characteristics and traits that mark him out distinctly as the son of his parents, and the product of a long line of ancestors. Thus Professor Huxley, after describing the development of a living creature from an egg, adds these remarkable words : “ After watching the process hour by hour, one is almost involuntarily possessed by the notion that some more subtle aid to vision than an achromatic would show the hidden artist with his plan before him.” To illustrate this power let me recall to your mind the Habsburg chin which, handed down, marked at last the most ill-fated of the Bourbons.

I would close now in the words of others :—

“ There is in man a littleness which dwarfs and cramps all that is strong and noble in him ; but there is also a grandeur hard to

understand except as the image in a warped and tiny mirror of a grandeur elsewhere existing, over which such limits have no sway. Man has a *Will* so weak as to be drawn aside from the right by the most unworthy allurements, daunted by the most despicable difficulties, palsied with ignoble sloth; yet capable of holding its own purpose and choice against the world. He has an *Intellect*, weak enough to be befooled by transparent fallacies and led astray at every step by prejudice and passion; yet powerful enough to measure the distances and motions of the stars, to track the invisible sound-waves and light-waves in their courses, and to win from Nature the key of empire. He has *Love*, which wastes itself among the dregs of life, or suffers selfishness to wither it at the root; but also which is able to lift him to the sublime height of self-sacrifice and is the inexhaustible fount of the deepest and purest happiness he knows or can imagine. He has *Conscience*—the sense of right and wrong—easily perverted, and which has by turns justified every crime and condemned every virtue; yet which nevertheless proclaims that right, not wrong—everlasting righteousness, not self-willed injustice—is the imperial law of the universe. I ask, Is the scale in which these attributes are seen in man their true scale? Is it reasonable to think so? Do they not assure us, as with a voice from the very depths of our being, that there must be a SUPREME WILL, irresistible, unswerving, pervading and controlling the universe; the source of all law, but a law to itself; guided unchangeably by infinite knowledge, absolute righteousness, perfect love?

“The teaching of Christianity is definite on these points. It encourages the hope that in a higher condition of existence our best aspirations shall be allowed a wider scope. There will be provision for increase of knowledge: for here ‘we know in part,’ but there shall ‘we know even as we are known.’ There will be assimilation of character to Him who is supremely good: for ‘the pure in heart shall see God.’ There will be limitless accessions to happiness: ‘blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.’ There will be abundant room for the exercise of our social sympathies, in ‘the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven.’ There will be, what is pre-eminently congenial to the Christian heart, intimate fellowship with Christ Himself: for there ‘shall we ever be with the Lord.’ There will be eternal security and felicity: for ‘they go no more out.’”

For as the Apostle Paul tells us in his great song of triumph over death (1 Cor. xv.), we shall be possessed no longer of a "natural" or *psychical* body, one, as I have said, adapted to its present environment, but of a "spiritual body," a body fitted for the indwelling and use of the spirit—that substance of which I have said so much, but regenerated and fitted for dwelling with "God," Who "is spirit."

I close with the words of Thomas Carlyle: "I suppose it is a reaction from the reign of cant and hollow pretence, professing to believe what in fact they do not believe. And this is what we have got: all things from frog-spawn; the gospel of dirt the order of the day. The older I grow—and I now stand on the brink of eternity—the more comes back to me the sentence in the Catechism, which I learned when a child, and the fuller and deeper its meaning becomes—'What is the great end of man? To glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever'" (*Thomas Carlyle*, November 4, 1876).

In the hour of death, after this life's whim,
When the heart beats low, and the eyes grow dim,
And pain has exhausted every limb—
The lover of the LORD shall trust in Him.

When the will has forgotten the life-long aim,
And the mind can only disgrace its fame,
And a man is uncertain of his own name,
The power of the LORD shall fill this frame.

When the last sigh is heaved, and the last tear shed,
And the coffin is waiting beside the bed,
And the widow and child forsake the dead—
The angel of the LORD shall lift this head.

For even the purest delight may pall,
And power must fail, and the pride must fall,
And the love of the dearest friends grow small—
But the glory of the LORD is all in all.

DISCUSSION.

Col. HOPE BIDDULPH, D.S.O. (*Chairman*), said: The subject of the paper is too profound for ordinary laymen, but I am glad to see that *realism* received such support from a scientist, when we were surrounded by a number of vain philosophies, and it was clear to most people that our eyes and senses were given us by the Almighty to use in these matters.

Professor H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD wrote: I wish to personally

thank the able author for his luminous paper, and to express the pleasure with which I have gone with him through those five fundamental Experiments.

The remarks (p. 13) on Induction and Deduction are of great value. So also is the definition (p. 14) of Reason as the "organ of implied knowledge."

Would it not, however, be better to define Psychology (p. 12) as the Science of Soul—Soul including both Mind and Emotions? The term "Mind," from the Sanscrit *Mena* = To *Know* (similarly Greek *νοῦς*, and Latin *mens*), seems confined to the Intellect.

I especially like Experiment V (pp. 24, 25). The paradox called "Man," when carefully studied, does undoubtedly conduct and guide us into the Divine Presence. "Come, let us worship, and bow down, and kneel before **THE LORD**, our Maker!"

Dr. SCHOFIELD remarked that it was impossible to criticize *in extenso* such an analytical paper, bristling with things new and old. He must, in the brief time at his disposal, confine himself to asking the learned lecturer some questions on six points in his interesting paper.

1. On p. 12 I observe $\psi\nu\chi\eta$ (mind), which on p. 13 is called experience; but on p. 26 I find that a body equipped with $\psi\nu\chi\eta$ is contrasted with a body equipped with $\pi\nu\epsilon\delta\mu\alpha$. Is there any distinction drawn between the two in the paper? Can "spirit" ($\pi\nu\epsilon\delta\mu\alpha$) be called "experience," or only mind ($\psi\nu\chi\eta$)?

2. On p. 15 we read of two "middles" with different meanings. Does not, however, the middle or centre of successions in time mean the same as the middle or centre of extensions in space? Is there any difference in the meaning of the word "middle," whether it be the middle of a century or a field?

3. On page 16 we read: "There are thus four great realities in the Universe—Matter, Spirit (or force), Space, and Time. *Consequently* there are four psychologies possible—four, no more, no less." To me this insistence on "four" is a puzzle.

Why are there four and not five, as laid down by Herbert Spencer and generally accepted? and why is motion, universal and perpetual, excluded, when all five are found in Genesis i, 1 and 2? Mobility, not immobility, is the fundamental law of the Universe. Why, also, "*consequently*," when the four psychologies do not even correspond

with the four realities, but include "Scepticism" as the third psychology, and "Realism" as the fourth?

4. On p. 15 I read, "Phenomena imply substance." Is this not confined to *Physical* Phenomena? What, for instance, is the substance in pain, love, hate, etc., as shown on p. 22?

5. On p. 20 we read: "The functions and powers of the body may be divided into two classes, the vegetative and the organic."

But surely, the vegetative *are* organic? Why is the usual division into vegetative as anabolic and animal as katabolic ignored? and in your second division "organic," is not the energizing principle "life" rather than "motion"?

6. We read on p. 20 as approved that "mental operations are only possible through the brain"; but are not happiness, fellowship, etc., mental operations? and is it not shown (p. 25) that these are possible without the brain?

I trust I have not been too inquisitive, and cordially thank Dr. Anderson-Berry for his interesting paper.

Rev. J. J. B. COLES said that there were one or two points in the excellent paper just read in which he did not quite agree with the learned lecturer. On p.16 he says "there are thus four great realities in the Universe—Matter, Spirit, Space and Time, consequently there are four psychologies possible—four, no more, no less." Were there not five?

Would not "in the Solar System," or in this part of the Universe, be better than in the Universe as a whole?

Euclid's geometry, according to Professor Einstein's doctrine of Relativity, may be true and applicable within the limits of the Solar System, but not necessarily so throughout the vast Universe. "He that descended is the same that ascended far above all heavens that He might fill all things."

Christ, Who is the Image of the Invisible God, the Firstborn of all creation, cannot properly be included in Dr. Anderson-Berry's Four Great Realities.

It is true He is spirit, but He is more than spirit. The union of the human and Divine in the glorious Person of the Risen God-Man is, as we know, transcendently wonderful and inscrutable. Still, with all reverence we see that to contemplate adoringly the psychology of the Blessed Lord, as set forth in Holy Scripture,

is to go far beyond any system of human philosophy and human psychology.

In Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. In Him the Relative and the Absolute meet.

And just as the human mind can distinguish between the Ego and the Non-Ego, and by so doing can transcend the use of mere philosophical terms, so a man in Christ Jesus sees that no human system of psychology can ever set forth that which is Reality indeed.

Mr. W. E. LESLIE said : On p. 12, Knowledge is divided into two classes, of which the first includes the knowledge of self-evident facts. Knowledge of the fact of self is placed in the second class, although it is self-evident.

On pp. 13 and 14 are suggested definitions of the terms Deduction, Induction, and Faculty. Each, however, contains the term to be defined, and is therefore invalid.

On p. 13 four terms for "the field to be explored" are mentioned. They are Mind, Soul, Consciousness, and Experience. Of these Mind and Experience are adopted, the latter at once, and the former a little further on. Experience is further defined as "the process of becoming expert by experiment." Since these terms are equal to the same thing they are equal to each other. But how can a process be a "substance" (mind) or possess a "faculty" ?

The major premiss of the syllogism that underlies the last paragraph on p. 15 is neither Every different phenomenon implies a different substance, nor Every different class of phenomena implies a different class of substances, for from either his minor premiss would give him many substances instead of the two which he seeks to establish. The argument must therefore be—

Every different class of phenomena implies a different substance ;
 "form, extension, colour," and "feeling, willing, knowing" ;
 are different classes of phenomena—

therefore they imply different substances.

If it could then be established that these were the only classes of phenomena, it would follow that the substances they imply were the only substances. The necessary major premiss is not self-evident and therefore requires proof. None is given, and I fear none is possible.

These defects appear to undermine the foundations of Dr. Anderson-Berry's thesis.

Mr. W. HOSTE said : I do not wish to make our lecturer responsible for Kant, but could he give a little light on the quotation on p. 16, where the philosopher is made to affirm that noumena are the equivalent of " what appears to be the world without," and phenomena that of " the world within " ? To one's lay mind this seems upside down, but I suppose the conclusions of an idealist would naturally appear so to an ordinary humdrum realist. On the previous page our lecturer speaks of " perceived form, extension, colour " as phenomena, and then in the next sentence of " the phenomena of feeling, willing, knowing," but surely this makes noumena and phenomena identical. How can " feeling, willing, knowing," be properly classed at all as phenomena ?

Then I noted, on top of p. 15, that Reason is placed among the primary faculties of the Mind, and " Judgment or logical faculty," on p. 18, among the secondary ones. From the description at the hands of the lecturer it is not quite clear to my mind how they differ.

With reference to the lecturer's remark on p. 22, " Colour cannot attach to a feeling," of course one is in complete agreement ; but is it not remarkable how in a popular sense colour is associated so closely with feeling ? For instance, pink attaches to optimism : we see things through rose spectacles ; green with jealousy ; black, of course, with gloom and sadness, though in China white is, we are told, the mourning colour, perhaps out of compliment to the conventional virtues of the defunct. Then grey is synonymous with monotony : we talk of a grey existence. Bright yellow is said to favour cheerfulness, and we are advised to paper our rooms in schemes of yellow if depression is to be avoided. And then there is the experience, unfortunately not uncommon—owing, I suppose, to ugly wall-papers and other things—of being "in the blues." Why "blues" rather than greens or reds ? Red, by the way, has another association. When a man sees " red," he is not supposed to be good company. How are we to account for the fact that colours and conditions of feeling are so closely linked in the popular mind ? The reference on p. 18 to metaphysics, reminds me in passing of the *bon mot* of a witty Frenchman I once heard in a hall on the Grand Boulevard in Paris. " When a man's audience," he said, " does not understand what he is driving at, that is philosophy ; when he doesn't understand himself, that is metaphysics."

Lieut.-Colonel MACKINLAY said: I rise with great pleasure to propose a vote of thanks to our learned lecturer.

I must confess that when I looked at the programme for the session I thought that though the first paper on the list would probably be valuable to read in the annual report, that it would not be likely to attract a large audience to hear such an abstruse subject discussed.

I was therefore agreeably surprised on entering the room to find a considerable number present; my surprise was increased when the paper was read, because all gave such good and sustained attention, though a good many of us are probably not very well acquainted with the subject.

It is a matter of congratulation to the Victoria Institute that the first paper of the session is a decided success, and I am sure we all agree in hearty thanks to Dr. Anderson-Berry. His humour, and good humour, which so well sustained him in bearing the severe assaults to which he was subjected have been most helpful in giving life and attractiveness to his paper.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

Mr. Chairman, sir, before dealing with the criticisms made I would draw the attention of my inquisitors to a remark in italics on p. 13 (read on to p. 14), where I deny any omniscience. Alas, I desired friction, not dreaming of a friction which would produce sparks sufficient to light a fire that would consume me to ashes at the stake!

In reply to Mr. Coles, let me say that the dictionary *sub voce* Universe says "in a restricted sense, the earth." It is in that sense I use the word.

Mr. Leslie makes my brain whirl, yet because I do use the word *process* in defining Experience I cannot be held to use it as a synonym for that word, nor does his argument require that I should, for although a pound of tea is equal to a pound of coffee because both are equal to a pound of metal (called a weight), yet tea is not coffee. Where would experience be without a faculty? A blind man has no experience of sight, being without the faculty or power of vision.

I maintain that there are two classes of phenomena—see Bain,

quoted on p. 22, where they are called *properties*. And I know of no great thinker who denies the existence of these two, mental and physical, spiritual and material, although many question or deny what underlies them.

To Mr. Hoste I can only repeat Kant's words, "The things which we envisage are not that in themselves for which we take them, neither are their relations so constituted as they appear to us."

Reason is a primary faculty by which such realities as Time and Space are apprehended in the way I describe on p. 15. It is an organ of direct knowledge.

The *Judgment*, on the other hand, deals with conceptions formed for it by the *Understanding*. Quite a different matter.

To Dr. Schofield I would reply :

(1) I deprecated the theological bias on p. 13, and here it enters. Theologically I am a trichotomist. Man is a trinity in unity—Body, Soul and Spirit.

Spirit is that part that knows and allies him with the spiritual creation and gives him God-consciousness ; *Soul* is the seat of personality and gives him self-consciousness ; and *Body*, as the seat of the senses, allies him to the material creation and gives him world-consciousness. Fallen man broke away from God when his soul yielded to temptations presented to it through the body, and he died spiritually. Hence, the scriptural expression for the combination of body and soul uninfluenced by the spirit—a natural or psychical or soulish body.

But speaking from the standpoint of substance, Man is built up of only two, matter and spirit. Matter, that substance of which the body is made ; spirit, that substance of which soul and spirit are constituted. Let us not confound terms that speak of substance with those that speak of function.

(2) The difference ? Simply that between Space and Time or between what is matter of fact, the middle of a field, and that which is the fact of the matter, the middle of a century.

(3) There are four great realities in this world of ours, matter and spirit, time and space. The history of the world's thinking from the dawn of history, from the *Vedas* and *Vedantas*, through Thales, Parmenides, Zeno, Socrates, Plato, Duns Scotus, Thomas, Abelard, Descartes, Spinoza, to Spencer and Paul Bergson, is a history of Idealism that denies the existence of matter ; Materialism that

denies the existence of spirit ; Scepticism that either doubts or denies the existence of both : and Realism that affirms the existence of both spirit and matter.

And this history is the history of man's experience in the great realm of thought as to the nature of the MIND, what is it ? what can it do ? and what can't it do ? And the answers given enable us to say what the answerer's psychology will be before he utters another word. At least I believe so.

(4) The one class of phenomena implies the substance we call matter, the other class the substance we call spirit.

(5) Anabolic and katabolic are merely stages in the process of metabolism whereby the body is built up and maintained. They are vegetative processes.

As I said before, the body is the seat of the senses. These are the organs of world-consciousness. Hence my use of the term *organic*. This body has to be built up, maintained, etc. Hence my use of the term *vegetative*. Of course there must be organs by which these processes are carried on, but these are merely secondary to the first. Life governs all, but without motion our senses would be idle. Light, heat, sound, magnetism, and so on, are but modes of motion. Light is etheric movement, but it is material, for, as Einstein has shown, it is bent by the force of gravity. Motion is change of position. Change in position of what ? Matter. "Spirit (or force)" Dr. Schofield says, but not I. To say spirit is identical with force is simply materialism.

(6) I do not say that "mental processes are only possible through the brain."

But in man's case the seat of consciousness is in the brain, and injury to the brain often upsets his mental processes. The quotation is meant to show that there is a great gulf between modifications of matter and mental states.

To know all is to forgive all ! The knowledge of my imperfections may incline you to the forgiveness of the shortcomings in my attempt at the elucidation of some of the difficulties that have puzzled the students of psychology from the earliest (of whom we have any records) down through the ages unto this present day.

624TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, JANUARY 17TH, 1921,
AT 4.30 P.M.

ALFRED W. OKE, ESQ., B.A., LL.M., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the HON. SECRETARY announced the Election of the following:—Mr. George Wilson as a Member and Mrs. Elizabeth Blackie, the Rev. G. E. Henderson, D.D., and Miss K. M. Beresford, as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then called on the Right Rev. Bishop E. Graham Ingham, D.D., to read his paper on "Some Reflections on How Empire came to us, and can alone be conserved."

*SOME REFLECTIONS ON HOW EMPIRE CAME TO
US, AND CAN ALONE BE CONSERVED.* By the
Right Rev. Bishop E. GRAHAM INGHAM, D.D.

AN Institute bearing the honoured name of "Victoria" may well enter upon such an inquiry as this.

It was during that very Victorian Era that Dr. Vaughan once said: "It pleases the self-importance of a good many folk to think of themselves as perpetually passing through a crisis." It is no affectation to apply the word to things as they are to-day! When Mr. Joseph Chamberlain came to the Colonial Office in the same great reign he exhorted us as a people to "think Imperially." It was a call, as he meant it, not to enter upon a Crusade of Empire, but to wake up to existing world-responsibilities, and not to be too self-centred.

You will not find in this paper a story of great wars and their legacies. Nor will you be invited into the political arena.

Other movements, quite outside these, will be examined, and such lessons as they may suggest will be noted. Nor will you find here any claim to scholarship or special research, but only plain thoughts and findings of a plain man for the plain man in the street or elsewhere to digest.

Perhaps it may be made clearer to you what sort of Empire it is that forms the subject of this paper, if I quote from the Prime Minister's recent speech at the Mansion House on the occasion of the City's welcome home to the Prince of Wales. He said : " It is the most remarkable Empire the world has ever seen—mighty, powerful, but loosely knit—no Dominion, but Dominions—no centre from which Dominion is exercised, from which you control and from which you direct, but a combination in partnership of free nations controlling themselves, free to choose their own path, free to choose their own population, free to make their own history."

These are the conditions I have in mind as I enter upon some reflections as to how we became the cradle and centre of such a family of peoples.

It will make for clearness if I select three dates from which to make excursions both before and behind, in seeking to account for the conditions which the Prime Minister has so eloquently and vividly described.

I take first of all the year 1611. I invite you to stand in imagination on the steps of Hampton Court Palace and watch that historic Conference break up on completing a seven years' task which resulted in the possession by the English people, for the first time, of the Bible in our own language—not only enriching that language, but fixing it for all time as the language of the English people. First of all, look back from 1611. How has this position been reached ? There is a passage in the Book of Samuel which reads thus : " The word of God was rare in those days : there was no open vision." That describes sufficiently many centuries of our English history. The loss to the Nation was great. The loss to the Church was greater. There was some foreign enterprise—notably the Crusades, but the zeal was misdirected. For the most part we were a quarrelsome people amongst ourselves, nor did we work any real deliverance abroad. But all the time, some light was on its way. We do not forget the translational work of the Venerable Bede, nor of our Great King Alfred: But we had to wait till the fourteenth century for the man who gave us the whole Bible in our own language, and who took steps to make it generally known. From the time of John Wycliffe—so nearly synchronizing with the introduction of the printing press—the English people began to wake up !

A hundred years of Bible reading, under difficult conditions,

brought in the greatest event in all our history—the English Reformation. I do not stay to speak of men, whether Kings, Prelates or Commoners. God can use, has used, all sorts of men for the working out of His purposes. It is enough to point out that when the Word of God was no longer rare, open vision began—vision of God, vision of what the Church was intended to be (and was not); vision, too, through an opening door, of a bigger world than the Englishman had ever known before. For these scholars, now emerging from Hampton Court, had produced from several versions what our Coronation Service now describes as “the most valuable thing this world affords”!

Let us now look a little in front of 1611. It is one of the romances of history that the open door waited upon and speedily followed the open book. No man thought of building up Empire when the voyage of “The Mayflower” was planned for 1620.

And yet, in God’s Providence, it happened only nine years after the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures was issued. But few things have done more to extend the Anglo-Saxon language and civilization than the fact that those Scriptures went forth in the hearts and lives and effects of those 1620 voyagers!

Take another illustration, which happens to come from a bit of Greater Britain that I know very well: On the first of August, 1920 (which happened to be a Sunday), an interesting celebration took place in the Island of Bermuda, which is within some 600 miles of Virginia in the North Atlantic—the last port at which the Prince of Wales touched in his late tour. The whole Island—Governor, Parliament, and people—went to church at, or gathered round the very spot where, in 1620 (and on that day), King James I had granted and established the first Parliament (outside London) of the English people! The Governor (Sir James Wilcocks) had a great story to tell, and the sermon preached on the occasion threw such light upon the spirit in which our brave but unconscious pioneers went through the newly opened door, that I must briefly quote. The Governor said: “Over 400 years ago, one Juan Bermudez, a Spaniard, had the good fortune to sight these Islands. I can imagine his surprise, but I cannot understand his want of taste in merely charting and then leaving them. Could he have foreseen that the day would come when Shakespeare would lay one of his immortal plays in these very Islands, and Thomas More would sing from its shores, surely he would have planted the flag of his most Catholic Majesty of

Spain somewhere on the hills which surround this beautiful town. But so it happened as, in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race, has so often happened, is happening to-day, and will continue to do so—that instead of the standard of another power, the Union Jack was planted and still proudly floats over these enchanted islands.

“It was in 1609 (just two years before the Hampton Court Conference had completed its work) that Sir George Somers was wrecked here, and that era of progress began for which we thank God to-day.”

Here follow a few reminders (from the preacher) of the spirit that animated these brave pioneers.

Here, for example, is a collect then in use on arrival at a port among infidels: “Watch Thou over us, O Lord, and give us grace so to watch over ourselves that we may not anyways so misbehave ourselves that the Gospel which we profess may by our means be evil spoken of by them. Let us strive by all means to draw these heathen to faith in Thy Name.”

Here is a prayer then in use in Virginia: “O Lord of mercies, look upon the Gentiles which know Thee not. Be merciful to us; and not to us alone, but let Thy way be known upon Earth, Thy saving health among all nations.”

Again, may the heathen never say to us: “Where is now thy God?” May they rather say: “Blessed be the King and Prince of England, and blessed be the English Nation, and blessed be the Most High God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that sent them among us!”

You will find in all the Charters under which our earliest colonies were established, a uniform acknowledgment of God, and the responsibility of His people to deal, on these high and noble lines, with England's Colonies and those who, in them, knew not God.

Let us next look out backward and forward from the year 1807.

William Wilberforce was writing up his diary on March 25th, in that year, and he says this: “The King has given his assent this day to the Abolition of the Slave Trade. God will now bless this country. The first authentic news of the defeat of the French has come to-day.”

It had taken Wilberforce and his friends twenty long years to right thus a terrible wrong, and purge English merchandise

of a dark stain. In order to understand and rightly appraise this great moral triumph it is necessary to look further back still.

The one bright feature of the otherwise dreary eighteenth century was the Evangelical Revival, dating from 1734. That awakening in many parts of England is judged to have saved the Nation from revolution. It produced and inspired great philanthropic and missionary enterprise. And all such movements had more to do with Trafalgar and Waterloo than England has ever cared to guess.

If Quakers and Puritans were concerned with the "Mayflower" enterprise, no less were they foremost in this matter. The story is not as widely known as it deserves to be of how Mr. Thomas Clarkson (a Quaker) happened to see on his college notice-board at Cambridge, somewhere about 1782, that a prize essay in Latin would be competed for at a given time on the rights or wrongs of slavery, and was led to decide to enter his name. He tells us that long before he sat for the prize he was far more interested in the study than anything he might derive from it. He got the prize, and when riding up to London a day or two later he thought much and deeply, and said to himself: "If half the things I have written down are really happening in the world, the sooner some one sees them to their end the better. But what can I do?" The answer came: "You can at least translate your essay into English, publish it and send a copy to all your friends." (The place where this decision was reached on the road to London is still shown.)

Among the friends who received a copy was this same William Wilberforce, Member of Parliament for York, a churchman who came more and more under evangelical influence. And this essay had much to do with Mr. Wilberforce's resolve to dedicate his life to this abolition movement. Nor may it be generally known that one of the earliest results of the rising tide of discussion on this subject was a rush to London from the West Indies of English slaveowners with their slaves to protest against abolition. They thought that their slaves would be an object-lesson of the beneficence of slavery. But, unfortunately for their theory, the slaves became restive, and running away from their masters, the matter got into the law courts, and a long period of litigation went on, which terminated at length in the decision of Lord Justice Mansfield that slaves ceased to be slaves on landing on British soil.

It was this decision that determined Wilberforce's friends to found the Asylum in Africa to which I shall presently allude; and Lieut. Clarkson, R.N., was commissioned to go first to Nova Scotia, collect the Africans assembled there who had fought on our side in the American War of Independence, and (if they agreed) repatriate them in their own land. It was a big thing to do, but Clarkson successfully accomplished it, and did more to extend the Empire than he knew.

Take only this instance of unconscious empire-building connected with Wilberforce's twenty years' struggle in the House of Commons. The scene is laid in Western Africa. The time is about 1792. The Clapham Sect (as Wilberforce's friends were generally styled) had decided on the purchase of a piece of land which might become an asylum for these hunted people. For the whole coast was a slave market from which Europeans of all sorts were pushing the unholy traffic. They bought the hill country of Sierra Leone with honest money from the Temne people. They hoisted the Union Jack, and for twenty years it was the scene (under tremendous difficulties) of a magnificent philanthropy.

Again I have to call your attention to a diary. Lieut. John Clarkson, R.N., became the first Governor of this settlement. On a certain Sunday evening he writes thus on his ship in Sierra Leone Harbour: "I have been preaching on shore to-day, and I have said this to the people: 'I do not know five words of an African language; nor am I acquainted with five miles of the African interior, but I am certain that this small beginning now being made here means the turn of the tide in the fortunes of your race and is big with untold results to this land.'" If to-day God seems to be saying to us there, in Nigeria, in Uganda, in South Africa, and other parts, "Arise, go through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it," it is because men like Clarkson and many others on the West, because honoured C.M.S. Missionaries on the East, because Moffat and Livingstone on the South, stood for a moral and spiritual contact with African races, which, all unconsciously to them, has actually extended empire. And thus far, thank God, the British flag has been to all these races a symbol and guarantee of justice, fairness, freedom and progress.

Look again, this time forward, from 1807.

We come to 1834. The story is too familiar to be related in full, but it is not too much to say that the emancipation of the

African in British Dominions (with liberal compensation), which came about as a necessary sequel to "abolition" through Fowell Buxton, in the teeth of mighty vested interests, was perhaps the finest bit of history we have ever made. It purged our good name. It righted a great wrong. And probably it had much more to do with the expansion of the Victorian Era than has been usually thought.

There are other and most interesting stories about the spread of our race in Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere. But I will only name here one further bit of expansion which came in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign. It was in 1842 that China, having ceded to us an island off its coast by the Treaty of Nanking, exchanged it and gave us Hong Kong instead. I gathered the following facts on my visit to this now flourishing colony in 1909. The earliest traders on the spot were Scotch people (you will not be surprised to hear *that*). For two decades it was a most hopeless possession. The harbour was infested by pirates. Signal Hill on the Peak was the spot whence the pirates signalled the unhappy ships that were doomed to fall into their hands. At the best Hong Kong was for long years a cave of Adullam for those who had made the mainland too hot for them. The foreshore, now so impressive, was a tow-path. The Chinese Government, with that remarkable acuteness that characterizes them in some ways, made the cession of Hong Kong a dead letter by putting forth a Proclamation forbidding any Chinese to go and live there. It was the Tai-Ping Rebellion that made Hong Kong. Cantonese merchants discovered the fairness, justice and freedom of the British Raj, and they flocked into Hong Kong for safety. They soon made Hong Kong and Hong Kong made them. This was about 1861. It has only been during the last few years that Hong Kong has assumed its present striking appearance. Its harbour registers the biggest tonnage of any city in the world. It is the gateway to the Far East, and from thence it is the doorway to the West.

It was very interesting to be there at that moment. Chinese merchants had been observing the beneficent influence on their sons of our C.M.S. St. Stephen's College. Archdeacon Barnett was turning out some excellent results. And these Chinese merchants (their fathers) went to the Governor (Sir Frederick Lugard of African fame) and said: "Why should we have to send our sons to Western Universities at tremendous risks in many

ways? Why should not we have a Western University here?" The Governor told them that there was much to be said for it, but that it would mean a lot of money. They said: "We will subscribe the money." And they did! Thousands of pounds poured in. King Edward took much interest in the arrangements. And the result is that on these beautiful slopes stands to-day University buildings of which any country may be proud.

This University receives young men from all over the Shantung Province, and by the Governor's enlightened arrangement, Missionary Societies are allowed to have their hostels alongside!

The British Government has not always been so enlightened and so wise. Stories could be told about Khartoum and the Gordon Memorial College, about Nigeria, and several other parts of the world where the tendency has been all the other way, and the policy has been rather to patronize other faiths than to support the Religion that has made us what we are to-day.

I come lastly to November 11th, 1918.

General Bernhardt (and Germany with him) had completely misunderstood the sort of Empire which our Prime Minister sketched for us so vividly the other day.

He had in his book, *Germany and the Next War*, asked with contempt how we dared pretend to hold India with such a miserably small military establishment.

Never were the ideals that have from the first inspired our scattered race and family more splendidly defended! Never was it more clearly demonstrated that there is something mightier than mere physical force!

Mr. Lloyd George has said: "It is for the Churches now to build into the Nation the ideals for which we fought in the Great War."

Looking ahead from 1918 there is no question more pressing than the consideration of how this Empire can be conserved.

I will not touch upon the League of Nations. It is a step in the direction of the peace of the world for which we must be thankful, but it lies outside this inquiry.

"When a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." It is equally true of Nation and Empire.

There are clouds on the horizon! We have seen the great share which the Holy Scriptures had in the movements, reforms and revivals of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. We are

seeing to-day many parts of those same Scriptures largely discredited by higher critics.

The great majority of the Nation is standing aloof from Institutional Christianity, and trade disputes are threatening us with national bankruptcy!

Now *everything depends on what we are*, and on the use we make in the coming time of the wide roads that go out to all lands. They were given us, not for selfish uses, but to extend the Kingdom of our Lord.

A small part of the Nation only has any real faith in this propaganda!

But there are some good signs. The Prince of Wales's personal visits to the Empire have well won for him the title of "Our Greatest Ambassador." There is little doubt that our British Throne has remained secure in the midst of a period of wreckage of Thrones through the gracious personalities of the reigning house!

It happened to the writer of this paper to hear, from the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Lords, a remarkable speech when the Prince of Wales was born. Lord Rosebery was seconding an address of congratulation to Queen Victoria on the event. He took occasion to trace the decline of monarchical power in this country through successive reigning houses. "But," he said, "what has been lost in power has been more than regained in royal influence. And that influence has been won through the manifold ways in which the Sovereign moves amongst and makes himself one with the people."

I once had the opportunity of telling the Prince about this great speech, of which he said he had never heard, and which appeared to interest him. It has already been prophetic! He has come back from Australia just now bidding us "Pull together and pull through!"

Perhaps, as one who belongs by birth to one of those parts of the Empire that grew up when the Homeland was absent-minded, you will allow me, after fifty years now in the Mother Country, to point out that, while thankful for our Prince, we must not be *satisfied* with anything short of a national awakening to our unprecedented responsibilities.

The time when to be a colonist was regarded as belonging to a "lesser breed," has probably passed away. But in days like these, when strong racial instincts and national ideals are newly asserting themselves in many quarters, it behoves English-

men who move amongst these peoples to be sympathetic, tactful, wise—wiser than some of them often are!

We are called to a great work, and we must let our thoughts expand to its greatness. "A great empire and little thoughts," as Burke asserted, "go ill together!"

An Indian gentleman said to the writer, when passing through his country ten years ago: "Concession will not cure the present unrest in India. The first Englishman who is overbearing and high-handed with the people will undo all the effect of the concessions made! The fact is—my people will almost worship the Englishman for his justice, fairness and impartiality, but when he begins to call us 'niggers,' we hate him! There are great and noble exceptions to this latter, and we are not slow to recognize them."

Many things have happened since these remarks were made in the spring of 1910. And a situation has since grown up in India that is full of menace to the British Raj.

Never was the *Suaviter in modo* more necessary to link up with the *fortiter in re* than now.

Never was it more necessary for the rulers to *understand* the ruled. Never was it more fatal to speak contemptuously and slightly of the various races that go to make up our Indian Empire. This will require considerable watchfulness and self-control. Even missionaries in India have confessed to the writer how hard it is for them always to be free from the consciousness that they belong to the ruling class!

Time was, too, a few years back, when African peoples were in the imitative stage of childhood. That stage is rapidly passing away. Race instincts are growing stronger, and demands are being made that it will be difficult to refuse. Let anyone consider the racial problems of South Africa, the Negro problem in the United States of America, and the quite new problems (largely arising out of the recent war) in relation to the Jew the Arab and the Moslem, and he will be compelled to agree that something more than a League of Nations is needed to keep the world at peace and our Empire undisturbed.

Nothing less than a fresh conversion to the ancient Law, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart . . ." and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," will do it!

If we, as a people, charged with such vast responsibilities, will thus govern ourselves, we shall not only "pull together," but we shall "pull through."

There is something after all, however, bigger than the British Empire! If we, as a people, can serve our day and generation, and work for world-righteousness and world-peace, it will be well.

But there are some serious facts that look in another direction, but which it is popular to-day to ignore.

There is the fact of sin!

There is the fact of the fall of man!

There is the fact that mankind largely lost the power to govern when he ceased to obey!

And there are signs that developments are going on in the direction of lawlessness and deterioration.

Then, lastly and most mercifully, there is the fact of the Kingdom of God—a Kingdom coming not with outward demonstration! Its foundations have been well and truly laid. The Spirit of its King is already at work amongst us. The time may not be far off when “He shall have put down all rule, all authority and power, for He *must* reign.”

Let this goal be kept well in view. It will correct all wrong tendencies in the matter of race feeling and race pride—a sin that may most easily beset us!

Nothing will humble us, nothing will quicken high resolve, nothing more surely increase our influence for good, than a return to the primary duty of world-witness! What will this mean? It will mean that we are not out to get the world converted in a given time, not out even to make heathen nations into Christian nations, but to give out a clear-cut witness to Jesus Christ and to see that in all our world-travels, world-trade and Imperial administration this witness is not blurred by our own shortcomings and inconsistency.

The Lord said, “Ye shall be witnesses unto Me . . . unto the uttermost part of the earth.” He also said, “Ye shall receive power.”

No nation has ever been granted such influence, such prestige, such a base of operations before!

If we will “think imperially” in this higher and more catholic sense, we shall surely see, gathered out from all these peoples and races, a Kingdom that shall not pass away, and our own Empire, which we have seen grow and expand in so unexampled a manner, will have served its day of opportunity according to the Will of God.

DISCUSSION.

After some remarks by the Chairman, in which he uttered a warning note against the facile way in which Evolution is adopted as an established fact, whereas it has never emerged from the condition of hypothesis, out of harmony with many well-established facts, the discussion was thrown open.

Colonel Sir CHARLES E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., in opening the discussion, said that what the Lecturer had told them about the University of Hong Kong had made him wish that the feelings which had moved the parents of the Chinese boys there to subscribe for a local University in preference to sending their sons to a Western University, had similarly moved the parents of Indian boys. Unfortunately in India, parents would insist upon sending their sons to England to be educated, and nothing could be worse for the boys. Not only did they crowd to the Universities at Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh, but great numbers of them remained in London to study for the Bar, and it was just as bad for those Indian boys to be turned loose in the streets of London as it would be for English boys if they were similarly turned loose in the streets of Calcutta. As it happened, the vast majority of Indian boys sent over to Europe were drawn into Socialistic and Revolutionary Societies, and went back to India imbued with the idea that if they could only upset the Government there they would bring in a new heaven and a new earth under their own particular form of rule, and never ceased agitating with this end in view. Then, again, the Indian Universities had so reduced the standard of their examinations that their degrees were now practically worthless, and the main idea of their governing bodies seemed to be to pass as many boys through as they possibly could, and to make the tests as easy as they possibly could. In India we have our Indian Universities, but unfortunately the cultured life that we associate here with British Universities is sadly wanting there.

The next thing the Bishop touched upon in his lecture was the consideration of how the British Empire was to be conserved, and he drew attention to the fact that a situation has grown up in India that is full of menace to the British Raj. Having spent the greater

part of my life in India, and having many many friends amongst my old Indian comrades, no one regrets the new situation that had grown up in India more than I do myself. I have worked with Indians in India, Persia, Arabia and Afghanistan, and I well know the value of the Indian mind working in conjunction with the British mind, and no form of government that I can think of would be better for India than half a dozen Indians and half a dozen Britishers sitting alternately round a table and all working together for the common good. Unfortunately a new situation has been brought in, and the Indian element in the Government is largely in opposition to the British element, and we none of us can say what this new spirit that has come in on the Indian side will lead to. I quite agree with the Bishop that something more than a League of Nations is needed to keep the world at peace and our Empire undisturbed.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS, while expressing the company's indebtedness to the Bishop for his paper, suggested that it was too congratulatory to the British nation to-day, and referred to an Australian writer's contrast between the "Mayflower's" voyage in an atmosphere of prayer and praise, with that of the "Mauretania's" characterized by gambling and debauchery, with detectives awaiting her arrival to arrest some of the passengers for card-sharping.

He thought the chief defect of the British in ruling other races was a want of sympathy, so that they failed to gain the affection, while they obtained the respect for fairness and justice, of those over whom they ruled.

He suggested that the Bishop might have referred to the treatment which the Jews had received in this country since the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, granted them leave to have a synagogue, as conducing to the prosperity of the Empire in accordance with the promise to Abraham (Gen. xii, 3).

He suggested that the history of the world during the last few centuries and up to the coming reign of Christ was somewhat analogous to that of an unregenerate man up to his true conversion to God. He often made efforts to reform, and fell back worse than before, until he finally entered into blessing. So while he anticipated a worse time ahead than that during the late war, he looked forward to the ultimate blessing of the reign of Christ.

The Rev. JAMES THOMAS thanked the Bishop for his most excellent paper, and refreshed his recollection that the Authorized Version of the English Bible was not the first complete translation of the Scriptures in our language made from the original tongues. The first was Coverdale's version in 1535 ; the next was Rogers'—under the name of Matthews—issued in 1537. Both of these were completions of Tindale's translation, who was only able to complete the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Book of Jonah when he was put to death. These two versions were followed by Taverner's translation in 1539. The Great Bible of the same year was only a revision of Coverdale's and Rogers' versions. After these came the Geneva version in 1539, made by British exiles, who fled when Mary came to the throne. And finally the Bishop's Bible, made under the command of Archbishop Parker and published in 1568. The Authorized Version, as Bishop Ingham has stated, was issued in 1611.

Our Empire is faced by some great perils. I will refer to one in a twofold form, the racial peril. In Canada—as also in the United States—the Government is opposed to the immigration of the yellow races. They say, and say with emphasis, “ We don't want you ; if you come you must pay a large entrance fee.” This has gone on for a long time. But now the Japanese Government is saying in reply, “ Very well. If we may not enter your country on terms of equality, by what right do you expect to enter Japan on terms of equality with us ? ” This is the muttering of a coming storm.

Years ago we stole Africans from Africa and sold them as slaves in the West Indies. Happily that great crime and sin is over. But what is happening to-day ? White men are stealing Africa from the Africans, and all the while the black races are increasing in numbers over the white races in Africa in the ratio of 17 to 1. That man is blind who does not see in this the certainty of coming trouble. What is to avert calamity, arising out of racial differences and hatreds, from endangering the peace and prosperity of our Dominion and Colonies ? Only the acceptance of the teaching of the Bible. If God be the Father of all the families of men, then all men are brothers. If the all-glorious God calls all races of men His children, we may well call them brethren. It is in our common relation to God that we find safety from the perils that threaten the Empire from racial conflicts.

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD had much pleasure in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to the Author of the valuable Paper to which they had been privileged to listen. Not only "the plain man in the street," but every member of the audience had found something worth learning from its "plain thoughts and findings." This Paper beautifully illustrates the great truth that acquisition and conservation of Empire is not a matter of chance. God is the Governor among the nations, the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men and, giveth it to whomsoever He will; He putteth down one and setteth up another. As He is the Author not of confusion but of order, He selects agents *suitable* for carrying out His purposes of blessing to the world. Unquestionably true are Burke's words (quoted on p. 43): "A great empire and little thoughts go ill together." We recall the ancient promises: "The Lord shall make thee the head and not the tail, and thou shalt be *above* only, and thou shalt not be beneath; if that thou hearken unto the commandments of the Lord thy God . . . to observe and to do them," and "Them that honour Me I will honour, and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed."

Honour and obedience rendered to God's Word is honour and obedience rendered to Him. It is pointed out in the Paper that the British flag has been and is a symbol of justice, freedom, and progress; and we thankfully hope that it will continue to be so. May it be also a symbol of *mercy*—a virtue not less important than justice. Let us, as a nation, awake, as in the Paper we are exhorted to awake, fulfilling our high responsibility to *love* God with all our heart and soul and strength, and our neighbour as ourselves.

In the Education of our children—"the nation of to-morrow"—we shall, if we are wise, instil and inculcate God's commands as more important than all other matters, and as the essential guiding principles of daily conduct and life.

Thus only can our Empire be conserved.

Lieut.-Col. F. A. MOLONY, O.B.E., said: I have great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Bishop Ingham.

It was news to me that the charters granted to our early Colonies drew attention to the duty of uplifting the native races.

Bishop Ingham told us that, on hearing of the intended abolition of the slave trade in 1807, Wilberforce wrote a prophecy that God

would henceforward bless our country. Our prosperity just then depended on combating Napoleon. 1807 was the year of the Battle of Friedland, which is generally reckoned the summit of Napoleon's power. From that year it began to decline.

The following year saw the beginning of those victories in the Peninsula which contributed so much to his downfall. Thus Wilberforce's prophecy came true.

The Bishop spoke about the work of the great Missionary, Livingstone, extending our empire. Before the war I was much struck by the fact that the great district of N.E. Rhodesia, West of Lake Nyassa, came into our possession with scarcely any fighting. It was the district which Livingstone spent years in exploring, and where he died. The nations seemed to say, Your Livingstone explored it, and therefore it is yours. As a result of the Great War almost the whole of the vast areas explored by Livingstone have become British, the exceptions being Portuguese West and East Africa, and Manuema, west of Tanganika.

I understood the main purport of the Bishop to be, to trace the hand of God working through us.

I have also been asked to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Oke, our Chairman, who has also just presided at the Council meeting, where he is a most constant attendant; so the service he has just rendered is one of the least he does for this Institution.

Dr. A T. SCHOFIELD sends the following remarks: "An Imperial Paper—a copy of which should be sent to each of our politicians.

"A brave Paper in daring to assert in 1921 that the Bible, not only in sentiment but in history, is the corner-stone of England's greatness. A Paper to be deeply thankful for in these latitudinarian days. Very remarkably it echoes much of the spirit that is flooding American churches to-day: that the source of their greatness is from Above, and that those who honour God will be honoured and blessed by Him."

Mr. C. FOX writes: "There are two kinds of empire, though both alike sadly of this fallen world (whose Lapse the daily newspaper tells us as plainly as the Bible). Most, if not all, have crumbled, like their remains, and dissolved, leaving *vestigia nulla retrorsum*, save interred—as Nineveh—in a grave. It was but a matter of time. An enduring one is, necessarily, founded upon Principles,

not on selfishness—that is, on truth and right, or endures while these continue to rule. It is governed, not by will, but by good ; not by one mind—of this world—rather by all, as it is for all. It is a popular error—one of the legion of them—to suppose it was created by any knowledge or art or any section of men ; its foundation was the Divine Blessing, and its real glory and wealth. And it follows that it can be preserved only *by the same*, and by esteeming, seeking, and safeguarding this (far more than traditions, dead forms and symbols, or any material good) still. A People needs to recognize in this their greatest interest and *summum bonum* and keep their trust fixed in God (not gold or steel, Man or might), or they will inevitably fall, if they have, through wise, sober and self-sacrificing forefathers of supposed darker times, been permitted such a place in the Earth.

“ With the Divine Blessing a little one shall become a thousand and a host of Sennacherib or Pharaoh will oppose in vain. Without this, the fame and constant victories, wealth and glory of a Solomon must be blasted or daily menaced—as followed to him, indeed, to the end, after these allured him, as they are so likely to do, to unfaithfulness and pride. But, without this, all will be in vain. It is the greatest of Assets for a People or for a man. All depends on this. And it depends, in its turn, on humility, reverence, docility and obedience to the Lord professed and the Source of Blessing—on loving, awe of, and dependence openly on, the Supreme Majesty and His Faith, Honour and Worship—and on thankfulness and instruction drawn from the past.

“ All varieties and classes of our race have equal rights. Humanity is the only category before Him Who is the Creator of all and beholds us as sinners or as saints. And every region belongs morally to those who were there at first, what or whoever they may be. There is no such thing as right of conquest, any more than of tyranny : they are the same. What we owe to all, let others do as they may, is only justice and love. We shall be watered if we water ; both good and evil will, infallibly, have their reward. Such being the true principles of Empire, we may predicate always its preservation or fall. Marino’s tiny realm had to be acknowledged by the despot who threatened every Empire, and was far safer and, after so many ages and in the midst of such a world, still stands. Like the unpretending shop, it survives great establishments,

and brings, in the end, often greater and surer wealth, as well as peace. No People has been appointed to be an incubus on any other or control it because greater, wiser or interested, forgetting its own *origines* and struggles at first for Independence or to be punitive or enforce Protection. Were one to be an aggressive evil or uphold a crime, the other nations should *unitedly* protest. Were this the *ultima ratio*, war would never be called for. And evil can never be needful, as it can never be right. The laws of God and of Religion apply to the worldly as well as to His children, and, like those of philosophy, are identical to man whether individual or collective, and to small and weaker companies or to large. All domains, however potent or favoured, stand alike under and are answerable to God, and have also a common trust and duty to the rest of mankind.

“ In the grandee’s allowing access to his park he admits tacitly the right of others to the common soil, which is the Lord’s, and not the lord’s of the manor ; and Nations are now ashamed of Invasion and call it Annexation : the thief might claim the same right, but he would be overruled by his Empire’s laws. Professing Christ’s example, the Civilized have been, in feverish rivalry, seizing and dividing the Globe—thus covering it with jealousies and hates. Could each have been content with what God gave it, all Peoples might have had enough doubtless and been, also, safe and happy, and the World been easily at peace—now never possible or sure. They have reaped the whirlwind and the sword because they sowed the same, and made a lovely World, as many earthly Paradises, a Hell. What they suffer is their own fault, as with Man himself.

“ When a Power becomes *Augustan* and rests on ‘ traditions,’ it is a fatal sign. Whether Empire is *per se* desirable or abstractly righteous is a question that may be some day considered. Where it has, by whatever means, been obtained, its responsibility is commensurate and very great. That of its own cares, perils, loss and sufferings is hardly less than its altruistic one of the treatment of brethren alien by the accidents of geography, language and name, but in essentials one. The estimating things by size and number is a mere illusion of the world. Values by Principle only, though far less regarded, are the true. Men ought to be under a Theocracy, and might if they would. There should be no ideal, and can never be a true one, which involves hate, cruelty or greed ; and no

righteous Power can stoop to or will be upheld under deceit—unhappily now the *organon*, if not the soul (when truly analyzed), of polemics and employed systematically, alas! in criminology and law and in all professions, under euphemisms, as on one side so on the other too. The enemy of Man beguiles the world by false names.

“Empire should be felt, as Cowper saith, by its Mercy—I would add, by example. Then it may extend to the common good and bless Earth—having itself God’s Blessing. Else, it is better overthrown, and will be. For it will be then a despotism on God’s Earth, begun in levity and ending in pride.”

Lieut.-Colonel ARTHUR FORD-MOORE writes: “I should wish to be allowed to join in the cordial expressions of thanks to Bishop Ingham for his very able, opportune and imperial Lecture. It was most interesting. I should, further, like to support Col. Sir Chas. Yate, M.P., in his remarks that there is, wherever I have been, a strong sympathy between British Administrators and Officers of Native troops with those they control. My experience has been gained in Egypt, the Western Desert, Palestine and Syria, and I corroborate the speakers who testified to this sympathy. After only a short three months in one of the cities in Syria which was occupied by a small British force, the Chief of the Municipality, all the Councillors and inhabitants crowded to the gate in the drenching rain to bid farewell to the small garrison when it left the ancient city after handing its custody over to another of the Allies. Most were sobbing bitterly, and many exclaimed, ‘Our hope goes with them.’ The most cordial relations had been established and the officer then in command receives frequent letters from the inhabitants even now. The same can be said of all the other areas, whether occupied by Syrians (of either of the main Muslim sects), of the Egyptians—even immediately after the rioting—Arabs or Jews. The religious sect made no difference. I could give very full descriptions from first-hand evidence in all cases. The views expressed to the contrary by one speaker cannot be too strongly deprecated as an unwarrantable aspersion on his countrymen’s good name. The natives do not compare the British Administrators with beasts, even though they may be just beasts, as he stated.

“Other remarks did not seem very relevant to the subject of the

Bishop's Lecture—I mean a reference to Darwinism. Darwin simply preached Evolution, though his words were purposely distorted. To deny Evolution is akin to questioning the rotundity of the Earth. It was not possible in the length of any man's life to bridge all the gaps, but the main thesis was evolved by the great biologist; many gaps have been bridged and others being so as research proceeds. The botanical researches of Gregor Mendel shed a new light on the subject which illumined many of the dark spaces obscure in Charles Darwin's day. Knowing the missing links in the chain, naturally Darwin was aware that many awkward questions could be asked which could not be answered at the time by his system. This system has long passed the stage of theory and has been fully demonstrated many times."

The Rev. J. E. H. THOMSON, M.A., D.D., writes: "I have read with very great interest the proof of Bishop Ingham's forthcoming Lecture on the above-named subject. He has made it abundantly clear that the hand of Providence is to be seen in a very special way in the growth of our Empire, and the manner in which it has come to us. The Bishop has also shown how, to some extent at any rate, we have recognized the duties consequently incumbent on us. The abolition of the Slave Trade, the Freeing of the Slaves in our Dominions, and the endeavour to spread the Knowledge of the Gospel are all evidences that as a nation we have seen that our place of privilege implies responsibilities, and that, however imperfectly, we have made some efforts to meet these responsibilities. The constant crusade against the Slave Trade maintained by our Navy for so many years is a highly honourable page in British History.

"I am sure the Bishop will pardon a word of criticism. It seems to me that he would have strengthened his position, and made more obvious the hand of God in the building up of the British Empire, had he appealed more to the history of its rise. There never was an Imperial Power that more shrank from the acquisition of Empire. This is specially clear in the conquest of India, our greatest dependency. The East India Company sought simply facilities for trade; but the weakness of the Mogul Government compelled them in self-defence to fortify their factories, and hire mercenaries to defend them. The intrigues of Dupleix and the French authorities at Pondicherry

forced the Company to increase the number and improve the efficiency of its soldiery; and compelled us to intervene in Native politics. The Black Hole of Calcutta, and the vengeance necessarily exacted for that atrocity, involved ultimately the assumption of authority over the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. Meantime the Directors of the Company at home saw in these conquests only entanglements and hindrances to trade and the consequent lessening of dividends. Consequently Governor succeeded Governor, and Governor-General succeeded Governor-General, each pledged to the hilt to keep out of all political adventures. Yet, one and all, they were compelled to increase our possessions in the Peninsula.

“The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of all our possessions. The conquest of Canada, our greatest Colony, was forced on us by the efforts of the French to jockey us out of the settlements made by the passengers on the “Mayflower” in New England, and by those of our countrymen who had settled in Virginia and the Carolinas. So, too, with Egypt and the Sudan. No Minister could be more averse from armed adventures than was Mr. Gladstone, who was yet forced to undertake the expedition of 1883. Surely God has laid on us this Empire as a responsibility; we can preserve it only by fulfilling the duties incumbent on us in consequence of its possession.”

625TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7TH, 1921,
AT 4.30 P.M.

DR. MARY D. SCHARLIEB, C.B.E., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed.

The HON. SECRETARY announced the following Elections:—Brigadier-General H. R. Adair, C.B.E., as a Member, and Walter H. Frizell, Esq., M.A., J.P., Mrs. H. V. de Satgé, and Ronald Macgregor, Esq., as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced DR. AMAND ROUTH to read his paper on "Motherhood."

MOTHERHOOD. By AMAND ROUTH, M.D., F.R.C.P.

THIS subject was suggested to me last year by Colonel Mackinlay, who was then Chairman of Council. Motherhood can be discussed from numerous standpoints.

Without "motherhood" life would cease to exist. "Be fruitful and multiply" is as much a Precept from God now as it was when first given, although now that our world is well populated, we are appreciating quality as well as quantity, and are trying to make men and women healthy and fit for marriage and parenthood, so as to ensure that their children should also be mentally and physically equipped. This is worthy parenthood and especially worthy motherhood.

The instinct of motherhood is present in most little girls, and explains their keenness to have their own dolls and pets, or to nurse their own little brothers and sisters.

Normally, this instinct is less marked as puberty approaches, because of the association of sexual mysteries which perplex the growing girl owing to the want of judicious instruction by mother or teachers.

If a child's knowledge of maternity and sex is wisely and gradually acquired, especially by nature study, she will pass safely through puberty and adolescence into womanhood

without having her maternal instincts obscured by sex problems, and when marriage comes, she will be sufficiently prepared for its obligations and for maternity.

If sexual problems, which are intensified by the physical and mental developments of adolescence, have not been wisely explained, the growing girl may drift into an ignorance which may lead to disaster, or to a dislike of maternity which may prevent marriage; or to a mistaken determination to convert normal marriage into a union unassociated with maternity.

One of the purposes for which we are brought into the world is that when the opportunity for marriage and parenthood should arrive, we should be ready and fit to grasp it, prepared by suitable domestic, hygienic and biological education, and fitted by physical health and moral attainments to bring up our children so that their usefulness in the world may be guaranteed.

THE ETHICS OF MOTHERHOOD AND MARRIAGE.

Motherhood must be normally associated with marriage if it is to be a state of happiness between the partners, and if it is to become a national asset of permanent value.

As regards young and healthy men and women, marriage can only be a normal, useful and happy union when associated with motherhood. Motherhood without marriage, and marriage of the young associated with the prevention of motherhood, are really mere sexual unions which are not only irregular but are ethically, socially and morally wrong.

The marriage with which motherhood should be associated must be monogamous, and it must be a permanent union during the joint life of the partners, a union, that is to say, which, as the ideal, only the death of one of the partners should be able to shorten, "Till Death us do part."

I would advise everyone interested in the subject to read Dr. F. W. Foerster's book on *Marriage and the Sex Problem*,* which Rev. C. H. Malden, one of the Secretaries of the White Cross League, lent me. Its clear views have helped me greatly to prepare this address.

* *Marriage and the Sex Problem*, by Dr. F. W. Foerster, Professor of Education in the University of Vienna, and formerly Special Lecturer on Psychology and Ethics at the University of Zurich; Translated by Meyrick Booth, B.Sc. Messrs. Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 3, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.

Marriage should be considered as the only state in which intimate sex relationships may occur, and all such relationships apart from marriage should be morally prohibited.

Curiously, yet not unexpectedly, as Dr. Foerster says, most of the suggestions for sexual reform proceed from women writers, such as Ellen Key, the Swedish authoress, but undisciplined and weak men are easily led by the subjective reasoning of these emotionalists, and join in the immature worship of merely natural instincts.

This "new morality" or "new ethics" considers that marriage ceases to be a justifiable state when love, in any of its meanings, fades, and must give way to new relationships.

Loyalty to one's partner is ignored. The paths of evolution of two personalities are not thought worth running parallel for a lifetime. Thus Motherhood ceases to be the link of the sacred union of the partners as in a normal Christian monogamous marriage, but becomes merely a loose tie between mother and child, whether the mother be married or not.

The "Right to Motherhood" becomes an easy further step, and the still further step, the "right to sex-life" soon follows, and with it that false sympathy which, whilst anxious to help the illegitimate child and its mother, demands that all distinction between the married and the unmarried mother should be obliterated, and even to declare as Forel does, "that any such distinction is immoral." It is even claimed that all moral condemnation of unmarried mothers should be done away with, as in this way alone can the position of these women be raised.

Like the action of all moving pendulums, whether material or ethical, there has been a tendency to go from the one extreme of early Victorian severity to an encouragement of unmarried maternity, and even to assume that the "right to motherhood," apart from marriage, needs consideration.

Such tendencies prove the existence of loose irrational free thinking on the sacred union of the sexes.

I will quote a few warning words from a woman scientist, and they should rivet our attention, for they clearly show what this change in the moral standard may lead to, involving as it does the assumption that chastity is not essential to social life. These are the words as quoted in the newspapers:—

"It must be remembered that chastity imposes a rule of life which is contrary to natural impulses, and that there are many more girls than boys, women than men in the land. It must

be also remembered that the wider education of girls, their entry into the world of labour and their general emancipation, all tend towards a liberation of natural impulses, and a desire for freedom of choice. The 'right to motherhood' is a doctrine which is rapidly gaining ground."

"The right to motherhood," if the partners are married, is, of course, a happy ideal, but this is not what these words mean, for the quotation continues its words of warning as follows :—

"It is quite possible that the future may see, especially in view of our progressive thought on the subject of unmarried motherhood, some forms of extra-marital sex-relationship and of parenthood finding a recognized place in our social code."

If this warning is justified all sections of the community should move themselves to check these dangers to national purity before they dominate our country.

Our nation and especially its women have a strong basis of common sense and resistance, when cherished ethical foundations are threatened, and I do not believe that extra-marital motherhood will ever become a national institution, for our monogamist marriages and traditions of "home" tend to blend the parents into a harmonious family life, and boys and girls are brought up to protect and reverence motherhood. Attempts to level down family life to a mere sexual association will, I feel sure, fail.

What binding obligations regarding the education and welfare of children can there be in mere sexual unions ?

Mothers often try to be true to their duty in these respects to children born out of wedlock, but this is far from substantiating the dictum of Ellen Key, as quoted by Foerster, that "all motherhood is holy if it has called forth deep impulses of duty." An unmarried mother's life may become a holy one, but in irregular motherhood the impulses which led to it were not holy, and self-control would usually have been non-existent. We may encourage maternal love and solicitude for the child of an irregular union, and we may penalize the runaway father by making him financially responsible, but we cannot call such a motherhood holy without condoning such unions.

As Foerster says : "The unwavering condemnation of irregular motherhood must always remain the foundation of woman's code of honour. If the unmarried mother is put on the same plane as the married mother, the sure effect will be to lower the institution of marriage, to lessen its significance and to make it appear superfluous."

THE EFFECTS OF MOTHERHOOD WITHOUT MARRIAGE. ILLEGITIMACY.

Unmarried motherhood is not only wrong, but unnecessary. Premarital continence in both sexes is consistent with normal health, and is compatible with full physical and mental activities, provided the child has been taught (1) that purity is a beautiful ideal and impurity a sin, (2) that self-control over natural instincts builds up character, (3) that the child and adolescent be occupied by other activities involving physical exercise, and mental excursions into such things as the useful acquirement of domestic duties, artistic tastes, music, etc., and (4) be trained for a career of usefulness and integrity.

As a nation, we have to face the fact that about 40,000 children are born annually in England and Wales by unmarried mothers.

As a result of the great reduction of total births in England and Wales, the proportion of illegitimate to total births, which fell to a minimum of 3.95 per cent. in 1901-05, rose to 6.26 per cent. in 1918, the highest ratio reached during the last fifty years. There has also been some increase of actual illegitimacy from 37,157 in 1917 to 41,469 in 1918, and 41,876 in 1919, but the increased percentage proportion of illegitimate to total births is mainly due to a lowered total birth rate.

I have asked Dr. T. H. C. Stevenson, C.B.E., Superintendent of Statistics at the General Register Office, if he can tell me what is the probable ratio in England and Wales during the ten years 1911-20 between unmarried and married mothers, and he tells me that the ratio would be about 10 per cent. He assumes that about 75 per cent. of the unmarried mothers would (whilst still unmarried) have only one child each during the ten years, whilst the majority of married women during the same years may be assumed to have had 2.07 children each. Of course, this ratio is not a proved one, but Dr. Stevenson has come to this conclusion after making every allowance for possible errors. About one in ten mothers in England and Wales are unmarried. This should make us think.

Unmarried mothers are not now treated with the severity and ignorance which was the attitude adopted fifty years ago. The modern proposal that a child born out of wedlock should become legitimized by the subsequent marriage of its parents would not have been tolerated or even discussed then. This proposal is not yet adopted, and has its own difficulties to remove

before it can be legalized. It is, I think, a point to aim at, on the condition that no efforts are made to force the parents to marry if they are fundamentally unsuited, associated, in fact, only in an abnormal sexual relationship.

One of the great difficulties in which an illegitimate girl is involved is when she reaches a mature age, and has the opportunity of what is likely to prove a happy marriage.

If she knows that she is illegitimate and admits it, the marriage may be prevented, for she would have no reputable parents or relations to introduce to her husband's family.

The knowledge of such an origin often prevents a girl accepting an offer of marriage, and may lead to life-long depression; and if the knowledge is only acquired at adolescence, or later, may lead to despair, and even to suicide, or to a life of irregularity similar to that of her parents.

Much could be done to lessen the penalization of both mother and child by reducing the terrible mortality and morbidity of both mother and child by better nursing and by more efficient obstetric help. The death-rate of unmarried mothers and their offspring, during pregnancy and the lying-in period, is about twice as much as the death of married mothers and their children. Thus 72 per 1000 illegitimate children in 1917 died during the first month of life in England and Wales, as compared with 37 per 1000 legitimate children. The prevalence of venereal disease in unmarried mothers and their children is much greater than in wedlock.

The majority of unmarried mothers are domestic servants, and girls employed in hotels and restaurants. These are better able to find employment again. Many such mothers are feeble-minded, and may fall again and again, owing to deficient self-control, which in these cases is often associated with exaggerated or perverted sexual tendencies.

Much is being done by the Ministry of Health and by the public to provide hostels where the mother and her illegitimate child can be domiciled together during and after lactation. The mother is encouraged to do daily work outside the hostel, so as to keep in touch with her child, and eventually perhaps gets a caretaker's place or finds a home with a lady in the country who needs one servant and does not object to the baby coming too, or she may marry, and emigrate with her husband and child.

Efforts to restore the self-respect and regeneration of the mothers are often successful, but I agree with Mrs. Ransome

Wallis that any scheme to give pensions as a legal right to mothers of illegitimate children would often prevent the moral reclamation of the mother.

Legislation is needed to establish a satisfactory scheme. Hitherto divergent views as to what points should be embodied in a Bill have been the cause of failure, as in the attempts to carry through the recent ill-named Bastardy Bill.

MARRIAGE WITHOUT MOTHERHOOD.

We have also to consider the modern view that motherhood in married life may be justifiably avoided, or limited in various degrees.

Of recent years, and especially during and since the war, earlier marriages, sometimes even before the partners were really mature, have occurred with remarkable frequency, but unfortunately many of these young couples have agreed to avoid parenthood during the first few years of marriage. Others have decided to do so after the birth of one or two children.

It is stated that the neo-malthusianism marks an advance in the subordination of nature to the spirit. But this is a false sophistry. These practices do not assist men or women to master their instincts and passions. Such practices are not associated with control of the sexual instincts, but allow full or even excessive licence, accompanied by suppression of the normal results.

The control is not of the instincts but of the natural physiological processes. The methods adopted are not only morally wrong, but physically and mentally harmful.

As I have elsewhere stated,* I do not believe that artificial avoidance of conception can be habitually carried out (apart from continence) without the probability of serious disturbance of health in both parents.

My advice to those inclined to have over-large families is to adopt at least Nature's spacings of about two years' interval; to those who have too few children, to reconsider their personal and national obligations, and if under medical advice conception becomes unadvisable, let it be avoided by longer periods of abstinence rather than by unnatural or artificial methods.

* *Official Report of the Church Congress at Leicester* (pp. 154 to 161), 1919. London: Nisbett & Co., Ltd., 22, Berners Street, W.1.

This would give time for the present housing difficulties to be overcome.

There is plenty of scriptural encouragement to continence and self-control, but I can find no recognition or approval of any artificial limitation.

It is now realized that the knowledge of contraceptives has extended to the unmarried, who in some instances, instead of being enthusiastic for marriage and motherhood, are content to lead a life of unchastity before marriage and to try to avoid, by artificial means, the risks of maternity after marriage.

THE RISKS OF NORMAL MOTHERHOOD.

About four mothers in 1000 confinements lose their lives, and many more lose their good health, but it is now clearly established that early medical supervision of pregnant women, especially valuable during their first pregnancy, makes maternity almost free from danger, and even enables the risks of labour itself to be largely eliminated. Let every expectant mother consult a doctor and attend to his advice, for most of the potential complications of the confinement will be recognized, and can be so dealt with that danger will be averted.

Mortality of Children before Birth.

Perhaps one in ten die early in pregnancy, or do not survive their birth. The health of the child during the mother's pregnancy is necessarily dependent upon the health of the mother, and the child's ill-health can only be treated through the mother during that period. Very few children need die during pregnancy if their mothers come under medical supervision and are scientifically treated by modern methods.

Mortality of Children during and soon after Birth.

Motherhood is necessarily stripped of all its happiness and contentment if the child is stillborn or only lives a few days or weeks.

Yet this is what now frequently happens, for more than one-third of the deaths of infants who die in their first year of life die in the first month, and more than half of these actually perish in the first week, whilst nearly one in eight of these infantile deaths occur on the day of their birth.

Perhaps the following figures will make these facts plainer :—

Out of 692,438 births in 1919 in England and Wales, 8383 died in the first twenty-four hours after birth, and 9388 died in the next six days, or 17,771 in the first week of life. Whilst 27,555 died in their first month of life, only 34,160 died in the remaining eleven months of the infantile year, representing a total of 61,715 infant deaths or a death-rate of 89 per 1000 births.*

The deaths in the early days after birth are due mainly to delayed and difficult labour caused by obstructions, such as pelvic contractions, etc., or to debilitating disease or infections transferred from mother to child, or to malpresentations of the child, or to combinations of these causes, all of which could have been detected and dealt with if the mother had occasionally been seen by an experienced doctor during her pregnancy. Every child has a right—a birthright—to be born healthy.

Let it be the self-imposed duty of everyone here present to urge every expectant mother to consult a doctor during her pregnancy. This is easy in private practice, and should not be difficult nowadays even amongst the poorer classes, for every midwife is in touch with the Health Authorities of her district, or with an Ante-natal or Maternity Clinic, where a doctor is in regular attendance.

INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL UPON MOTHERHOOD.

Mothers and expectant mothers should be careful of their diet, especially as regards alcohol.

You all know that inquests are often held to determine the cause of deaths of infants under one year of age, who are well in the evening, but found dead—suffocated—in their mother's bed in the morning. These deaths before the war occurred about twice as frequently on Saturday nights.

I append tables† published by the National Birth-Rate Commission, showing the infantile deaths of infants in each year from 1913, before control of alcohol, up to 1918, when there was full control. The figures also show the percentage of deaths on each day of the week, and the numbers of convictions for drunkenness in women during those years. The relations shown by these various figures are very striking. As pointed out in

* In 1920 the death rate of infants was reduced to 80 per 1000 births. It will be interesting to see whether the reduction is, as in 1919, only in the later months of the infantile year.

† *Problems of Population and Parenthood*, pp. 292-3. London: Chapman & Hall, 1920.

the Report of the National Birth-Rate Commission in 1920,* there was a fall of 80 per cent. in the convictions for drunkenness in 1918 as compared with 1913, and coincidentally deaths of infants from suffocation fell from 1266 in 1913 to 557 in 1918, a decrease of 56 per cent., and the excessive incidence of such deaths on Saturday nights which is prominent in 1913 had practically disappeared in 1918.

DEATHS OF INFANTS FROM SUFFOCATION—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OVER THE SEVERAL NIGHTS OF THE WEEK IN 1913 AND 1918.

	Sun-day.	Mon-day.	Tues-day.	Wednes-day.	Thurs-day.	Fri-day.	Satur-day.
1913 ...	14·1	12·8	10·1	12·1	10·7	13·6	26·3
1918 ...	14·3	10·4	13·1	15·6	13·8	15·6	17·0

CONVICTIONS OF WOMEN FOR DRUNKENNESS AND DEATH OF INFANTS UNDER ONE YEAR FROM SUFFOCATION, 1913-1918. ENGLAND AND WALES.

	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.
Convictions for drunkenness	35,765	37,311	33,211	21,245	12,307	7121	10,875	12,737 (44 weeks)
Deaths of Infants from suffocation	1226	1233	1021	744	704	557	—	—

Such improvement will not continue if the women of our country have not learned the value of control over themselves, for convictions for drunkenness in women increased to 10,875 in 1919, and to 12,737 in the first forty-four weeks of 1920.

From every point of view, alcohol, during both expectant and actual motherhood should be avoided, for, apart from

* *Problems of Population and Parenthood*, pp. 292-3. London: Chapman & Hall, 1920.

infantile deaths of acute maternal alcoholism, two important facts are known as regards the harmful influence of chronic alcoholism upon the well-being of the growing embryo and of the infant.

- (1) In both sexes the reproductive cells contain a minute portion of cell-tissue called the germ-plasm, which combines in the fertilized cell, and is passed on from generation to generation, imperishable and largely unalterable by environment. Practically this germ-plasm dominates the race. Unfortunately this germ-plasm can be affected seriously and for several generations by parental chronic alcoholism leading to prematurity and to mental and physical degeneration of the offspring.
- (2) It is known that alcohol gets into the circulation of the offspring before birth as well as during lactation, especially in chronic maternal alcoholism, and may encourage a taste for it in the child's later years, or lessen its self-control, besides causing damage to the immature organs and nervous system of such offspring.

BREAST FEEDING.

The intimate association of mother and child during pregnancy is very close; the child is protected by its mother's tissues from all external injuries, and receives its food, prepared for it by marvellous processes going on in the various maternal organs, directly from the mother's blood-stream. Every emotion of the mother is probably felt by the child, so that a happy healthy satisfied mother may expect to have a happy child free from restlessness of body and mind.

Yet some mothers do not suckle, so that this intimate nutrition relation between mother and child ceases at birth.

If the mother is tubercular or otherwise unhealthy, lactation should be avoided. In a few cases also a child cannot suck, owing to prematurity, debility or maldevelopment. Probably, however, 80 per cent. of normal mothers can, if they will, supply their offspring from their birth with their best food, warm, wholesome, germ free and individually suitable.

Is it realized how maternal lactation helps to mould the child's character? First of all, the child looks to its mother for its

most imperative need. This need, supplied with regularity and love, may well lay the foundation of the beautiful camaraderie which is sometimes seen between a healthy sympathetic mother and her growing boys and girls who are all "chums" together right up to their adolescence. The close mutual attachment involved in a six months' lactation must influence the child's mental and moral development, and may well inculcate such virtues as punctuality, patience, self-control, obedience and reverence, and thus unconsciously help to form a child's character.

I think also that the nursing mother's character is purified, ennobled and fortified by the loving sacrifice of her time and energies to this most absorbing of all maternal obligations.

COMPULSORY HEALTH CERTIFICATES FOR MARRIAGE.

I should like to see the day when both sexes contemplating marriage should be required to produce a doctor's statement that they are free from tuberculosis, venereal or any other infectious disease, but I fear the nation is not yet ripe for such a hygienic proposition. I am glad to say, however, that the conscience and knowledge of the nation are progressively clearer on this aspect of worthy parenthood, and few now marry if they know they are unfitted to rear children, and many parents desire some assurance of the good health of their would-be son or daughter-in-law.

Sterility.

In some cases motherhood is denied to a wife from causes beyond her own or her husband's control, but this is not the occasion to deal with the anatomical or physiological conditions which in either sex tend to thus reduce the birth-rate of the nation. Suffice it to say that the various abnormal conditions which may prevent motherhood, especially during the first few years of marriage, can in many cases be successfully remedied.

THE MIDWIFE'S PART IN ANTE-NATAL AND NEO-NATAL HYGIENE.

A midwife does not come into direct association with the expectant mother till she is engaged to attend at the approaching confinement.

It is her duty when thus engaged to enquire into the history of previous confinements, and to discover any indications of abnormal conditions which might lead to premature labour or to other complications.

Every midwife should be in touch with a doctor, directly if working privately, or through the health authority if she is a municipal midwife, and if she should recognize anything likely to cause trouble she must at once, by the excellent rules of the C.M.B., whether during pregnancy or the lying-in, seek medical advice.

The need for efficient training of the midwife is obvious, especially as she now attends over 70 per cent. of the total confinements in England and Wales, and, at all events after labour has commenced, is not only the *accoucheuse*, but the nurse of her patient and of the baby.

The status and the remuneration of the midwife, especially of those who are living in country villages where fees cannot ensure her a living wage, must be improved, otherwise the number of practising midwives will continue to decrease.

In 1915-16 there were 30,543 trained and certified midwives on the roll of the C.M.B., but only 6754 were practising midwifery, and although the numbers on the roll continue to increase, the proportion of practising midwives continues to diminish.

The certified midwife, by administrative or State aid, should be guaranteed a minimum remuneration of at least £150 per annum.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

There are many side issues in relation to motherhood which ought to be shortly considered, but I will only touch on three :—

Adoption.

Endowment of motherhood.

Assured education.

ADOPTION.

Attempts have been made to bring in a Bill in Parliament to legalize the adoption of children, but it is a particularly difficult subject, for it involves medical, social and legal questions of much complexity.

Medically, the good health of the child to be adopted and of its parents has to be assured, more particularly if it is illegitimate, and especially as regards transmissible diseases such as tuberculosis or venereal disease.

Socially, the antecedents, character, reliability and financial position of the persons who are wishing to adopt the child should be carefully considered, including the question of other children of their own, present or potential.

Legally, the difficulties are great, and are obvious by the fact that, so far, societies advocating adoption have not agreed upon the terms of a Bill to submit to Parliament, and legislators have not yet seriously tackled the question. One of the difficulties is to make the adoption a legal transfer, which should be permanent, and not able to be broken by the mother wishing to regain possession of her child. The foster parents again should be protected from undue interference by the State in their management of the child, and yet there ought to be an assurance that the foster parents are properly nurturing, tending and educating the child. How can this be done without inspection of some sort? If inspection should be necessary, it would spoil the transaction in many ways, and would greatly add to administrative expenses. Would the child have to be made a sort of ward in Chancery if the foster parents failed in their duties to the child?

I would like to see the child, if illegitimate, legitimized by its legal transfer to the foster parents, and, whether primarily legitimate or not, made their legal heir except as regards real estate so that the child is not turned adrift and penniless if its foster parents die intestate, the estate then going to their legal next-of-kin.

THE ENDOWMENT OF MOTHERHOOD.

This also is a very difficult subject. Some of the first questions which must be faced are:—

- (a) Should the scheme be endowment of the mother or of her children, or of both?
- (b) Should it include unmarried motherhood, and, if so, should it be on the same footing as for married mothers, and for children born in wedlock?
- (c) Should it be an endowment at a flat rate, or below a minimum income, or varying with the income?

- (d) Should it be limited to widows, and to mothers whose husbands are mentally or physically or morally incapable?

Endowment of motherhood in the lowest classes, such as perhaps that of the casual labourer, whose children are often propagated without any regard to the "spacings" of about two years' interval between births, would only lead to more reckless rapidity than already exists, but in the lower middle class of clerks, and to poor professional men, clergy, etc., endowment would tend to relieve the financial anxieties of parenthood, and perhaps help to diminish the incentive to restrict the birth-rate.

In evidence before the National Birth-Rate Commission,* taken in February, 1919, the Family Endowment Committee suggested a scheme for all classes of the community at a flat rate of 12s. 6d. a week to the mother for the eight weeks before confinement, and so long as she has any child under five years of age. She is also to receive 5s. a week for the first child and 3s. 6d. for each subsequent child. Thus a woman with three children under five years of age would have 24s. 6d. a week. Even with our present low birth-rate this would cost in Great Britain and in Ireland £240,000,000 a year, which is, of course, impossible. Modifications of such a scheme to poor widowed mothers or to women whose husbands are mentally, physically or morally incapacitated, or where the income of the parents is less than a certain sum, such as £130, £150, or £200, according to various suggestions, would cost much less, ranging round £40,000,000 a year only. The need for inspection by the State or Municipality adds greatly to the total cost of all such schemes. Judge Lindsay says, and I think he is right, that we must begin with the mother before confinement, but it is equally true that after birth our interest should centre on the rearing of the offspring through the mother's care, or by outside help if the mother is dead or incapacitated. Mr. Harold Cox says: "For the State to give a subsidy to every woman who bears a child would only increase the evil. A child born and reared in a crowded area has a poor chance of becoming a fine specimen of humanity even if the State pays for its maintenance."

* *Problems of Population and Parenthood*, pp. liv-lviii. London: Chapman & Hall.

The State has in recent years, through the National Insurance Act, recognized the need of financial help for expectant mothers, especially when incapacitated as a result of pregnancy, in addition to the increased maternity benefit. The income-tax allowances introduced last year for the domiciled wife and for each child under sixteen years of age, or later if the child is receiving full-time education, are also steps in the right direction.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN APART FROM STATE EDUCATION.

There are now ways by which the future education of children can be insured by small annual premiums payable for a fixed series of years, up to a stated age for each child. If such premiums are begun soon after the birth of the children, the policies for, say, £100 a year for each child will soon be coming in, so that by the time that their elder children go to school the parents will be receiving much more money for schooling or apprenticeship, or for the advancement in life of their children, than they are paying out in premiums for the younger children. If any child dies the premiums already paid for that child are returned. Such assured education is especially valuable where the father is dead, or the parents are pensioners, or with fixed incomes, and especially if they desire that their children should adopt some profession or technical career, for which education is expensive.

In conclusion, I would remind you that though all these questions concern the nation as a whole, they are of great personal importance where they touch the individual citizen, and especially the women of the nation. Women, now endowed with widely extended opportunities in almost every profession and career, should carefully study all the problems surrounding "Motherhood," so as to be able to influence legislation and civil administration and philanthropic effort.

They should try to preserve motherhood, not only as an honoured institution, pure and unsullied, but as an essential national asset, by which our country may continue to rear such men and women as fought and worked for us in the Great War, and are now reconstructing our somewhat shattered organizations.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. MARY D. SCHARLIEB, C.B.E., said : Unfortunately the parents of the present day too frequently fail to realize that an important part of their duty towards their children is to give them enlightenment as to the facts of life so far as they are able to understand them. It is impossible to assign any age limit, for some children are more developed mentally and morally at 7 or 8 years of age than others are at 12 or 14.

The great rule is to answer the children's questions simply, truthfully, and in a reverent manner. It is unfair to allow children to meet the troubles and temptations of life unwarned, and it is unfair to expect children and young people to keep their bodies in "temperance, soberness, and chastity" if they have never been taught the necessary care of the body, and if its beauty, value and dignity has not been pointed out to them.

Dr. SCHOFIELD then proposed a vote of thanks to the learned Lecturer, whose paper was most admirable, and if he added a few remarks it would be mainly to emphasize some important points that might be forgotten, but which should be ever remembered.

On page 56, we read, "Motherhood without marriage, and marriage associated with the prevention of motherhood, are really mere sexual unions which are not only irregular but are ethically, socially, and morally wrong." This is a pronouncement from a high authority of the utmost weight, and worthy of all attention.

On page 58, we read of the supposed "right to motherhood" in the sense that every woman has a right to become a mother (without marriage being necessary). This is a distinct retrograde step from the human to the pure animal. It is a doctrine of the animal kingdom, but humanity has uses far above bestial ethics; but his responsibility both to God and his own humanity is degraded by the accepted meaning of the phrase "a right to motherhood."

Page 59 shows that one in ten mothers are not married, and produce 40,000 children. The evil of this is immense, though little thought of. If the strength of Britain lies in its pure family life, all unmarried mothers sin, not only against God, but against their country, and become in many ways a fertile source of evil, the man who is

the cause being a still greater offender. They are a sure cause of evil to their children, bringing needless hardships upon them and inevitably blighting their future. Such motherhood is a degradation of woman in her highest ideals, as well as being a sinful waste of manhood.

It is well that the false sophistry of Neo-Malthusianism is unsparingly exposed on page 61, as well as the terrible dangers of alcohol on pp. 63 and 65. The fact of it being a persistent and virulent poisoner of the ovary cannot be too widely known, and is established scientifically beyond doubt.

I now turn to the education of our girls in these subjects as suggested by the admirable words which have fallen from our Chairman—Mrs. Scharlieb. I feel sure that in future ages the historicist will refuse to believe that so late as 1920 the greater number of women were educated without any reference to their coming position as wives and mothers, and without the least instruction in the care of infancy. Such criminal neglect will appear too incredible to be believed. And yet it is the fact. For forty years I have done my best to insist that all girls before their marriage should have at least six months' instruction in these matters; and in my practice have succeeded in delaying the marriage of an ignorant girl until she has had a six months' course in these subjects. I have gone so far as to hope that some day our great Government may be able to spare a few hours to consider the trivial question of the welfare of the rest, and however difficult health certificates may be, may at least enact that no marriages be solemnized without the bride producing a certificate showing a reasonable knowledge of the duties she is undertaking in matrimony.

With the present generation of the married, all that can be done is to preach in season and out of season the old, old story that "Babies under six months must have nothing but milk." No one will believe the touching faith that still exists in the remote districts in pap. It is indeed a fact that in a distant workhouse only recently has the practice been discontinued of allowing every new-born infant a loaf of bread per week, apparently ignorant of the fact that they might almost as well have ordered strychnine. The reason of the immensely greater mortality of artificially-fed,

as compared to breast-fed, children is as yet but little understood. No doubt a mother's milk is best for her own child, but this is not the cause of the mortality from cow's milk.

It lies in the fact that when the infant is nourished from its mother's breast it gets milk, when fed otherwise it gets milk *plus dirt*. The quantity is now much less, thanks to sanitary regulations, but the fact remains that dirt is seldom wholly excluded.

Dr. Schofield again expressed his sense of the value of Dr. Routh's admirable paper, and begged to propose a hearty vote of thanks to him.

Lieut.-Col. M. A. ALVES said : With most of the matter contained in this paper we shall all, I feel sure, be in hearty agreement ; but some few points in it need consideration and perhaps a little criticism.

In Gen. i, 28, the words run, " Be fruitful and multiply—and replenish the earth and subdue it." God has joined together these two phrases ; and any attempt on man's part to put them asunder can only lead to disaster, as I fear that this nation may soon learn to its cost. We all have a natural inclination towards the first clause ; not too many of us towards the second ; and we need those two great prison-warders, Hunger and Exposure, to compel us to do our duty ; and if the State dismisses these two valuable officials she is likely soon to find herself bankrupt.

The passage from Genesis that I have quoted teaches us, I maintain, that the right to parenthood is not inherent, but something to be earned ; and it seems to me that State aid, if given at all, should be restricted to those cases where both parents have come up to a certain approved standard of fitness in mind and body. What the nation needs is VIRI, not HOMINES, still less HOMUNCULI, of which two latter classes it has plenty and to spare. It should, in my judgment, be restricted to regular unions only, except perhaps in those rare cases where the bigamous party to a marriage has been so unwittingly.

Monogamy is probably the general custom of Heathens as well as Christians and Jews ; and if the Old Testament permitted Polygamy, it did not encourage it. Further, if a man " enticed " a maid in Israel, he was bound to marry her, and forbidden to divorce her (adultery was punished by death, not divorce), see

Exod. xxii and Lev. xx. But I doubt if Polygamy was forbidden to any except members of the Christian Church, who, by the Holy Spirit given to them, have a power of restraint denied to others in their natural fallen condition.

As to marriage without motherhood, I can only say this, that the penalization of industry and thrift, through the cruel taxation of the industrious, and the indiscriminate subsidizing of motherhood, irregular as well as regular, can only lead to the increase of the unfit, and the elimination of the fit. What inducement have the fit to "reconsider their national obligations" under such circumstances? By its action the State has freed them from such obligations.

Regarding the mortality of children—except in cases of over-laying—I can only consider that, if it is due to their being below the normal standard, it is a blessing in disguise. Think what it must be for a man or woman, not up to the mark, to have to fight the battle of life; "damned into an evil world," as Carlyle truthfully and forcibly expressed it.

Regarding the adoption of children, a man with an inherited or an earned income has a moral right to its disposal; but I must confess that I consider it an injustice for an adopted child, legitimate or not, to be made, *ipso facto*, the legal heir of inherited estate, to the detriment of blood relations.

The case of illegitimates is unquestionably hard; it is partly the result of our marriage laws inspired by an ignorant ecclesiasticism; but war is also hard, whose results fall alike on innocent and guilty; and I fear that indifference in this matter, and the treatment of legitimate and illegitimate as if no difference existed, would speedily lead to a condonation of that want of self-control on woman's part which Heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity have alike condemned.

It seems to be one of those sad signs of the times concerning which I have little earthly hope.

Dr. Routh has rightly insisted on the need of inculcating general self-control, the "temperance" of Scripture. The foundations of this should be laid in the cradle and nursery.

The vote of thanks to the Lecturer was carried by acclamation.

Lieut.-Col. G. MACKINLAY said: My pleasing duty now is to propose a vote of thanks to our learned and gifted Chairman. We are indeed happy in having one so distinguished to preside on this

occasion ; we thank her warmly for coming and for the part she has taken in the discussion.

The Scripture speaks in plain words on these subjects, and the modern tendency is to consider them in freer terms than was the case only a very few years ago. Both our Chairman and Lecturer have taken happy advantage of the present opportunities.

I notice that our Chairman emphasizes the great need for teaching the young on the subject of motherhood, and she herself has done noble work in this direction. All thoughtful parents must thank her and Dr. Amand Routh for their wise and tactful words.

How many an unmarried mother might have been protected and saved from her sorrowful position if she had had some faithful friend who could have told her beforehand of the woes of all in such a position ; many a young girl has ignorantly fallen for want of a parent's loving warnings.

Dr. Amand Routh has graphically told us of the tragic fate of illegitimate children, when he assures us that the mortality among them is about double that of other infants ; but the lot of those who survive is not at all happy, even if they and their mothers are tended with the sympathetic care of Christian women as, for instance, in the Rescue Society, whose honoured Secretary, Mr. Stuart Thorpe, has long been one of us in this Institute. The condition of these unmarried mothers is indicated by the reply of one of the matrons to my wife's question, " Do the mothers love their infants ? " The reply was, " They would not be sorry if they died."

Can we wonder at such an answer when we reflect that the presence of the child is a constant reminder of the woman's shame, and also a great financial burden. Notwithstanding these great drawbacks, many of the young women are restored to positions of usefulness ; but how much better if they had been restrained from falling into such a condition. It is better to put up a fence at the top of a precipice than to build a Rescue Home at the foot of it. This protection can be afforded in many cases by wise, faithful, sympathetic Christian workers among girls and young women.

Mrs. Scharlieb also dwelt upon the need of some assurance of good health between a couple before marriage ; this is an important point, and cannot be too often emphasized, for though most people admit that only healthy people should marry, when it becomes a

personal matter, wisdom is often neglected and only blind love is followed.

But progress has been made in this direction, and we trust the Chairman's efforts will be more and more crowned with success.

I ask you to accord the vote of thanks to our Chairman by acclamation. (Applause.)

Dr. DAVID ANDERSON-BERRY writes: "I have the honour of agreeing with our learned Lecturer.

"But referring to page 59, last paragraph, it is with joy that I own myself a native of Scotland, a land of all lands celebrated for the breadth of its marriage laws. Apart from its *regular* marriages there are those known as *irregular*. These are: (1) By habit and repute. If the two persons live together as man and wife for some time, it constitutes a marriage. I remember a family of some repute where this was done. In order to make it sure, the man called his friends and, standing before them, holding the woman by the hand, and throwing the cloak he wore over the children, he owned her as wife and the children as his children. Afterwards the son thus owned rose to a position of great honour and dignity in the service of his country. (2) If intercourse takes place on promise of marriage, established afterwards by a written promise or on the oath of a defender, the Courts will recognize this as a marriage under the term *subsequente copula*. (3) If the parties own themselves as man and wife before witnesses or in a court of law, this constitutes a marriage *per verba de presenti*. Now all marriages in Scotland legitimize the children born beforehand, whether the marriage is a *regular* or an *irregular* one.

"Lord Brougham's Act of 1856 requires 21 days' residence as a pre-requisite.

"Referring to 'Marriage without Motherhood,' about 33 years ago, I then being a young general practitioner in the West of London, there came under my care a woman whose case caused me much perplexity. I took her to Dr. Amand Routh, and to my surprise he at once solved the mystery. Nature was avenging herself on her who was a party to playing Neo-Malthusian tricks on the Great Mother. Once that ceased the woman recovered her health and became a happy mother of healthy children. Only the other day

I played the *rôle* of Dr. Routh, to the great surprise of the parties, who thought they had kept their secret. Poor fools! a practice that was destroying the health of both. Now they know better I trust all will be well.

“ Referring to pages 68, 69, I strongly oppose all plans whereby the worthy and thrifty are taxed to support the unworthy and thriftless. Let us have *Socialism* at once if you like, but do not rob the hen-roosts that the tramps may be fed on omelettes! I believe in the survival of the fittest, and that does not mean those who are spoon-fed by the State. All these plans mean simply the taxing out of existence the honest man and his thrifty wife that the loafer and bone-idle ones may with their temporary mates be tempted by handsome monetary gifts to load the State with a burden it will then have to bear from cradle to grave.”

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

Dr. ROUTH thanked Dr. Mary Scharlieb and Dr. Schofield for their approval of his views on Sex Education and Family Life and the value of Maternal Lactation. Whilst health certificates before marriage were idealistically desirable, it was impracticable for many reasons to make them compulsory. He agreed with Dr. Scharlieb that both prospective partners and their parents were getting more anxious that marriages should be between healthy persons.

He agreed with Dr. Collingwood that the transmission of hereditary mental disease was especially to be avoided.

It is not easy, as Colonel Mackinlay has so well said, to prepare a growing girl for marriage, maternity and family life, but much was now being done in council and other public and private schools and in continuation classes to give instruction in domestic hygiene in all these matters.

Dr. Routh preferred our English Laws of matrimony to the Scotch Laws as described by Dr. Anderson-Berry, but agreed with him and Colonel Alves and others that, as he had stated in his address, endowment of Motherhood was only possible in cases of real necessity, such as widows left with families, who had little or no assured

income, or where the husband had died or was physically or mentally incapacitated. Colonel Alves evidently thought that if children were born delicate they could not be reared. This was not so. Dr. Routh had tried to make it clear that the measures he had advocated—viz., medical supervision of expectant mothers, and treatment of the children through the mother during pregnancy—would largely prevent children being born delicate, and the terrible infant mortality in the early days and weeks after birth would greatly diminish, together with the unnecessary mortality and morbidity of the mothers which now exist.

626TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1921,
AT 4.30 P.M.

WILLIAM HOSTE, ESQ., B.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The CHAIRMAN called on Lieut.-Colonel HOPE BIDDULPH, the acting Secretary, to read the Minutes of the previous meeting, which were confirmed and signed.

The election of Lieut.-Colonel A. H. D. Riach, R.E., as an Associate. was announced.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Lieut.-Colonel F. A. Molony, O.B.E., to read his paper on "Prophecy."

PREDICTIONS AND EXPECTATION OF THE FIRST COMING OF CHRIST. BY LIEUT.-COL. F. A. MOLONY, O.B.E., LATE R.E.

IN the days of our fathers the pendulum of thought swung strongly towards the *predictive* element in prophecy.

Now that element is minimized, and sometimes its existence is denied altogether. The question before us is, whether the second swing of the pendulum has not taken it too far, and whether we have not, in Messianic Prophecy at least, very real prediction duly fulfilled.

After being cut down some trees sprout again from the roots. It would seem that Isaiah had this fact in mind when he wrote (Chapter xi): "And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit." This was surely a prediction that, after the house of Jesse or David was cut down and apparently ruined, a movement should spring from it that should grow with amazing vitality because of the strength of the old root below it.

And Isaiah represented the movement as centring in a person, because he continued, "And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon *Him*." It was on Scriptures like this that the Jews

based their expectation of a Messiah; the word, meaning anointed, is the same as the Greek word Christ.

I propose to show that the coming was predicted of a wise Teacher, a beneficent King, a perfect Example, an unanswerable Debater, a patient Sufferer, a Saviour from the power of sin, and a Shelter in certain of the ills of life. I propose to lay special stress upon the fact that, where it would be useful, a definite expectation was created: and to argue that the predicted one duly came in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

The reason I lay special stress on the *expectation* of Messiah is this. Many learned men are telling us that the Prophets did not mean what we take them to mean. For instance, that when Isaiah wrote of the suffering servant of Jehovah he was personifying the loyal remnant of the Jewish nation. Now this really detracts very little from the evidential value of his Messianic prophecies, because the wonder of them lies in their being fulfilled, and not in their being recorded; but it has cast so much dust in the eyes of ordinary people that the whole subject appears to be tabooed in our churches, and the best way to meet the situation seems to me to show that the expectations of the Jews just before Christ came centred on a person, or at most three persons, a prophet and two messiahs, and so arguments that the predictions related to a nation are, to say the least, belated.

Permit me to give a simple illustration. Seven years ago Lord Roberts was advising us to increase our army because he foresaw that we should shortly be engaged in a serious war. People understood him to refer to Germany, and officers prepared defence schemes against an aggressor coming from the east. And it was from the east that the danger came. Now suppose a man to state that Lord Roberts referred to Brazil, and not to Germany. Should we not remark to each other that his view did not greatly interest us, and could at most only affect Lord Roberts' personal reputation for foresight; seeing that he was understood to refer to an eastern Power, men worked on that assumption, and thus the crisis was successfully met. Thus we see that the expectation created should usually be taken into account if we wish to assess the practical value of fulfilled predictions; though, as we shall see, some classes of prediction would thwart their own purpose if they created an expectation of too defined a character.

If prediction and subsequent events run on the same lines, it may still be reasonable to argue that the prediction is

misunderstood, and referred to something else. But (and this is the chief point of this paper) if we can prove that between the two there existed *expectation*, also on the same lines, it is evidently probable that this was due to the prediction, and the probability is increased that the prediction has not been misunderstood.

The rabbinic writings which authoritatively decide how the Jews did understand their Scriptures are the Targumim, the two Talmuds, the most ancient Midrashim and the Yalkut. And these are first-class witnesses, having been in the custody of those who are hostile to the claims of Jesus to be the Messiah. We are therefore sure that neither these, nor the prophetic Scriptures, have been altered so as to assist the proofs which follow.

We also have other witnesses. Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius confirm the fact that the Jews were expecting a Deliverer when Christ came; the two former expressly declaring that this was based on certain passages in the old Jewish Scriptures.

In the ninth appendix to his *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Edersheim gives a detailed list of 456 passages in the Old Testament applied to the Messiah or the Messianic times in the most ancient Jewish writings. So this was clearly a favourite topic with the Jews. There are many incidental references to the expectation of Messiah in the New Testament, and these fit in so exactly with what we have learnt above that it is impossible to suppose them to be forgeries. Moreover, nothing can be more dangerous for an author's reputation than to misrepresent what popular opinion was on any favourite topic within a century of his own time. Further, we have the following striking agreement between our witnesses of expectation. Deut. xviii, 15, in which the coming of the Prophet was particularly foretold, is *not* included in the 456 passages mentioned above; which means that the Jews did not regard it as Messianic; in agreement with which we note that the deputation to John the Baptist made a distinction between "the Christ" and the "Prophet."

Thus we have every reason to believe that the incidental allusions to the Messianic hope in the Gospels are quite accurate, and they will therefore be quoted as additional proof on some points.

It is, of course, unquestioned that the whole Old Testament was written long before Christ came, and was already translated from Hebrew into Greek.

It was foretold that Messiah would be a wise Teacher. After writing "the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon Him," Isaiah

continues (Chapter xi), "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord." Surely a good foundation for a teacher.

Isa. ix, 6: "For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon His shoulder, and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor." Now a counsellor is a teacher of a high order, for whereas most men can be trained to teach one subject well, men only go for counsel to those on whose all-round judgment they can thoroughly rely.

Isa. lv, 3 and 4: "I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David. Behold, I have given him for a witness to the peoples." A witness is, of course, a teacher of those matters to which he witnesses. David having been long dead when Isaiah wrote, the reference is naturally to his posterity; the Jews read practically all such passages as referring to Messiah.

Psa. xxii, 22: "I will declare Thy name unto My brethren." The name, in Scripture, stands for the qualities, and as this psalm is accepted in the Yalkut as referring to the Messiah, it was a prophecy that He would declare the qualities of God to His brethren—that is, that He would be a teacher of theology.

Deut. xviii, 15: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren." The first office of a Prophet was, of course, to teach. We have seen that the rulers of the Jews did not regard this prophecy as Messianic, but apparently some of the common people did, for Philip said to Nathaniel (John i, 45), "We have found Him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph."

The prophecies created a definite expectation that Messiah would be a wise teacher. On Ps. cxix, 33, the Midrash remarks that there were three who asked wisdom of God: David, Solomon, and the King Messiah.

On Cant. viii, 2, the Targum has it: "I will take Thee, O King Messiah, and make Thee go up into my temple, there Thou shalt *teach* me to tremble before the Lord, and to walk in His ways."

In the Midrash on Eccles. xi, 8, it is noted that, however many years a man might study, his learning would be empty before the teaching of Messiah.

The above and similar quotations are from Edersheim. There is no evidence that they are verbally pre-Christian, but a high probability that they reflect pre-Christian opinion.

The expectation that Messiah would be a wise Teacher can be illustrated from the New Testament. The woman of Samaria said to Jesus (John iv, 25), "I know that Messiah cometh (which is called Christ); when He is come, He will declare unto us all things." And when Simeon had the child Jesus in his arms, he said that He would be "a light for revelation to the Gentiles" (quoting Isa. xlii, 6).

These sayings show that it was expected that Messiah would be a teacher of Samaritans and Gentiles, as well as Jews.

It is universally admitted that Jesus of Nazareth *was* a very wise Teacher. The Sermon on the Mount is generally regarded as a masterpiece of teaching. What profound wisdom there was in Jesus' teaching that true greatness lies in rendering great services to the community! What practical wisdom in what He said about the settlement of personal quarrels! Consider the beauty of the parables! that of the Good Samaritan alone would entitle Jesus to be looked upon as a wise Teacher.

Confucius was a wise teacher. If the Chinese were able to prove that the coming of Confucius as a teacher had been foretold and expected, would they not argue from this that he had been sent to them from heaven? But these are the actual facts with regard to Jesus of Nazareth: so we have here a proof that certain of the prophecies were inspired by superhuman wisdom.

It was foretold that Messiah would be a King of most beneficent character. Jer. xxiii, 5: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and He shall reign as King and deal wisely, and shall execute judgment and justice in the land." Isa. xvi, 5, is even more relevant: "And a throne shall be established in mercy, and One shall sit thereon in truth, in the tent of David; judging and seeking judgment, and swift to do righteousness."

Ezekiel, however, preferred to present the coming Messiah as a Shepherd, and wrote (xxxiv, 23): "And I will set one Shepherd over them, and He shall feed them, even my servant David." The Jews' conception of a shepherd was, of course, one who protects as well as feeds his flock. The great war has reminded us that both these are most important functions of government, and the only idea of government in the time of the Prophets was kingship.

Other interesting prophecies of Messiah as King are Gen. xlix, 10; Hos. iii, 5; Jer. xxx, 9; Amos ix, 11.

There are other prophecies of the coming King, especially if we include those which the Jews regarded as Messianic, though they may not so appear to us. For instance, the democratic 72nd Psalm, which contains five predictions that He would be particularly good to the poor and needy.

Now we need not labour over the proof that these prophecies caused an intense longing for the coming King among the Jews, for Tacitus, Josephus and Suetonius confirm this point, as we have seen. Edersheim's list of passages Messianically applied in ancient rabbinic writings includes seven out of the nine passages last quoted.

This expectation seems to have culminated about the time Jesus lived, as appears from many passages in the New Testament (Matt. ii, 2; Luke iii, 15; xxii, 67; xxiv, 21; John i, 20 and 45, iv, 25; vii, 26 and 41). It seems probable that this knowledge of the date was due to Dan. ix, 25: "Know therefore and discern that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Anointed One, the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks." Now it was well understood that these weeks were to be weeks of years. Lieut.-Col. Mackinlay, in his book *The Magi, how they recognized Christ's Star*, has shown that this recognition was probably due to a study of the above prophecy.

The main doubt about the meaning of the prophecy is urged on account of the break after the seven weeks. However that may be, expectation of the coming King was universal among the Jews of Christ's day. Some, like Herod, only expected a political king, but others expected a benefactor. Bartimeus cried out, "Thou Son of David, have mercy on me," evidently meaning, "You are the Messiah, the great Son of David, therefore I naturally look to you for help."

But how can it be said that the humble Carpenter of Nazareth was a king at all? We call men kings when they excel in any branch of the arts, or when they control the actions of large numbers of people. When before Pilate, Christ claimed to be pre-eminently King of Truth, and this claim to kingship at least is now seen to be well justified in both senses, for He excelled all others in teaching truth, and He controls the actions of large numbers of people who wish to be guided by truth in its highest and best meanings.

King Alfred of England, Queen Margaret of Scotland, John Knox, John Wesley, Elizabeth Fry, Lord Shaftesbury, David

Livingstone, General Gordon, Dr. Barnardo, Agnes Weston were Christ's subjects, and we know they are only some outstanding names in an immense list of people who have become the acknowledged benefactors of the human race, chiefly because they were trying to please Christ.

I was four years in Perth before the war, and noticed that every class of poor and afflicted people were being very unostentatiously looked after by Christ's subjects for Christ's sake; and what was true there, is more or less true of every town where our language is spoken, and of many towns besides. Thus, in a very practical sense, Christ is King, and the very sort of King whose coming was foretold. King of mercy, truth and justice. Prince of Peace. Protector of the poor. A Shepherd, defending and feeding His flock with the food most wholesome for them.

Permit me a quotation, not because the following are the words of the King-maker Napoleon, or at least attributed to him, but because the point has never been put better.

"Jesus alone founded His empire upon love, and to this very day millions would die for Him. Christ alone has succeeded in so raising the mind of man towards the unseen that it becomes insensible to the barriers of time and space. Across a chasm of 1800 years Jesus Christ makes a demand which is beyond all others difficult to satisfy. . . . He asks for the human heart, He will have it entirely to Himself, He demands it unconditionally, and forthwith His demand is granted. Wonderful. In defiance of time and space, the soul of man, with all its powers and faculties, becomes an annexation to the Empire of Christ."

The Jews argue that Jesus of Nazareth was not a king in any sense resembling the common acceptation of the term. Before Christ's day there had been great kings and leaders like Solomon, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander and Judas Maccabees. None had permanently benefited the human race, or left any enduring empire behind. It is hard to see why Christ should be reckoned less of a king than these, seeing that He has permanently benefited the race, and created an ever widening kingdom.

It was foretold that Messiah would be a perfect Example. Jer. xxiii, 5 and 6: "I will raise unto David a righteous Branch . . . and this is His name whereby He shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness." Isaiah has five passages describing

Messiah as "righteous" (ix, 7; xi, 4 and 5; xvi, 5; xlii, 6), two as "beautiful" and "glorious" (iv, 2; xxviii, 5), and one as a "holy seed" (vi, 13). All the above were applied to Messiah in rabbinic writings, and Isaiah has three others not so included. No wonder that one of the rabbinic names for Messiah was "The Lord our Righteousness." In the book called 1st Enoch, written in first century B.C., there are several mentions of the righteousness of the personal supernatural Messiah.

Sceptics are agreed with Christians that Jesus of Nazareth was pre-eminently a righteous man. For Westerns—the righteous man. Rénan wrote: "Jesus remains to humanity an inexhaustible source of moral regenerations." Mill wrote: "Nor even now would it be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete than to endeavour so to live that Christ would approve our life." While Lecky wrote: "The simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers, and than all the exhortations of moralists."

It was foretold that Messiah would be an unanswerable Debater.

Deutero-Isaiah, writing of the servant of the Lord, said that God had "made His mouth like a sharp sword" (xlix, 2). Of course we take that figuratively, and understand that the servant was made eloquent, and His speech incisive. In the same book we read, in a passage Messianically interpreted in Jewish writings (xi, 4), "With the breath of His lips shall He slay the wicked." It is surely reasonable to read this as a prediction that Messiah would overcome the wicked in argument: seeing that the prophets habitually employ symbolic language. If this be the right reading, it was certainly strikingly fulfilled. We ourselves can judge of the cogency of some of the arguments by which the village Carpenter silenced the cleverest men of His learned nation, so that "no one was able to answer Him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask Him any more questions."

It was foretold that Messiah would be a patient Sufferer. The 22nd Psalm and 53rd chapter of Isaiah alone contain a complete word-picture of the details of Christ's last sufferings. There are also predictions of Christ's sufferings in other parts of the Old Testament, but as it is important to show that the prophetic picture can be traced without picking and choosing over a

wide range of Scripture, we will confine ourselves to the two passages mentioned above, only adding to the 53rd of Isaiah the last three verses of the preceding chapter. Of the 22nd Psalm all the first twenty verses refer to the details of Christ's sufferings, the remainder to the glories resulting therefrom. Every agent taking any part in the sufferings of Christ, from God the Father who permitted them, to the Roman soldiers who nailed Jesus to the Cross, is correctly described in this psalm, and their part assigned. To understand this we must remember that "bulls of Bashan" (verse 12) was a Jewish expression for people in high places who oppress the poor and crush the needy (see Amos iv, 1, and Ezek. xxxix, 18), a true description of the rulers of the Jews, who caused Christ's death. There is a curious change of agency in the 16th verse of the 22nd Psalm. Up to that verse it is clear that both the Sufferer and those who derided Him would be Jews. But the 16th verse reads, "For dogs have compassed me." Now "dogs" was the ordinary way in which Jews spoke of Gentiles. Let us see what it was these Gentiles were to do. The psalm continues, "The assembly of evil doers have enclosed Me, they pierced My hands and My feet, I may tell all My bones" (meaning probably that the bones would so ache that it would feel as though they could be counted), "they look and stare upon Me; they part My garments among them, and upon My vesture do they cast lots." The exact things that the Roman soldiers eventually did.

Thus agency is the key to the 22nd Psalm, but in the passage in Isaiah it would seem that the author was trying to analyse the progress of thought of those who should contemplate the sufferings of Messiah. First they regard them with bewilderment. "Many were astonished at Thee." Then as contemptible, "He was despised and rejected of men . . . as one from whom men hide their face He was despised." Then they consider the sufferings to be penal, inflicted by God for the Sufferer's own sins; "we did esteem Him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted." Then they advance to perceiving that the sufferings are vicarious, undergone for others. "He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities"; and finally they perceive that the sufferings are redemptive, "With His stripes we are healed, the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all." It is surely noteworthy that these two prophetic passages are logically planned and orderly thoughts, rather than rhapsodies. Yet the 53rd Isaiah contains nine distinct predictions of the historical

details of Christ's sufferings, while the 22nd Psalm has no less than fifteen, making twenty-four points accurately foretold.

There is evidence that some Jews expected a suffering Messiah to be descended from Ephraim, but probably the expectation was not general. The fact that a Teacher was expected doubtless swelled the gathering which listened to the Sermon on the Mount, and Messianic expectation was probably useful to Jesus Christ in other ways, but if the Jews had already generally applied the 22nd Psalm and 53rd Isaiah to the Messiah, they would probably have killed Jesus by stoning instead of crucifixion, so as to contradict His claims to be the Messiah. Thus, lack of widespread expectation is, in this case, no detriment to the general proof of inspiration, but rather argues Divine superintendence. Thus it is clear that, it being desirable not to create general expectation, the prophecy was better veiled, provided that it could be recognized immediately after its fulfilment: and this evidently was possible, from the fact that the two disciples, by the time they arrived at Emmaus, recognized that Messiah's sufferings had been foretold.

It is interesting to note from Luke ii, 35, and John iii, 14, that Simeon and Christ Himself read the prophecies aright. There is also a very remarkable passage in Chapter ii of the Wisdom of Solomon.

For proof that the prophecies of Messiah's sufferings were fulfilled upon Jesus of Nazareth it is convenient to quote the well-known French sceptic Rénan. He can hardly have been ignorant that the sufferings were foretold, and he probably decided to trade on the ignorance of his Parisian readers and practically admit the fulfilments, because he knew that the evidence was too strong to be set aside.

The following passages are taken verbatim from Wilbour's translation of the *Vie de Jesus*, by Rénan: "Jesus preserved silence. . . . Jesus was, none the less, from that hour a condemned man. He remained during the rest of the night exposed to the ill-treatment of a base varletry, who spared Him no affront. . . . A general clamor arose, Not this one, but Jesus, Bar Rabban. . . . Pilate caused Him to be whipped. Flagellation was the ordinary preliminary of crucifixion. . . . Crucifixion was not of Jewish origin. . . . the cross was a Roman punishment. . . . The Cohort had already in reserve two thieves to be executed. . . . According to Jewish usage, the victims were offered a highly-

spiced wine, an intoxicating drink. . . . The cross was first set up, then the prisoner was fastened to it by driving nails through His hands; the feet were often nailed, sometimes merely tied with cords. . . . Jesus tasted these horrors in all their atrocity. A burning thirst, one of the tortures of crucifixion, devoured Him. He asked for drink. There was at hand a cup of the ordinary drink of the Roman soldiers, a mixture of vinegar and water called 'posca' . . . a soldier dipped a sponge in this drink, put it on the end of a reed, and bore it to the lips of Jesus, who sucked it. The thieves were crucified on either side. The executioners, to whom were ordinarily abandoned the minor spoils of criminals, drew lots for His garments, and, seated at the foot of the cross, guarded Him. . . . The passers insulted Him, He heard about Him vulgar raillery, and His death-cries of anguish turned into hateful mockeries. Ah, behold Him, said they, He who called Himself Son of God! Let His Father come now and deliver Him, if He will have Him. He saved others, it was muttered, Himself He cannot save. If He be the King of Israel let Him now come down from the cross, and we will believe Him. . . . He cried out, My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Me. . . . His head fell upon His breast and He expired. . . . Joseph, of the little village of Arimathea, went at evening and asked the body of the procurator. Joseph was a rich and honourable man. . . . Joseph and Nicodemus buried Jesus according to the Jewish custom."

The prophecies whose fulfilment is thus acknowledged by Rénan, and which are not found in the two chapters quoted above, are in Psalm lxix, 21. See also Zech. xiii, 6.

It was foretold that Messiah would be a Saviour from the power of sin, and a shelter in certain of the troubles of life. It was, of course, also foretold that Messiah would be a Saviour from the guilt of sin. Perhaps some will wonder why I do not detail these latter prophecies, or the equally notable ones that He would be Divine; but if I went on to argue from the fact that such prophecies were fulfilled, I should be begging two very important questions. I could only argue from fulfilment by assuming inspiration, which is what I wish to prove.

Isa. lix, 20, reads, "And a Redeemer shall come to Zion"; xlix, 6, "My servant . . . a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be My salvation unto the end of the earth"; 9th verse, "Saying to them that are bound, go forth"; lxi, 1,

“The Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek (margin, poor), He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.”

Isa. lxiii is repeatedly applied in ancient Jewish writings to the expected Messiah. The close of the first verse, and the fifth verse, make it clear that Messiah would be no ordinary conqueror ; and, speaking generally, the passages relating to His warfare read more like a warfare against sin than against hostile armies.

It is curious that Edersheim mentions no record that Is. xxxii, 2, was regarded as Messianic, for it reads : “And a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest ; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.” This verse appeals strongly to all who have been in the desert, and may surely be taken as a prediction that Messiah would be a shelter in certain of the troubles of life.

There are also indirect prophecies to the same effect. By force of contrast the Great War should surely turn our attention to the remarkable number of salvation stories in the Old Testament. There are also the tabernacle and wilderness types, but these latter should be rather taken as indirect prophecies that Messiah would be a Saviour from the guilt of sin.

As regards expectation. Most of the verses quoted above were accepted as Messianic. From the discussion in the Talmud it appears that the Jews connected Messiah with righteousness, repentance and good works, especially care of the poor, sick and stricken. The nearest they came to expecting Him to be a conqueror, was, that they expected that His kingdom would be universal and that foreign domination would cease.

This expectation can be illustrated from the early chapters of the first and third Gospels.

Jesus of Nazareth was, and still is, a Saviour from the power of sin, and a shelter in certain of the troubles of life. For instance, the Apostles were convinced that He had saved Mary Magdalene from the power of her sins, and the Fathers were similarly assured that He saved St. Augustine from the power of his sins. It would be easy to collect evidence that many since have found like salvation. I have never heard it disputed that *Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners* was written by John Bunyan. He states therein : “It was my delight to be taken captive by the Devil at his will. I had few equals both for cursing, swearing, lying and blasphemy. These things became as a second nature

to me. I did still let loose the reins to my lusts, and delighted in all transgression against the law of God." It is very well known that John Bunyan afterwards became a preacher of righteousness, and a man of most blameless life. What wrought this change? His writings show that it was the love of Christ.

The records of the Salvation Army, and such books as *Broken Earthenware*, make it clear that Christ is still a Saviour from the power of sin. And also a shelter in certain of the troubles of life, not to mention those which are the consequence of sin. All those who talk on serious subjects to patients in hospitals know that Christ does give His servants wonderful patience and peace, and does assist them to endure their sufferings cheerfully, and thus saves them from that querulous spirit which trebles suffering.

Thus we have seen that it was foretold and expected that Messiah would be a wise Teacher, a beneficent King, a perfect Example, an unanswerable Debater, a patient Sufferer and a Saviour from the power of sin and a Shelter in certain of the ills of life, and that these prophecies have now been most amply fulfilled.

It remains to examine how far Jesus of Nazareth may have fulfilled all these prophecies on purpose. No doubt He deliberately set Himself to be a Teacher, Benefactor, perfect Example and Saviour: but the point is, could He have succeeded if He had been a mere man? How many thousands have tried to be great teachers, and never been comparable to Christ. Napoleon succeeded in becoming a king, but only at the expense of forfeiting any claim to be a Saviour. Christ does not appear to have tried to become a king in any sense allowed before His day (see John vi, 15) and He never seems to have had the chance to practise debating.

But it is when we think of the extraordinary exactness of the fulfilment of the detailed prophecies of Christ's sufferings that we see immediately that any explanation that Jesus fulfilled the prophecies on purpose hopelessly breaks down; because He suffered at the hands of His enemies, who, if they remembered the prophecies, had the best of reasons not to fulfil them; seeing that they thus proved Jesus to be the Messiah, the very point they wanted to disprove!

The whole argument is strengthened by the following considerations. Other characteristics of the Messiah were foretold

and fulfilled besides those dealt with above. Though as many as three personages may have been expected, namely, a very great prophet, Messiah son of David, and Messiah son of Ephraim, all the fulfilments centred upon one personage. Most of the prophecies are gathered into a single prophetic book, that of Isaiah, and a single psalm, the 22nd. Parallel with the prophecies there went Messianic preparation, and that on several converging lines.

The simplest and most rational explanation of the whole matter is that we have here a manifest case of the working of a loving, personal God; who inspired the prophecies, and saw to their fulfilment.

I am unaware that any other coherent explanation has been put forward. Yet 250 years have passed since the famous Pascal wrote that the greatest of the proofs of Jesus Christ are the prophecies. Every other branch of Christian evidences has been controverted by sceptics. Why not this? Surely because no line of attack holds out any prospect of success.

In conclusion, may I urge you to study the prophecies that Messiah should be a Saviour from the guilt of sin, and that He should be Divine? Points of the utmost interest and importance, but beyond the scope of this paper.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said: Colonel Molony has placed us much in his debt. He has proved his thesis up to the hilt and his paper is an encouragement to further study of the prophecies. Is he quite correct on page 92 in saying that prophecy is a branch of Christian evidences which has never been controverted by sceptics? Certainly the modernist school has attacked the prophetic Scriptures to the point of denying to them any quality of prediction. In terming this a swing of the pendulum Colonel Molony seems too kind to his opponents. A pendulum can hardly swing from affirmation to blank denial, only between degrees of affirmation or denial. I think the modernists have jammed the pendulum of their clock, but we have a better, which goes serenely well. What is the use of denying the predictive quality in prophecy? Numberless fulfilments, both adequate and accurate, regarding, for instance, Babylon, the Jews, and, as the lecturer has shown, our Lord Himself, prove the contrary.

Colonel Molony's point seems a strong one that a definite expectation was created by the prophecies in the minds of those addressed, and continued to exist until the fulfilment. The modernists, however, assert that prophecy is only the philosophy of a past history. Certainly it is not very difficult to foretell the past. We can all of us predict what the weather was yesterday. These teachers must take their public to be very ignorant of the prophetic Scriptures to ask them to believe as, for instance, Dr. A. B. Davidson does, that "In no prophecy can it be shown that the literal prediction of distant historical events is contained"; and again, "Special predictions concerning Christ do not appear in the Old Testament"; and again another, Dr. David Smith, writes, "The prophets never predict far remote events." Why this emphasis on "remote"? Is it then conceded that the prophets could predict things a month ahead? But if so, they could certainly do so a year, a decade, or, as our lecturer has shown they do, centuries ahead.

Canon Driver warns us against supposing that "Isaiah was immersed in spirit in the future, as such immersion in the future would be not only without parallel in the Old Testament, it would be contrary to the nature of prophecy"!

This is rather like a colour-blind person denying the possibility of a rainbow, as contrary to the nature of colour. I think any student of prophecy could easily find a score of instances to refute the Professor (*e.g.*, Isa. xi, 11; xiii, 17, 18; xxiii, 17; Jer. xxv, 12; Micah v, 2). Peter's description of the prophetic ministry is really equivalent to saying that "the prophets were immersed in spirit in the future" (1 Pet. i, 10-12).

Dr. A. JUKES said: In our English Bible we have no intimation as to when the Messiah was to be expected, yet there was a widespread expectation of His coming at the time of His birth.

Our English Bible is translated from the Hebrew, with their vowel pointings. The ancient Hebrew had no vowel points, which were added, I believe, about the second or third century A.D.

We have no ancient copy of the Septuagint, our MSS. being not older than the fourth century A.D., and not till 1772 was the *Codex Chisia* published in Rome, which seems to have been made before the Masoretic punctuation of the Hebrew Text, and it is stated that without the alteration of a single Hebrew letter the sense of

Dan. ix, 24 is completely altered so that instead of 70 weeks, it reads 77 weeks, which are counted by the author from the issue of the Decree of Darius in 538-9 B.C., and its fulfilment would be in 1 B.C., and the 62 weeks when the wall of Jerusalem was rebuilt in 434 B.C. which would again fall due 1 B.C.

These dates are taken from *The Time of the End of the "Weeks" of Daniel*, by H. C. Emeric de St. Dalmas.

If the author of the above book is correct it would seem that in this prophecy of weeks there is a Hebrew Cryptogram, one giving the date of our Lord's birth and the other giving the date of His Death.

I do not at all agree with the author in his chronology. But if he is right in attributing to the original Septuagint the sense which he gives, it may well account for the expectation of our Lord's coming at the time of His birth.

Lt.-Col. G. MACKINLAY said: I am sure we are most grateful to Col. Molony for his subject, and also for the very helpful manner in which he has treated it. He has given us many instances of the fulfilment of the expectation of our Lord's first coming, founded on ancient prophecies. One of the most striking is that of the wise men at the Nativity (Matt. ii, 2). They had seen Christ's star in the East; so sure were they that it indicated the long-foretold time of His birth, that they undertook a long journey across the desert from their home at the time of its appearing; they came to Jerusalem, and they asked to be informed where it had been predicted that the King of the Jews, the promised Messiah, should be born.

This expectation of His coming was also shared by the chief priests and scribes at Jerusalem, though, either through indifference or through fear of Herod, they did not accompany the Magi in their search.

The followers of false religions have made predictions: some of them have been stated to have been fulfilled, and it is possible that they may have been accomplished in some measure in some instances; but, as Col. Molony tells us, the predictions of Christ in the Old Testament are absolutely unique; for we have been reminded of the numerous details connected with our Lord's death, even to the minutiae of the Crucifixion by the Romans. So full are the

statements about our Lord in the Old Testament, that a narrative of His Life and Death has been compiled from the prophecies, uttered hundreds of years before.

But, though such very full details were given, the prophecies were not understood before the event; the blending of suffering and glory on One Person was not accepted by mere worldly wisdom: it was no wonder that many Jews looked for two Messiahs, and that even our Lord's own disciples immediately after the Resurrection were puzzled and extremely downcast. When, however, our Lord Himself explained to the two on the way to Emmaus that they ought to believe all that the prophets had spoken about Christ's suffering and entering into His glory, their hearts burned within them (Luke xxiv, 32), and as He continued to explain the fulfilment of Scripture they were filled with joy (Luke xxiv, 52, 53), which was confirmed and strengthened by the coming of the Holy Spirit a few days afterwards on the Day of Pentecost.

Dr. A. WITHERS GREEN said: There is one verse in Acts ii, 23, which is a great stronghold of my faith. It goes deeper than prediction, for it pronounces the foreknowledge and pre-counselling of God concerning every detail of the sufferings of the Christ, while prediction follows after.

Concerning these three forerunners of the Passion, to me what He did *not* suffer is more remarkable than the permitted cruelties. The murderers were paralyzed as to every action that was not to be part of the sufferings of the Lamb "slain before the foundation of the world." They could pierce His feet but not His thighs, His hands but not His arms. The bones of the Great Antitype of the Pascal Lamb could not be broken. His own words were to the one who pronounced judgment, "Thou couldst have no power at all except it were given thee from above."

I cannot personally agree with the statements on pages 84 and 86 of the uncorrected proof calling our Lord "the Carpenter," even with a capital C. As such He was never predicted, as such neither did He Himself nor His apostles call Him. The name is never given to Him except by His enemies in the New Testament. Therefore we, 1900 years later, have no right to use such a name for our Lord and Master.

Jerome may testify that our Lord made yokes. Our Lord may have done many things according to His choice, so the above is but little to the point. I find there are those who *would* refuse to call Him "the Carpenter's Son" or "the Carpenter of Nazareth," but my sympathies are with those who go further and do not add to His humiliation by calling the Lord of life and glory "a, or the Carpenter."

[NOTE BY EDITOR.—It is not suggested that "a Carpenter" was a special part of Christ's humiliation. It was a calling from which Rabbis were chosen, and, we are told, was about equivalent then in standing to a barrister to-day.]

MR. SIDNEY COLLETT said: The Rev. Gosset-Tanner and Dr. Schofield have both somewhat anticipated much of what was on my own mind in regard to this paper. But first of all I feel I must raise my humble protest against an unfortunate expression used by the lecturer on page 91, where he tells us: "Christ *tried* to be a Teacher, Benefactor, Perfect Example and Saviour."

Surely, as those who must ever desire to render due reverence to the name of our Divine Lord, we could not allow such an expression to pass unchallenged. Our Lord had no need to "try" to be such. He *was* essentially a Teacher, Benefactor, Perfect Example and Saviour!

Then, I feel compelled to say that, in my judgment, the great weakness of the paper lies in the fact that the author has confused two classes of prophecy which are quite distinct the one from the other, viz., one class which speaks of Christ's *first* coming as a Saviour to suffer; and the other which tells of His *second* coming as a King to reign.

The lecturer appears to have taken several prophecies from both these classes, and has applied them indiscriminately to Christ's first coming!

For example, he has treated the 72nd Psalm in that way. Now that whole Psalm is clearly millennial in character, when "all Kings shall fall down before Him, and all Nations shall serve Him" (verse 11).

And, although there was of necessity a kingly dignity attaching to everything the Saviour said and did at His first coming, nevertheless such prophecies, if rightly understood, will be seen to refer not to His first coming, but to His second coming.

Other passages quoted by the lecturer were similarly misapplied. Such as those on page 86, where we are told in Isa. xlix, 2, "that God had made His mouth like a sharp sword"; and again in Isa. xi, 4, "with the breath of His mouth He shall slay the wicked."

Surely these prophecies cannot apply (as the lecturer would have us believe), to the manner in which Christ, when on earth, so often silenced His adversaries in debate! But rather to that Day when, coming a second time in judgment, "He will speak unto them in His wrath, and vex them in His sore displeasure" (Ps. ii, 5).

I would venture humbly to add that it is quite impossible to understand or interpret Scripture aright unless we keep these two classes of prophecies, which relate to different periods and events, quite separate in our minds, and thus "rightly divide the Word of Truth."

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS said it was one of the infirmities of the human mind, while recognizing the accomplishment of a change, to overlook the means by which it had been effected. He pointed out that the conversion of the Jews (a peculiarly difficult people to persuade) to form the nucleus of the Christian Church appeared to have been brought about by the argument from the fulfilment of prophecy. He instanced Peter's quotation in his sermon on the Day of Pentecost of Ps. xvi and cx as prophesying the Resurrection and Ascension respectively. He also mentioned Paul's quotation of Ps. ii and xvi as prophesying the Incarnation and Resurrection in his first recorded sermon and also the statements in the Acts, of Paul's use of the Scriptures at Thessalonica, and Apollo's use of them at Corinth to convince the Jews.

He referred to Professor Rendel Harris's two small volumes entitled *Testimonies* which showed the circulation in the Christian community before the Gospels were written of books bearing this name, comprising quotations from the Old Testament intended for use in controversy with Jews.

He considered we were justified in speaking of our Lord as a carpenter (Mark vi, 3), and thought it important to know that up to thirty years of age He showed Himself an example to us of working with His hands. He thought the spiritualizing of certain prophecies by applying them to the present time, from which the lecturer was

not exempt, tended to weaken his general argument and expressed the hope that he admitted a personal coming of Christ.

Mr. Theodore Roberts, in moving a vote of thanks to Colonel Molony, pointed out that Matthew's Gospel showed us that the Kingdom of Christ at the present time was in mystery, that is to say, it was only known to those who were in the secret, and was not publicly displayed, so that the prophecies of the Kingdom still await a literal fulfilment.

The Rev. JAMES GOSSET-TANNER writes: "Col. Molony's paper is valuable in showing that the prophecies of the Old Testament were accurately and minutely fulfilled by Christ at His first coming.

"But when he intimates that 'in a very practical sense, Christ is King' already, and has 'created an ever-widening kingdom,' I cannot admit that this is the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. His disciples supposed that the time had come for Him to assume His kingship at His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, when they cried, 'Blessed be the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord.' But it was not to be then. About this time, our Lord spake a parable because they thought that the Kingdom of God should *immediately* appear' (Luke xix, 11). This notion was to be checked.

"We come to a passage like Dan. vii, 13, 14: 'I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought Him near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve Him; His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.' Can we admit that this has in any sense been fulfilled already? Must we not be fully assured that a number of passages, both in the Old Testament and New Testament, will be as accurately and minutely accomplished at our Lord's second coming as others were at His first? As the time draws nigh, Bible students should be more carefully and diligently studying these portions, so as to be ready whenever the King really appears to claim His kingdom."

The Rev. J. E. H. THOMSON, M.A., D.D., writes: "I should wish to add my testimony to the excellence of Colonel Molony's paper

on the Evidence of Prophecy. I confess to have neglected it very much, due, I am afraid, to an unconfessed suspicion of its real cogency. The fact that the Apostles, and above all our Lord Himself, relied on the Testimony of the Prophets ought to have moved me to have a very different opinion. The Colonel's able paper has stated the argument from prophecy in a most admirable manner. The introduction of Renan and his unconscious testimony to the evidence for Christ's mission to be drawn from the Prophets, is peculiarly effective. The fact that there was about the time of the Advent, a widely-diffused expectation of a deliverer, was itself a prophecy. As Dr. Cook, the American Apologist, put it, 'Nature never makes a half joint.' If Nature, that is God, *then* implanted in man an intense desire for a deliverer, and an eager expectation that He would soon appear, that implied that the expectation would be fulfilled. I venture to think that Colonel Molony would have found some additional proofs of this expectation, and of the nature of the Messiah expected, by a study of the Jewish Apocalypses, especially of the Enoch Books. Perhaps also the pre-Christian Samaritan hymn to the Thabeb—the Samaritan name for the Messiah—would have strengthened his case. Personally, I would thank Colonel Molony very heartily for his paper, which I have read and re-read with profit."

Dr. ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD writes: "Being unable to come to-day I send a short note referring to Col. Molony's remark on the 'two Messiahs.' In St. Matt. xxi, 10, we read, 'Who is this?' and the current belief among the Jews was in two Messiahs—Messiah-ben-Joseph, the suffering servant who had to suffer and die as in Isa. liii, and Messiah-ben-David, the King of the Jews, who had to reign in glory according to Isa. xi and xxxii. To the Jews the two were irreconcilable, for they had not the missing link that alone could unite the two, *i.e.* the Resurrection. This alone makes both possible. No doubt it is to this Col. Molony refers. The paper is most interesting."

Lieut.-Col. M. A. ALVES writes:—"It is needless to say that all of these predictions respecting the First Advent must be looked for in the Old Testament prophecies, and the expectation at the time appointed in the great announcement by the Angel Gabriel in the

prophecy of the weeks in Dan. ix. We must, however, be on our guard not to read into these predictions, those which concern the coming of the King ruling all nations with a rod of iron, not of gold, when, if the just have a good time, the unjust have a bad time.

“As at that time Satan will be chained and in the abyss, and God’s Spirit will be poured out on all flesh, there will be no excuse whatever for refusing the call to repentance, and the inclination and power for righteousness.

“As an illustration of the need for caution regarding the predictions, I may mention that some ten years ago, I heard a Christian preacher, in a Good Friday sermon, speak of our Lord’s sufferings as His treading the winepress alone—see Isa. lxiii, 1–6.

“I remember, some years ago, hearing the late Dr. Bullinger say that whilst the glories of the King were sometimes mentioned, apart from any mention of the sufferings, the sufferings were never mentioned apart from the glories; and I have found no exception to this. In Gen. iii, 15, ‘IT shall bruise thy head,’ takes precedence of ‘Thou shalt bruise His heel.’ The prophecies dwell much more on the reigning King than on the suffering Saviour, who is pre-eminently taught in the tabernacle and temple sacrifices.

“Whilst many of the Old Testament prophecies might leave us in doubt as to their fulfilment in one or in more persons, Ps. xxii leaves us in little doubt, and Isa. liii in none whatever, that the Sufferer and King were to be one person. That the Prophet was to be the same person was less clear; most of those who accepted our Lord in that capacity, and also as King, were scandalized at the thought of His being the Sufferer; and when He died, they lost all hope of His becoming King—all except the penitent malefactor on the cross.

“I should rather be incined to say (see page 84, near foot) that our Lord, as Prophet, was servant of God’s Truth; it is also true that He is King of the hearts of God’s faithful people; but this, I submit, is not the meaning of the Old Testament prophecies of the King, who will not show kindness to the lion, which is cruelty to the lamb. He will know how to show mercy, but not at the expense of justice.

“There are prophecies in Deuteronomy and the Psalms, stating that the obedience of many of the Gentile nations in the millennium will be forced and feigned, not voluntary, and that a great revolt will take place (see Rev. xx) as soon as Satan is unchained.

“ I offer these few remarks in order to help in making clear the great difference in character between the first and second advents.”

Dr. C. Fox writes : “ One’s own researches in prophecy have been rather spiritual than material, for one feels it has two distinct and definite spheres. Some are sure to be most drawn to the literal and others to the spiritual in Scripture, and so in its very large and weighty sphere of prophecy, but the exceeding truth and value of this in no degree invalidates the other, or its being equally such. Only, to this the attention of each class has not been, usually, given or called.

“ Through want of cultivation of the spiritual, in so materialistic and practical an age, in fact, now the regard paid to the literal meaning of prophecy exceeds immeasurably that given the spiritual, to our great hurt. The vast majority in the Churches dwell in the Outer Gentile court, far below our privilege and our call, as brought nigh, whether or not, of outward Israel, since the case spiritually of all men is one. It were much to be desired this failure might be perceived.

“ Another trait of the prophets is that they boldly uttered much they could not have understood ; and a David, Ezekiel or Daniel must have often had this test put to their fidelity to the *Afflatus*, and nobly did they bear the trial ; for some of the most important predictions of the Saviour must have seemed irrational and the temptation been strong to omit the strange sentences *interjected*, and the comments, perhaps of ridicule and censure, by the hearers, not less than the awful acted illustration enjoined, also unswervingly and wonderfully borne. How well is it the irrelevant verses of Our Lord’s birth or death were faithfully given with what was intelligible and in sequence ! For they stand forever as priceless Gospel testimonies.”

AUTHOR’S REPLY.

Lieut.-Col. MOLONY, in reply, thanked the Chairman, Lieut.-Col. G. Mackinlay, Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, and Dr. Schofield for their kind appreciation of his paper. He agreed with the Chairman that there are numberless other fulfilments of prophecy, and said that he had always been much struck with the predictions of the Destruction

of Nineveh and Tyre, Desolation of Babylon, Degradation of Egypt and Dispersion of the Jews. He noted that Canon Driver believed in the supernatural nature of Messianic prophecy.

In deference to Mr. Sidney Collett's opinion, the word "try" is omitted on page 91, and "He deliberately set Himself to be" substituted.

Lieut.-Col. Molony stated his belief in a personal second coming of Christ, when a great and sudden extension of His Kingdom will take place; but remarked that this is no argument that Christ is not already a very great King. We rightly speak of missionaries working for the extension of Christ's Kingdom, for how can anyone extend what does not exist? Further, Pascal and others have pointed out that prophecies are often fulfilled twice over.

Lieut.-Col. Molony thought Dr. Schofield's short letter on the Resurrection very noteworthy.

627TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, MARCH 7TH, 1921,
AT 4.30 P.M.

PROFESSOR H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD, M.A., B.Sc., IN THE
CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed, and signed, and the CHAIRMAN called on the Rev. H. Costley White, M.A., Headmaster of Westminster School, to read his paper on "Public School Education."

PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION. By the Rev. H. COSTLEY
WHITE, M.A., Headmaster of Westminster School.

ARE the Public Schools wanted? The particular irritant which set me upon examining this question in your company this afternoon was a remark made in a little book by Mr. William Paine. "Our public schools to-day," he says, "do not hold up any great ideal to the youth that passes through them. They have no great ideal to offer." And again, in stronger terms—"What if, in the absence of any commanding ideal, the training we are giving public school boys undoes them utterly before they have time to declare themselves for what they are?" I do not know the author of the book himself, or with what credentials he enters the lists of those who chasten our professional pride. All that I know of him is gathered from the autobiographical portions of his book, *The Aristocracy of Comradship*, which he was kind enough to send to me. From these pages I learn that he has a happy gift of literary style, a fresh and optimistic outlook on life, a large sympathy with "the people," and that he was not himself at a public school. But criticism, whatever its source, is generally a wholesome thing. Nor are schoolmasters wont to be defrauded of their share in it. Indeed, it is not many years since an ingenious author dedicated one of his works

To the most criticised,
The least advertised,
The most poorly paid
And the most richly rewarded
Profession in the world—The Schoolmaster.

No institution is so perfect but that it can wisely profit by healthy and vigorous criticism. And the public schools themselves make no pretension to any measure of perfection. They are very conscious of the many defects they have, and reiteration almost persuades them of the existence of many others that they have not. It is the recognised privilege of the Englishman to grumble at what he loves, and in the public schools, with which he readily finds fault, he yet feels an affectionate pride. This sentiment perhaps cannot, certainly need not, give an account of itself; for the dissatisfaction reasoned and often reasonable grounds can be alleged. The public schools are not in the forefront of any educational or intellectual movement. It is not in them that educational experiment finds a warm welcome or a congenial atmosphere. The few bold spirits who, from time to time, make ventures in untrodden paths are generally left to languish through the opposition or the neglect sometimes of colleagues, sometimes of parents, not often of the boys themselves, seldom, it is only fair to add, of headmasters. Not that the public school by any means shuts its ears or its doors to new ideas, new methods, or the admission of new subjects, as I hope to show presently; but it cautiously waits, as a rule, until the necessary experiment and verification have been made elsewhere. Future historians will hardly take note of any pioneer work within the public schools since Arnold's day. The main contributions to the science of education have come from outside—from the psychologists, with their increasing and perhaps sometimes precipitate activities, from the students of the wide and comprehensive sciences of sociology and economics, from the lecture halls of scientific historians, from the world of art and music, from the medical profession, and from the publications of the educational philosopher. Certainly the last 70 years have not been devoid of great schoolmasters, some few of whom I venture to think will be entitled to rank also as great men. But their greatness has lain rather in their administrative powers, or in their force of character and personality, or in their scholarship, than in any originality of educational idea. Moreover, if in the list of eminent and honourable names associated with the invention or development of a new educational system there is no name of a public school master, there are understandable reasons for the omission. The headmaster of a public school is not the irresponsible owner of his domain. He is the trustee of an inheritance and its traditions, *hereditas non sine sacris*.

Further, in a staff numbering anything from 20 to 50 masters, by whom the actual work is carried on, he has with him a proportion and often a majority of senior men. Men who have worked on certain lines for 20, 30 and even 40 years—capital teachers as many of them are, wise counsellors, devoted to the interests of their boys—nevertheless have neither inclination nor ability to change their method or their outlook. These form the senate of the scholastic State. And in educational politics as in other spheres it is the habit if not the function of a senate to modify the enthusiasms of a fresher blood. A third explanation of the staidness of our educational gait lies in this : a public school deals with pupils for some four or five years only at a critical age, thirteen to eighteen, when the great majority of parents are unwilling to submit their children to the hazard of experiment. With young children novel methods are freely tried ; young men of eighteen and upwards have freedom of choice largely in their own hands. It is at these two periods that new movements can more readily be attempted, as the history of education in the last two decades shows ; the public school must deal more gently and more cautiously with the more awkward age. A parent is at least as potent as a headmaster in determining the nature of a boy's education. And a parent's choice, in which the mother's influence is rightly predominant, is guided by a caution which may perhaps be not far removed from the virtue of prudence.

From what has been said let us recognise and admit the truth. The public schools are not the growth of to-day or yesterday. Like States and individuals they have their history ; their present and their future are conditioned by their past. You cannot exhibit the full-blown blossom of modernised ideas unless you start and man a completely new school. There was once a parable of new wine and old bottles ; it is only if you pour slowly and pour wine from which the youthful exuberance is refined away, and do not try to fill too full, that the skins will hold. A public school may be progressive, it may grow in grace, it cannot be as though it had never been. Thus also it comes about that we are blamed by one set of people on the ground that we perpetuate class distinctions which are no longer desired, and there are others by whom this same characteristic, perhaps more fancied than real, is accounted one of our scanty merits, and for whom it provides a sufficient motive, whether implicit or avowed, for submitting their sons to the mercy of an institution

in which on other grounds they secretly cherish but little faith. But why, in the face of so much demerit, are the public schools more overcrowded than they have been at any time in their history? If the verdict against them on so many charges be one of at any rate limited condemnation, the sentence seems to have been pronounced by a strangely Gilbertian court. Several contributory causes are at work, some of them of a temporary character due to the unusual conditions of the last six years. What the increase in population has been since 1911 we must await the census returns next month to know. But whereas there will doubtless prove to have been at least a normal decennial growth, in spite of certain obvious counter-conditions, the normal provision of school accommodation throughout the country for public elementary and public secondary education, which was required in order to keep pace with a growing population, has not been made. Hence the overflow from public elementary schools has swelled the numbers of the public secondary schools. These in turn have passed on their surplus to the grammar schools and smaller public schools, and by a continuation of the process of pressure as it were from below the great public schools have expanded to their utmost limits. Together with this movement, which is a merely arithmetical one, there has developed in the country a real interest and belief in education. This is a happy awakening in our national life. The experiences of the war have brought home the reflection that education is power—power to live a fuller and nobler life—to thousands who in former days were indifferent or sceptical. Nor, I think, should we overlook the influence in the last few years exercised upon the popular imagination and understanding by the fact that for the first time in our annals the administration of public education is in the hands not of a politician, but of a practised educationist. At the same time many of those who valued scholastic training and wished to provide it for their sons in the best form that lay open to them have had unprecedented financial opportunity to gratify their wish. But this is not all. Public school education has been throughout the war, and still is, one of the few commodities that can be purchased at a cost considerably below the current standard of prices, in some cases indeed at a figure below its cost price. We are officially informed that prices a few weeks ago were 176 per cent. above the pre-war rate—a computation which perhaps included the cost of many things that nobody

buys ! If public schools had yielded to the desire to raise their fees to meet this figure in any great degree, it would now be costing you about £500 a year to send your son to Eton, and over £300 to send him to Westminster. Unanimously the schools have refused to take that view of their duty in a time of national strain. School fees have been raised only to a degree that would enable schools to live. The average increase, as far as I have been able to gauge it, is not more than from 30 to 40 per cent. Schoolmasters have not sought to shift the rest of the burden on to other people's shoulders, but to bear it themselves. Schoolmastering is essentially a pastoral office, the obligations of which are understood and for the most part cheerfully accepted by those who enter upon it. But the labourer is not unworthy of his hire ; and in spite of the cynic's remark in Mr. Mallock's *New Republic* that £60 a year is too much to give to your Curate and too little to give to your cook, there is another point of view. School fees as they stand are a large sum for parents to pay ; they are a small sum for schools to receive. And what is the result ? In mercantile terms the parents have been able to purchase education, since the price has not been allowed extravagantly to soar above their means, and in the educational labour market there are no unemployed.

But all these considerations are secondary. There is a profounder and more permanent cause of the continued existence and stability of the public schools. They would not be sought after unless they met, I will not dare to say satisfied, a real demand. There must be something in their educational and social system—for under these two heads the criticisms of them may most conveniently be discussed—which is worth having and which a modern democracy desires to have. What is this elusive something ? To take these two things in the reverse order, ὕστερον πρότερον Ὀμηρικῶς :—

Consider first the position of the public schools as a social institution. Human beings associated in a State develop their institutions to give effect to their aspirations and ideas, some good, some bad ; the institutions of any period are an index and an expression of the national character which has given them birth ; and in turn they react upon the national character. Hence in the history of education one sees, for example, in ancient Athens the establishment and the reaction of an elaborate system of private day-schools aiming at a high degree of culture, quick wits, wide knowledge and critical taste, with

fees varying according to the social and pecuniary position of the parents and the caprice or necessity of the teacher. At Sparta, on the other hand, the aim was not the cultivation of the intellect, but of the physical courage and the moral character of a citizen soldier. Here was established the public boarding school, supported by the State, with prefects or monitors, housemasters, and a headmaster who was attended by a body of floggers. In this Spartan system the mind was neglected in favour of the body and of a modicum of specially selected moral qualities, among which the qualities of responsibility and honesty found no place. Here, in these two city States of antiquity we see contrasted the germs of two groups of features which, in our own system, are reproduced no longer in isolation or in antagonism, but in harmonious combination.

But not to pursue further this fascinating theme, which would take us too far afield, let us ask what, in England, is a public school. Strictly speaking, of course, it is not a public school at all, but just the opposite. It is an institution controlled not by any public authority but by a body of trustees or governors privately appointed under its particular deed or charter or other instrument. Hence in America its counterpart—Grotton, or St. Paul's—is more properly called a private school; the public school is the State school. Historically, however, the public school in England took its title, in days before the establishment of national education by law, from its distinction from the old local or grammar school. A public school drew its clientele from any part of the country far or near, and it took resident pupils either as scholars on its foundation or as commoners boarding under supervision authorised by itself. It served the locality, but was not merely a local school; it served the public at large, but was not limited by any public control. The system has grown apace in the course of five centuries, and particularly in the nineteenth century ancient foundations have been confirmed and enlarged, old local or grammar schools have been extended, refounded, re-endowed, new foundations have been established by royal benefactors, by the generosity of individuals and guilds, by the enterprise of masters and the public spirit of friends, until in 1920 on the roll of the Headmasters' Conference, which in a sense represents the public schools to-day, there stand the names of no less than 125 schools.

In these schools there are being educated some 43,000 boys. In the face of these figures, is that really a tenable view which

is held and is expressed that the public schools are not schools for the public, but are an aristocratic preserve? I doubt if it was ever so. Certainly in the records of Westminster I find Ben Jonson, the son of a bricklayer, in the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth, Henry Stubb, an impecunious mother's son, sitting side by side with their fellows without question asked. And I suspect that the annals of other old foundations reveal the same tale. But in the present day, strictly interpreted, the argument must invite us to assume that the 700 members of the Upper House have been so lavishly endowed by Providence as to have 60 sons apiece, all of an age to be at school together in a single year! It were hardly possible even in a eugenic paradise. But divesting the matter of any element of absurdity, let us interpret the term aristocracy in a far wider sense; let us take a smaller selection of the public schools; subtract from our 125 schools the 50 which in some form or another are in receipt of public monetary grants from the Board of Education; or take a narrower limit still, and consider the argument in respect only of those 55 schools which are entitled to membership of the Public Schools Club—even at that you are required in a single year to produce a supply of nearly 19,000 boys between the ages of 13 and 18, who are supposed to be drawn from the high-born families of the country, from stocks of ancient lineage. Even this supposition is "a thing imagination boggles at." The argument cannot, I think, be maintained either by fancy or by fact. It is not a small and exclusive section of the people that is served by the public schools; it is not one class but several. Directly, the education of the schools is shared in by the various grades of the upper and middle classes from whom the 43,000 pupils come; indirectly and in progressive stages by the whole community. For what is the process? Is it not this? The traditional and characteristic inheritance which the public schools preserve is a certain social culture, a refinement of manners, speech, mind, character and taste—qualities which form the distinctive equipment of the educated man. Such qualities are acquired in part by hereditary transmission combined with early home influences; in part, but to a lesser degree, by teaching; in part, and to the greatest degree, by constant and intimate contact with those who already possess them. It is this flower of social culture that for one short stage in its development is nourished by the public schools. It is a thing recognised as in itself desirable. It is for this reason that public school

education is desired. According to the measure in which these qualities are possessed, nature and environment conspire to differentiate individual from individual and, as individuals are multiplied, class from class. In any community there are also other powerful forces at work differentiating individuals and combining them in classes. But one of the most powerful of such forces is the possession or the lack of this social culture of which we speak. Now if I am right in believing that the public schools have this estimable gift to give—if it be true, as the witness of the figures attests, that their influence is reaching over a wide and ever widening area—it follows that, instead of perpetuating class distinctions, the public schools constitute a potent agency for dissolving them.

Education, however, costs money ; but what is worth having is worth paying for. It is worth while for the State and the municipality to pay for public education because the national character depends upon it. The recently increased expenditure upon improved salaries and the provision of pensions for teachers is an economy, because it ensures that children shall be taught by better teachers. Similarly, it is worth while to bear the burden of educating boys in public schools, both because to share in the individuality and character of a public school is a valuable thing, and because, if the more cultured classes suffer diminution of their culture, other classes must in measure suffer with them. It is worth while to submit, not cheerfully perhaps, but with resignation, to recent increases of fees, because if a generous Board of Education has granted pensions and improved emoluments to the masters employed under its authority, the least the public schools could do was to make for their staffs provision as good as that of the Board, and perhaps a little better.

I now come to the educational aspect of our subject. Education is not identical with instruction. To educate means to develop the capacities of the mind for work and for enjoyment. Mere ability, however great—mechanical, scientific, linguistic, even literary—is a different thing from an educated mind. Education involves beyond instruction the additional force of inspiration. A recent writer has happily illustrated the meaning of this. “The difference between instruction and inspiration,” he says, “seems to lie in this ; that by instruction a man can learn how to handle the normal and expected, but only inspiration will enable him to deal with what is abnormal and unexpected,

and specially with the most abnormal and unexpected of all things—his fellow man.”* I think that the real test, therefore, of the worth of public school education is this ; not whether it produces instructed boys, but whether it produces boys capable of dealing with their fellow men as leaders, companions, followers, in industry, in government, and in the various relations of life. What a boy knows is less important than what he is. But we are not entitled on that account to neglect his equipment on the side of knowledge. The common cavil that our boys leave us knowing nothing after four years of effort is no doubt to be taken as an Englishman’s form of pleasantry. But what the public schools neither do nor set out to do is to equip more than a few of their pupils with a fund of specialised knowledge, and these few only after the general groundwork has been adequately laid. It is in this, I think, that, at their present stage, they have attempted to strike the balance between two principles, the old and the new. The old principle insisted that a boy should be forced to learn a number of things because his masters thought them good for him ; the newer principle declares that a boy should only learn what his inclination suggests. The public school desires that all boys should learn certain things up to a point at which he has on the one hand acquired a fund of general knowledge—resources upon which he can draw and which he can enlarge as the circumstances of life may require—and on the other hand has both the experience and the data upon which to base his choice of further study in one selected direction. It is at this stage that the abler boy develops into the scholar, taking either Classics or History or Modern Languages or Science or Mathematics as his special sphere.

But what is, and what should be, the nature of the preliminary training before that point, which the future scholar shares with the rest of his schoolfellows, the great majority, whose abilities will never make scholars of them or take them much beyond that limit ? The prevailing tendency is to make this preliminary training one from which the classics are excluded. My own belief is that a general training which includes a modified study of the classics is the wiser course. May I quote some lines that I penned a few months ago in support of this belief ?

* *A Study of Silent Minds*, by K. E. Kirk. (Student Christian Movement.)

“ If a man takes the lid off his mind and looks in he can inspect its furniture. The equipment is roughly of three kinds, designed for the understanding respectively of God, of man, and of the physical universe. The first is provided by training in religion, the second by training in the humanities, and the third by training in mathematics and science. All three are equally essential and interdependent. Up to the middle of the Victorian Age the third kind of training was not recognised as generally necessary to educational salvation ; the world of science was as yet being only explored by a few pioneers. To-day popular imagination endows scientific education with universal and almost exclusive sacramental grace. The humanities are losing caste, and particularly that part of them which is the foundation of the whole structure—the study of the classics. If it be allowed, from what has been said, that the humanities form an indispensable, though not the sole medium of education, it is worth while to consider, even with the baldest brevity, the integral part that must still be played in modern education by the study of Latin and Greek.

“ These two are called dead languages ; nevertheless they are a speaking parable of the survival of the spirit. For though their body be dead, in the sense that they are no longer spoken tongues, it is not too much to say that they are the creative and sustaining force of the best of contemporary Western thought, and the parents, still fruitful, of modern tongues. Living languages—Arabic, Chinese, Russian, German—stand in less living relation than they to English thought and speech. Philosophy, history, law, poetry, art, spring from the culture of Greece and Rome and are learned best when the learning is imbibed from the original source. What the ancients thought, said and did has a direct bearing on present-day problems, social, political and theological, and often suggests the way of enlightenment. The classics are therefore of immediate practical value to modern life. That this view is by no means merely the prejudice of schoolmasters or University tutors may readily be seen by those who will do themselves and the nation the service of reading the pamphlet on this subject issued by the Government. *Reconstruction Problems*, No. 21, published by His Majesty’s Stationery Office. Price 2d.

“ It is not denied that something of the classical mind can be possessed through translations. But a man is only too conscious that he is not really at his best in second-hand clothes. More-

over, that method misses the real training of the mind, the intellectual gymnastic, which comes from the patient study and gradual mastery of the languages themselves. Humanistic training without Latin and Greek is like what, I suppose, scientific training would be without mathematics.

“ At the public schools during the past thirty years the modern side has grown apace, while the classical side in many, not all, schools has dwindled. But we are coming (should I say, have come ?) to realise that the hard line of cleavage between the two has had its day. Classical-side boys should and do learn science, and modern-side boys are regaining at least a grudging respect for Latin, if not for Greek. Education at school should be comprehensive until the stage is reached where specialisation begins—whether in classics, science, history, mathematics, or modern languages—and the more classics a boy has done in the earlier stages, the better he will prove to be in his special subject later, whatever be the line of special study he adopts. Setting aside the few really clever boys, who will naturally come to the top in any department, I think that most schoolmasters will agree that the classical-side boy is the boy of better calibre and the classical side produces the better boy. He will generally beat the ‘modern-sider’ on the latter’s own ground—in French, in English, in History, at any stage in his school career ; and in the later stages, if you give him a few months to make up leeway, in science and mathematics too. In the United States this observation, which is with me only an impression from experience, has actually been verified from statistics. These show that on every basis of comparison the classically trained students in the institutions from which the figures are drawn exhibit a superiority over the others *in non-classical subjects*, which is ‘striking even to those whose faith in the classics is most profound.’

“ In the past the study of Latin and Greek grew distasteful, not only perhaps because many parents failed to realise its true value, but because the treatment was made too intensive at the lower stages for the average boy. It is for those only who at the later stages specialise in classics that the intensive culture should be reserved, entailing hard composition, critical examination of difficulties in grammar, syntax and style and the more searching study of antiquities. For the general classes it is possible soon to learn to translate and appreciate an author without any great ‘drudgery’ in the minutiae of the language.

An alert exercise of the faculties is required, and the powers of accuracy, judgment and imagination are sharpened by unavoidable practice."

But, after all, what subjects a boy takes or what he rejects is a question of relatively small moment. What really matters is the kind of boy he is. Is he made by his public school life, or is he marred? It is as a school of character that the public school must stand or fall. To help each boy to become something like what God would have him be—all else is subordinated to this great aim. To this end I think it may fairly be said that many public schoolmasters do their best to acquaint themselves with the most helpful suggestions of modern thought and to utilise them on their boys' behalf. They endeavour to make his lessons interesting to him because lack of interest breeds inattention, inattention idleness, and the various ills of which it is chief mistress. They realise the wisdom of enlisting his interest in music and in art, and create opportunities for the cultivation of these pursuits in order that the emotional and artistic sides of his nature may have free and healthy play, and his impulses may be diverted from harmful modes of expression.

They encourage games and bodily exercise of all sorts because it is recognised that the glow of a well-breathed body promotes an active mind and begets clean thoughts. Psychology is leading them to a more sympathetic understanding of the soul of the boy; explaining when and why to make allowances for moral or mental weaknesses and what remedial measures to employ. A newer understanding of the principles of punishment has introduced other methods to dispute the prerogative with that which once alone was understood. We are learning the grounds for being more patient with stupidity, and we are learning more and more to respect each boy as a person rather than as one impersonal and undifferentiated unit in a mass. Nor, I am sure, is any question more deeply pondered by the schoolmaster than that of the religious training of the school. There is essentially a spiritual basis to all our work. The lesson in divinity is a religious lesson; the sermon and the confirmation class are an integral part of the life of the place. Few subjects are debated by masters and their friends and by old boys in conferences and in discussions so keenly and so constantly as how to bring home the power of religion to a boy's heart. The help and advice of men of deepest spiritual experience is sought from

outside and generously placed at our disposal. We doubtless fail; but the ideal is there before us, and it is no shame to fail in the attainment of a great ideal. The only shame were not to try.

With these forces at work I think that after all the public schools do try to aim at a well-defined and honourable goal. They try to send out into life, and into the liberty which comes of a disciplined character, a body not of highly educated men, but of men who are capable of serving God and the community in many capacities; men whose tastes on the whole are refined, who help to preserve the higher things of life because they have learned themselves to value them, and who by their moderation and the respect which it earns exercise a steadying influence in the State.

DISCUSSION.

Professor H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD (in the Chair) had much pleasure in asking the audience to express their thanks to the author of the Paper for the interesting and lucid manner in which he had brought before them the difficulties besetting a public school-master's work, and the public benefits by which that work is attended. The public school teaches children not their private duty only, but also that which they owe to the public. The public school fits the boy (or the girl) for *public* service, and for taking useful place in the life of the community. The thing to be specially aimed at is not acquisition of knowledge so much as acquisition of character and healthy development of mental faculties. A good digestion and assimilation is preferable to food aggregation, be the food never so excellent.

Education is better than mere instruction, and the author rightly affirms their distinction. The young mind must not be treated as a lumber room, nor even as a granary. It is a field, with qualities and potencies to nourish, develop and fructify the seed. By leading the learner to help himself, education tends to successful co-operation between teacher and pupil, unto public advantage. But education must be religious education, based on the fundamental Bible truths of *Christianity*—God's revelation of Love in the personal Saviour.

Increased knowledge and ability, unsafeguarded by right *character*, render their possessor increasingly dangerous and mischievous to the unfortunate community of which he is a part.

[A hearty vote of thanks to the author was passed with acclamation.]

Mr. W. E. LESLIE said : There appears to be a tendency in the public school system to regard ethics from the standpoint of æsthetics, to treat morals as a department of manners. Conduct is often motived rather by considerations of "good form" than moral imperatives. To this defect of motive must be added defects of the code. For example, although "the dignity of labour" receives at least lip service, there is little recognition of the duty of labour, except, paradoxically, for those for whom it is a necessity. The obligation to serve in return for the benefits derived from the social order is often ignored or even repudiated. If there are but 150 public schools (as stated by the author), then either they are not alone in passing on our cultural inheritance, and in training men to be "leaders, companions and followers," or we are confining these inestimable privileges to a small plutocratic minority of our three to four million boys—and that in days when such training is more necessary than at any period in our history.

Lieut.-Col. HOPE BIDDULPH said : Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the author of the admirable paper we have heard read this afternoon an elementary question on the subject of instruction. Many of us no doubt remember instructors who, though possessed of the highest mental and scholastic qualifications, were yet unable, so to speak, to lower their minds to the level of their pupils, and so failed to impart the desired instruction to them. My question then is, Are teachers instructed in the art of teaching during their own educational career, and is there any recognized training for this ?

Another point I would mention is one that will perhaps be thought out of place for a public school, as it is generally supposed to have been undertaken at an earlier stage of the pupil's training.

I refer to handwriting, orthography, punctuation and style, regarding which, when I sat for examinations many years ago, a notice used to head the examination papers to the effect that

marks would be apportioned for these essentials. I think the average public school boy is often lamentably deficient in all of these, and that more attention should be paid to them at this stage of his training.

Mr. W. HOSTE, B.A., said: Mr. White in his valuable paper has disarmed criticism by welcoming it. But I do not think the serious critics are from the ranks of the public schools—that is, from those who know them best—but from without. Perhaps the criticism that the public schools are an “aristocratic preserve” is aimed chiefly at a few, such as Eton, Harrow or Winchester, but would not “pluto-eratic” be more correct even in these cases? Such schools are full, not of aristocrats, but of very ordinary boys, whose parents can afford the price. Probably most of those who inveigh against the inequalities of life would not mind being able to “afford the price,” even at the risk of perpetuating those inequalities. As has been said, “£5,000 a year and a seat in the Cabinet would cure most Socialists.”

A public school in the technical sense means an “atmosphere” and a tradition, which cannot be manufactured, but must grow. You might start a hundred institutions and label them “public schools,” but you could not command the real thing. One sentence in the paper struck me especially. I think I quote it correctly: “Parents are unwilling to submit their children to the hazard of experiment.” I had, what I considered, the great advantage of being seven years at Clifton, under the late Bishop of Hereford, John Percival. He was of the Broad School, and probably not out of sympathy, to a moderate degree, with the Higher Critical Movement, but I never heard one doubt raised by him as to the authenticity of any part of the Holy Scriptures, either in sermon or divinity class. Nor do I ever remember a hint from his lips of the existence even of those redoubtable personages, J and E, or of that legendary fragment P. His anxiety was not to show how “up-to-date” he was by raising doubtful questions, but to put the fear of God into our souls. In contrast with him, one of the under-masters, who conveyed to us boys no impression whatever of true religious conviction, used to spend the Divinity hour spinning into our innocent heads the theories of Kuenen, Ewald, Welhausen. His great *forte* was the Psalms—not their contents, however, nor their message to us boys, but who wrote them, or rather who did not write

them. The only thing he seemed sure of was that the Psalms usually ascribed to David were not by David. We boys sat there wondering what he was driving at. Now we know.

Last week a young relative of my own was interviewed by a headmaster as to his fitness for a post of under-master. "I want you to teach the Bible," he said, "but I don't want any of the new-fangled notions." I think that headmaster had gauged the feeling of the average parent.

Mr. SIDNEY COLLETT said he had noticed that towards the end of the lecture the lecturer had spoken of "spiritual instruction" given, and of "sermons preached" at the public schools. But the question he wished to ask was, Did what might be called the religious teaching merely consist in "instruction" by the masters and sermons, or was the definite study of the Bible as the Word of God one of the regular and definite subjects in the curriculum of the schools? He asked this question because he believed this was the great need, not only in our public schools, but in all schools.

Lieut.-Col. M. A. ALVES said: Referring to a remark made by a previous speaker, I am fairly well convinced that in regard to the faults in the great public school system of education, the Universities are chiefly to blame. The great majority of teachers in these schools come from one of the Universities, and carry on the traditions learned there.

As an illustration of the mind of one University: I have a young relative at Oxford. He went there shortly after the war broke out, joined the Officers Training Corps, and some months later the Territorials, with whom he served until the armistice, when he returned to his college.

Those who had left temporarily for service were permitted to have their stay on return shortened. My relative told me that he had two subjects to get up to qualify for his degree; one compulsory, one permissive; the former Philosophy, the latter History.

I looked into one or two of the philosophical works to be studied. Much of the stuff was most blatant rubbish; and what was not was expressed in such a verbose and confused manner that it was a task of some difficulty to understand what the writer meant. Yet this was the compulsory subject.

History has been described—and rightly, I think—as the only true philosophy, whose great lessons are for all time ; yet th's really important branch of learning was made only permissive ! This shows the mind of our oldest and most “distingué” University !

It is for the public school masters to put pressure on the Universities, and, if possible, to compel them to change their plans.

I am an old man, and speak of some forty years ago. If I have not been at a public school myself, I have met many who have ; and whilst I have found their manners very good, I could not say the same of their morals, which were conventional, or of their general intelligence, which was commonplace.

As to morals, a man might bilk his tradesman, but he must not cheat at cards.

I remember once in India making a whole mess-table impotently furious when, in answer to a remark that officers as a whole were honourable men, I answered to the effect that if they were so they would look on it as dishonourable to cheat in horseflesh as at the card-table.

Referring to the remark of another speaker, that the great classical scholars were the greatest successes in after life, I would say that this seems to be putting the cart before the horse. Brilliancy in classics connotes a prompt and retentive memory, a sign of natural physical vigour—the true cause, humanly, of success.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

Mr. COSTLEY WHITE, in his reply, thanked the speakers for their generous and kindly criticism, with most of which he agreed. Though a teacher's best training was gained in the school of practical experience, he said that he always encouraged a young master to take a course of preparation afforded by the admirable Training Colleges now established at the Universities. In the Divinity lesson the first and last principle must be to find out what was the message which God was sending to all of us here and now through the lips of the Biblical writers of the past ages.

628TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, MARCH 21st, 1921,
AT 4.30 P.M.

Lieut.-Colonel HENRY SMITH, C.I.E., I.M.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed.

The HON. SECRETARY announced that the Rev. Chancellor Lias' paper having unavoidably fallen through, Mr. E. Walter Maunder, F.R.A.S., of the Greenwich Observatory, had kindly consented to read a paper on "Joshua's Long Day." He also announced the following elections:— As a Member, Mrs. A. E. Piesse; and as an Associate, the Rev. W. E. W. Wycliffe-Jones.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Mr. Maunder to read his paper, which was illustrated by lantern slides.

“*JOSHUA'S LONG DAY*” (JOSHUA, CHAPTER X). By
E. WALTER MAUNDER, F.R.A.S., late Superintendent of the
Solar Department, Royal Observatory, Greenwich.

THE tenth chapter of the Book of Joshua purports to be history, and it is from this history that the sceptic has drawn what he considers to be his most effective weapon against the truth of the Scripture narrative, and the actuality of Scripture miracles. It is therefore worth while to read the chapter with care and attention, and to ascertain what it tells us and what inferences we may naturally and legitimately deduce from it.

This chapter professes to give an account of the conquest of Southern Palestine by the Israelites. We know that there was a time when the Israelites did not possess that country; we know also that there came a time when the country was manifestly under their rule. This tenth chapter of Joshua claims to give us an account of the beginning of the transition from the one condition of affairs to the other.

It is the only such account available to us, and therefore we cannot check it by means of parallel documents. Now men of science, and astronomers in particular, are taught to respect the written document, for without the written document the science of astronomy would be almost impossible. Sun, moon and stars are beyond our reach. We cannot touch them, or alter them in any way. All that we can do is to watch their changes of place and appearance and put those changes on record. And it frequently happens that those records must be accumulated patiently for long generations of men before their full significance can be apprehended. Let me give but one example. Dr. Crommelin, who gave the Annual Address before this Institute on the 9th of May, 1910 (see *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, Vol. xlii), computed the movements of Halley's comet for a period of 2500 years and found records of observations at nearly every return: the earliest being in the annals of the Chinese observers 600 years before the Christian era. If the written document cannot be trusted, astronomy at least, whatever might be the case with the other sciences, could never progress.

Now every astronomer knows perfectly well that mistakes are made in the original documents; that where a document is copied, the copy is not always correct; that documents are sometimes purposely altered, or even deliberately falsified; nevertheless, it still holds good that in general the written document has a right to be accepted and in no case is it excusable to alter it, or even to suggest that it should be altered, except upon direct, positive and independent evidence. To alter a record so as to bring it into agreement with some preconceived idea as to what it ought to have contained is, to an astronomer, the unpardonable sin.

But in the case of this particular narrative, we have a testimony beyond that of the written document; a present testimony because it is the geography of the country concerned. It is some 3000 years since the Book of Joshua was written, but the physical features of the country are practically unchanged. The Jordan, the "Descender," still hurls itself downwards through the most marvellous rift in the crust of the earth, and still forms the moat which defends the eastern boundary of the Promised Land. And, west of the Jordan, there still stands the great mountain rampart of the Ridge of Palestine. History and geography are inseparably connected, for indeed geography is statical history, and history, dynamical geography. Thus Belgium has been

the cockpit of Europe for two thousand years, not because the Belgians have been quarrelsome beyond all other people, but because their country affords the natural routes for armies moving between France and Germany. In like manner Palestine has been the battlefield between Asia and Africa for four thousand years, and by his victory at Nablous, General Allenby defended both the Suez Canal and the British Raj in India.

The climate also of the country has undergone no radical change. The valley of the Jordan—the Great Rift just alluded to—is still one of the hottest countries of the world. From time to time in the course of his campaign, General Allenby was compelled to send expeditions into the valley, but he always withdrew his troops immediately that he was able to do so ; he made no attempt to occupy it permanently.

The tenth chapter of Joshua is an account of the opening of the first campaign of the Israelites into Palestine proper, the land of Canaan, the land that had been especially promised to their forefathers. They had already possessed themselves during the life of Moses of the country to the east of the Jordan ; now it was to be the turn of Canaan itself.

Long after the time of Joshua, the Psalmist sang :—

“ When Israel came out of Egypt,
The house of Jacob from a people of strange language,
The sea saw it and fled,
Jordan was driven back.”

The forty years' probation—the wandering in the wilderness—was over. As it began, so it ended. On the tenth day of the first month, the lamb had been chosen for the Paschal Supper in Egypt ; now, forty years later, on the tenth day of the first month, Israel had passed over Jordan dryshod, and the lamb was chosen for the first Passover in the Promised Land.

As you all know, the calendar given by Moses to Israel had a double relation. It was based upon the natural month, and regulated by direct observation of the day of the reappearance of the new moon. It was based upon the natural year, and regulated by the direct observation of the ripening of the fruits of the earth. The heavens therefore gave the indication of the beginning of each month ; the earth gave the indication as to which month was the first month of the year.

The forty years had gone ; they had passed like a watch in the night, and the Psalmist sings of the deliverance which had opened

those forty years, and of the deliverance which closed them—sings of them as if both had occurred on the selfsame day :—

“ What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest ?
Thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back ? ”

The Israelites had crossed the Red Sea and the Jordan, and they were encamped in the Promised Land. They had crossed the Jordan at its fullest, for “ Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest ” (Josh. iii, 15). “ And the people came out of Jordan on the tenth day of the first month and encamped in Gilgal in the east border of Jericho ” (Josh. iv, 19).

The first stage of the entrance of Israel on its promised possession was devoted, not to military measures, but to spiritual. For Israel was the Chosen People of God : the nation that knew God ; and through all its varied history, all who were best and truest in it recognized continually the presence of God in their midst. On the fourteenth day of the first month, therefore, the people kept the Passover, and during the week that followed they kept the Feast of Unleavened Bread, not with bread made with manna from heaven, which now ceased for ever, but with the old corn of the land.

In our inquiry this evening, we are not concerned with the spiritual aspect of the Passover of Joshua, or of the events which followed in the next few weeks. But they are important to us as giving a measure of the flight of time.

The Passover was held on the fourteenth day of the first month of the Mosaic calendar, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread was held on the fifteenth, and six following days ; then came the siege of Jericho, which was straitly shut up for a full week or more, and, after its destruction, the purely military operations of the conquest began. These two weeks—the week of Unleavened Bread and the week of the siege of Jericho—bring us to the end of the first month, that is of the month Abib. It is not likely that Joshua would be slack in taking up his own specially appointed duty, that of acting—under the Lord his God—as Captain-General of the Host of Israel. His army was encamped on the plain at the bottom of that great Rift—the valley of the Jordan. For the time being, he was there well supplied with food and fairly secured from attack. But the climate was enervating and he would have no wish for the nation to make that their settled residence. Further, he had an important duty to fulfil : the charge had been laid upon him to proceed into the heart of

the land, and to bring the people to a solemn reading of the Law upon the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim. This involved that he had to undertake a military duty : he must force his way up the heights that rose some 3500 feet above him, and win a foothold upon the Great Ridge. We may take it, therefore, that Joshua, after the destruction of Jericho, lost no time in sending out scouts to reconnoitre the road by which he should gain the central plateau.

It must have been, therefore, quite early in the second month that Joshua's scouts returned to him with the report that the fortress which commanded the upper end of the valley of Achor—the ravine which offered the best route for the highlands—was a small town named Ai, and they suggested that quite a small force would be sufficient for its conquest. Obviously this advice would appear to be sound from the military point of view : the ascent up the ravine was very difficult, and the Israelites would have a very poor chance of forcing their way upwards in the face of a resolute resistance unless they could surprise the enemy that held the heights. Ai was only a small city, so that a large army seemed unnecessary, and to be much more likely to be detected in its approach. But the result of the expedition was a disheartening defeat. The 3000 men despatched to seize the pass were detected before they gained the heights, and fell back in confusion and dismay after they had suffered a small loss.

We must not condemn the Israelites as being too fainthearted. What happened was probably this : they were climbing up as quickly as they could in companies or half-companies ("hundreds" or "fifties") and the first "fifty" or half-company was assailed by stones slung or boulders rolled down upon them from above, and was practically wiped out in a moment. The Israelites could see that each succeeding fifty must share the same fate without being able to retaliate. Now, Orientals in such an extremity are very apt to give up the contest, and the Israelites at Ai followed the ordinary rule.

To Joshua this meant far more than a military defeat : it meant that the Lord had shown that He was wroth with Israel, and had withdrawn His help and guidance from the nation. In deep distress, Joshua prostrated himself before the Lord, Who revealed to him that a trespass had been committed in Israel against His express command respecting the spoil of Jericho. The criminal was detected, tried and executed, and when the

people had been purged from the trespass, another attack was planned against Ai. On this occasion quite different tactics were adopted. A pretended attack was prepared, in which the greater part of the whole available force was employed; but first a large army was despatched by a circuitous route to take up a position on the further side of Ai, or, as the narrative expressly tells us, "to lie in ambush between Bethel and Ai on the west side of Ai." Later Joshua himself, with the elders of Israel and the main army, approached Ai from the north. From this point, however, they could not easily approach the city, for there was a valley between them and Ai. Joshua now sent a second expedition of about 5000 men to establish a connection with his first detachment, and when this operation had been successfully carried out, Joshua led the main army under cover of night into the middle of the ravine on the north side of Ai.

With the return of daylight the King of Ai perceived that an attack was threatened, and at once he offered battle. Joshua, on his part, ordered his men to retreat hurriedly in the direction of the wilderness. The men of Ai, believing that the Israelites were again panic-stricken and that the victory was already gained, pursued the Israelites eagerly, and the whole population, not of Ai alone, but also of Bethel, a town distant from Ai some $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, took part in the pursuit. Then Joshua stretched out the spear which he had in his hand. The 5000 connecting troops passed on the intelligence and the Israelites in ambush rushed upon the empty city and set it on fire. The main army of the Israelites turned on their pursuers, caught them in the open and overwhelmed them, while the ambushes, emerging from the burning town, took them in the rear. Joshua's enveloping tactics were completely successful, even as Allenby's were in the late war.

And now the military operations were again suspended for a time. The nation had to be solemnly dedicated to God, and to take the oath of fidelity to the Law upon the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim. The march thither must have occupied several days, and the date on which that supreme dedication was to take place was without doubt the anniversary of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, that is to say, was the Day of Pentecost, seven weeks from the morrow after the Sabbath of the week of Unleavened Bread.

This solemn ceremony ended, the nation of Israel returned to the camp of Gilgal, their way thither being opened, because Ai,

the fortress which had commanded the pass, had been taken and destroyed. But when they had returned to their headquarters, an unexpected event took place : a number of strangers, purporting to be ambassadors from a very distant country, presented themselves and besought a treaty of peace.

During the interval between the destruction of Ai and the return of Joshua to his headquarters at Gilgal, there had been important political movements amongst the inhabitants of the land. A great terror, due no doubt to the direct interposition of God, had seized the Amorites, and the other tribes in the country, and had kept them quiet during the religious ceremonies of the Passover and the journey to and from Ebal and Gerizim. But now the Amorites felt that their time was at hand.

“ And it came to pass, when all the kings which were beyond Jordan, in the hill country, and in the lowland, and on all the shore of the great sea in front of Lebanon, the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite and the Jebusite heard thereof ; that they gathered themselves together, to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one accord. .

“ But when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done unto Jericho and to Ai, they also did work wilyly, and went and made as if they had been ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and wineskins, old and rent and bound up ; and old shoes and clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them ; and all the bread of their provision was dry and was become mouldy. And they went to Joshua at the camp at Gilgal, and said unto him, and to the men of Israel, We are come from a far country : now therefore make ye a covenant with us. And the men of Israel said unto the Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among us ; and how shall we make a covenant with you.”

(Chapter ix, 1-7, *R.V.*)

You will note that the inhabitants of Gibeon are called Hivites in the seventh verse, whereas just before they have been called “ inhabitants of Gibeon.” Yet, as we read in the first verse, the Hivites were at first members of the great confederacy of the native tribes ; they are included amongst the nations that had gathered themselves together to fight “ with Joshua and with Israel with one accord.”

What had made the change ? I think we may find the answer in the fact that one of the smaller cities of the Hivite republic—Beeroth—was only four miles from Ai, and beyond a doubt the inhabitants of Beeroth had seen the smoke of Ai ascending up to heaven when Ai was burned. That was a kind of argument which even the most stupid of races can understand, and the conduct of the Gibeonites showed that they were not stupid. “They did work wilily and went and made as if they had been ambassadors.”

The fraud succeeded ; the Israelites knew well that they were forbidden to make any treaty with the inhabitants of the land of Canaan ; that they had been all devoted by the word of God to utter destruction. So when—“at the end of three days after they had made a league with them, that they heard that they were their neighbours, and that they dwelt among them ; and the children of Israel journeyed, and came unto their cities on the third day”—it is not remarkable that we read in the next verse, “all the congregation murmured against the princes.” But the covenant had been made, and though the Gibeonites were made bondmen, yet their lives were saved.

The effect of this treaty was instantaneous. Let it be remembered that Gibeon and Jerusalem, the two chief cities of the Hivites and the Amorites respectively, exist at this present day, and are only six miles apart ; that is to say, just about the distance between the Victoria Institute and Greenwich Observatory. It could not have taken long for the news of the treaty to reach Jerusalem, and its significance was understood there at once. Joshua and the Israelites, having secured the Hivites as their allies, had not merely got a foothold in the highlands, but the command of the whole breadth of the Ridge ; the Amorites of southern Palestine were completely cut off from their allies in the north. Adonizedek, King of Jerusalem and head of the Amorite confederacy, saw at once that only one chance remained to him ; namely, to “rush” Gibeon before Joshua could occupy it with his troops. He sent, therefore, to those of his allies who were closest at hand to beg for their immediate help ; namely, to the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon, that is, the kings of the southern part of the Ridge.

So they “gathered themselves together and went up, they and all their hosts, and encamped before Gibeon and made war against it. And the men of Gibeon sent unto

Joshua, to the camp to Gilgal, saying, Slack not thy hand from thy servants; come up to us quickly, and save us, and help us; for all the kings of the Amorites which dwell in the mountains are gathered together against us."

Joshua responded instantly to the appeal. He and his men set out at nightfall; they went up from Gilgal all the night and were at the gate of Gibeon the following day:—

"And the Lord discomfited them before Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way that goeth up to Beth-horon, and smote them to Azekah and unto Makkedah. And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, and were in the going down to Beth-horon, that the Lord cast down great stones upon them unto Azekah, and they died; they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword."

The victory was gained at Gibeon; what followed was the "discomfiture" of the Amorites—that is to say, their dispersal in headlong rout; they ceased to be an ordered army.

This brings us to a very significant feature of the geographical problem. The Amorites fled by the way of the two Beth-horons. A glance at the map shows what this implies. We should have expected the Amorites, upon their defeat, to have retreated upon Jerusalem, which was their base; or, if this line were closed, to have attempted to move north and seek shelter with the Canaanites in the country afterwards given to Ephraim. Instead, they fled by a difficult and precipitous route which led them away from either, and the language used about their flight is most expressive; they were "chased" along the way going up to Beth-horon the Upper; then "they fled from before Israel" in the precipitous descent to Beth-horon the Lower, and while in the going down a tremendous hailstorm burst upon them—a storm so violent that "they were more who died from the hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword." The flight of the Amorites was continued yet further; first to Azekah, at which point the hailstorm appears to have ceased. Here the remnant of the Amorites seem to have turned to the south-west, as if they were hoping to reach Lachish and Eglon, the cities whence many of them had come. On their way hither they reached Makkedah, where the battle ended,

for sunset fell while the Israelites were there. Joshua's troop rushed the city and destroyed it, and Joshua had the five kings of the Amorites, who had been captured a little earlier, hanged upon a tree in the neighbourhood. At the going down of the sun, Joshua commanded that the corpses should be taken down from the tree and buried in a cave.

All these events—the night march of the Israelites from Gilgal, the climb up the mountains, 3400 feet in height, and the march across the Ridge to Gibeon, the battle at Gibeon, the pursuit of the Amorites from Gibeon through the Beth-horons to Azekah and to Makkedah, not far short of 30 miles in length, the storming of Makkedah, the execution and burial of the kings—all took place between one sunset and the next, a period of twenty-four hours.

Where was Joshua standing, and what was the hour of the day in that great moment when he said in the sight of Israel :

“ Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon ;

“ And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon ” ?

The expression attributed in the text to Joshua is a striking one. The sun is associated with Gibeon, the moon with the valley of Aijalon ; two places on the earth are thus severally connected with the two great lights of heaven. What could there have been in the surrounding circumstances to lead Joshua to associate the sun at that particular moment with Gibeon and the moon with the valley of Aijalon ? Why did he so pair them off together ?

Usually we see the sun and moon as placed above us in the heavens too high for us to connect them in our thought with any fixed object on our earth. But if they are quite low down in the sky—that is to say if either of them has just risen or is just about to set so that they are almost hidden behind some earthly object—such as a hilltop, a grove of trees, or some tower—then we cannot fail to associate them with the terrestrial object to which they appear to be so close. If Joshua, looking toward Gibeon, saw the setting sun about to sink behind its battlements, then it would be natural, all but inevitable, for him to speak of the sun as being “ upon Gibeon.” Similarly if the moon was sailing just above some dip in the distant horizon which he knew indicated the valley of Aijalon, it would be equally natural for him to think and speak of the moon as being “ in the valley of Aijalon.”

Now, to an astronomer, the interest of this fact lies here. Such a sentence as that ascribed to Joshua contains two simple astronomical observations; it is, in technical astronomical language, a record of the altitude and azimuth of the sun and moon at the moment of utterance. To make the observations complete, we need two further facts to be supplied to us:—"Where was Joshua standing at the moment?" and "What was the time?"

We are assuming, then, for the moment that the sun and moon were both low down in the sky; the sun had either just risen or was just about to set—that is, it was either early in the morning or late in the evening. But the moon also had either just risen or was just about to set. But they can never be seen together when both are rising or both setting, for in that case the illuminated portion of the moon is only the thinnest possible thread of light, and is completely drowned by the intense brilliance of the sun close at hand. It follows, therefore, that if the sun was rising, the moon must have been setting, or if the sun was setting the moon must have been rising; in astronomical phraseology, the two lights must be nearly in opposition to each other, and the moon must have been almost full.

The view most frequently taken by commentators is that the sun was near its setting, and that Joshua wished the day to be prolonged. But in that case, Gibeon and the sun must have appeared to him as on his western horizon; but as the valley of Aijalon is further to the west than is Gibeon, the moon must likewise have been setting, in which case, as we have already seen, it must have been invisible.

We must therefore try the other alternative—that the sun must have just risen, and Joshua must have had Gibeon on his east horizon. If he was between Gibeon and the valley of Aijalon, the moon would have been setting over Aijalon. The relative positions of the two places have not changed during the ages, and to Joshua, placed between the two, the sun must have been roughly 17° south of the east point of the horizon, and the moon, nearly at the full, 17° north of the west point. But this would imply that the time of the year was between the end of October of our present calendar and the middle of February. But the month of February was already long past, since the Israelites had kept both Passover and Pentecost. October cannot have come, for since Beeroth, Gibeon and Jerusalem are so close together, it is certain that the events between the return of the

Israelites to Gilgal and the battle of Beth-horon cannot have been spread over several months, but must have occupied at most only a few weeks. It is therefore impossible that Joshua, when he spoke, saw the sun rising over Gibeon, or the moon setting over Aijalon.

Have we therefore proved that the narrative is in error? No. We have simply stopped short in reading it. If instead of ending our quotation with the twelfth verse of the chapter, we had gone on to the thirteenth, we should have found that the position of the sun was stated in definite astronomical language: "So the sun ceased in the midst of heaven" (A.V., "stood still"). "The midst of heaven" signifies the halving, the bi-section of the heavens, and means that the sun was on the meridian. It was noon. The two positions of the sun and moon that we have already tested and rejected are the only two in which the two "great lights" can appear in England as being closely connected with terrestrial objects. But there is a position which the sun can occupy in tropical countries—not in England—in which it is in the fullest and most literal sense "in the midst of heaven." That is, when it is right overhead, in the zenith, when a man's foot will cover his entire shadow. This could not take place exactly in Palestine, but at Gibeon, within six weeks of mid-summer, the sun at noon will never be more than 14° from the zenith, and anyone on whom its rays were beating down could only describe it as "overhead" and as "upon" the place where he himself stood. Therefore, when Joshua spoke, he was at Gibeon; it was summer time, and high noon.

Knowing this, we can make important use of the information given us about the moon. With Joshua at Gibeon and the time of day, noon, and the moon low down over the valley of Aijalon, *i.e.*, some 17° north of west, the moon must have been almost exactly in her "third quarter," *i.e.*, "half full," and the date must have been the twenty-first day of the fourth month of the year in the Jewish reckoning. But the moon cannot be so far as 17° north of west in the latitude of Gibeon ($31^{\circ} 51' N.$) on the twenty-first day of the month earlier than the fourth month in the Jewish year, or later than the seventh month. Now the twenty-first day of the fourth month is some six and a half weeks after the Day of Pentecost, when the reading of the Law took place, while the twenty-first day of the fifth month would be eleven weeks after. Remembering how close Gilgal, Gibeon and Jerusalem were to each other, and how vital to all the three

parties concerned—to Gibeonite, Amorite and Israelite—was the need for promptitude, it can scarcely be disputed, that eleven weeks is an inadmissible length of time to interpose between the reading of the Law and the battle, and that seven weeks is the utmost than can be allowed.

Adopting, then, the place of the occurrence as Gibeon, noon as the hour of the day, and the date as about the twenty-first day of the fourth month of the Jewish calendar—corresponding *that year* to July 22nd of our present calendar with an uncertainty of one or two days on either side—the sun's declination would be approximately 21° north, and at noonday it would be within 11° of the zenith. The sun would have risen almost exactly at 5 a.m., and would set almost exactly at 7 p.m., the day being 14 hours long. The moon would have been in about her third quarter, and in north latitude about 5° , it would have risen about 11 o'clock the previous night and have lighted the Israelites during the most difficult part of their night march; it was now at an altitude of 7° , and within half an hour of setting. The conditions are not sufficient to fix the year, since from the nature of the luni-solar cycle there will always be one or two years in each cycle of nineteen years that will satisfy the conditions of the case. The date of the Hebrew invasion of Palestine is not known with sufficient certainty to limit the inquiry to any particular cycle.

At the moment when Joshua spoke, it was, therefore, midday in the fullest heat of summer, and Joshua was at the gates of Gibeon on the summit of the Ridge of the highland of Palestine. The country was then, and is now, one of the hottest countries of the world at that season. The Israelites had already been seventeen hours on the march and in the battle, and had been engaged in severe fighting. The Amorites had no doubt been taken by surprise, and so at a disadvantage, but at least they had been in action only for seven hours, not for seventeen, and therefore should have been much less exhausted than the Israelites. What could Joshua have meant when he issued his command to the sun and moon "to stand still," or, to translate his word literally, "to be silent," "to be dumb"?

No man who has ever experienced the intensity of sub-tropical heat can have any doubt as to the true answer. The very last thing that Joshua could have wished for was that the sun that was scorching his already exhausted troops should be fixed overhead in the zenith and continue to pour down its pitiless

rays directly on their heads for many hours still to come. There were seven hours of the afternoon yet before him : the day was far from drawing to a close. If he commanded the sun "to be silent" in what was that silence to consist? In refraining from moving, or in refraining from oppressing?

The answer is given unmistakably by the narrative itself. The sun refrained from oppressing. For the Lord sent a mighty hailstorm, evidently coming, as summer hailstorms always come in Palestine, from the Mediterranean Sea. The dense storm-clouds sweep across the low country of the coast and are forced upward as they meet the slopes of the Ridge. As they ascend the air becomes more rarified and the temperature falls rapidly. Thus the moisture with which they are laden is not only condensed but frozen, and hailstorms of a violence approaching that described in the narrative are not unknown. The dazzling glare and fierce heat were replaced by a grateful shade and a bracing coolness.

How was it that the hailstorm does not seem to have injured the Israelites?

It seems to me that we may make a plausible conjecture from noting the strategy which Joshua is recorded to have adopted in his second attack upon Ai. His problem now was similar but on a larger scale. The most obvious line of march for him to take was up the valley of Achor, past the ruins of Ai, and so to the little city of Beeroth, now become his ally, and thence to move southward to the relief of Gibeon. But an advance by that route would have left to the Amorites, if defeated, an easy line of retreat to their base at Jerusalem. Could he again adopt enveloping tactics? We are not told whether he did or not, but I would suggest that he may have sent a considerable detachment to Beeroth under his lieutenant, with orders to draw on the enemy as far from Gibeon as he could, until Joshua should signal to him that the main army was successfully established upon the Ridge between Jerusalem and Gibeon. As in the battle of Ai, the important point was that neither of the Israelite forces should be taken at a disadvantage while forcing their way up the ravines, and before they could emerge from them and deploy upon the tableland. He was operating in the very region where somewhat later the eleven tribes suffered most terrible losses at the hands of the Benjamites in the first inter-tribal war, the forces holding the higher ground being able to overwhelm their opponents with impunity.

If this was Joshua's plan of campaign, his strategy was

completely successful, up to a certain point. Probably the Amorites expected him to move upon Gibeon by way of Beeroth, and moved out to threaten Beeroth early in the day, leaving of course a contingent to mask Gibeon. Directly Joshua learned from his lieutenant that the Amorites were in strong force before Beeroth, he would order his main army to move upon Gibeon, and, as the narrative tells us, he destroyed the Amorite troops, who no doubt were left there to continue the siege. These, when attacked, would send hasty messages to the five kings who were with the main body before Beeroth, to tell them that the real attack was being made at Gibeon, and that their forces there were being destroyed. At this news the Amorite kings were seized with a panic, as the Lord had promised to Joshua should be the case. "Fear them not: for I have delivered them into thine hand; there shall not a man of them stand before thee." The Israelite army from Beeroth cut off any retreat to the north; Joshua at Gibeon barred the way to the south and west; one narrow and difficult road alone remained—the road through the two Beth-horons, and along this road they rushed in headlong flight. Then it was that Joshua, seeing that his men were exhausted by their long efforts and by the heat of the day, and that the Amorites had a start of some miles along the Beth-horon road, issued his commands to the heavenly bodies:—

"Sun, cease thou (*i.e.*, *from shining*) over Gibeon,

And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.

"And the sun ceased (*from shining*), and the moon desisted, until the nation had avenged themselves on their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? So the sun ceased in the midst of heaven, and hastened not to go down about a whole day."

The explanation of this last statement is found in verse 10, in which it is stated that the Lord "chased the Amorites by the way that goeth up to Beth-horon and smote them to Azekah and unto Makkedah." The Israelites had of course no time-keepers, no clocks or watches, and the only mode of measuring time available to them was the number of miles they marched. Now from Gibeon to Makkedah by the route indicated is some thirty miles, a full day's march for an army. It is possible that at the end of the campaign, the Israelites, on their return, found the march from Makkedah to Gibeon heavy work for an entire day. Measured by the only means available to them, that

afternoon had seemed to be double the ordinary length. "The sun had hasted not to go down about a whole day."

Was this a miracle? It was certainly a wonderful feat of human strength and endurance. But the Israelites must have been mightily refreshed by the sudden veiling of the sun's glare and the assuaging of his heat; still more by their Captain's word of confident command and the manifold signs of the Divine presence with them. Men can do great things when they know that God is indeed helping them.

This great occurrence appears to be referred to in one other passage in Scripture—the Prayer of Habakkuk. Here again the rendering of the English version is unfortunate, and the passage should stand:—

"The sun and moon ceased to *shine* in their habitation :
 At the light of Thine arrows they vanished,
 And at the shining of Thy glittering spear.
 Thou didst march through the land in indignation,
 Thou didst thresh the nations in anger."

(Hab. iii, 11–12.)

There is one passage in the chapter to which I have made no reference as yet. It is verse 14 :

"And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man : for the Lord fought for Israel."

What does that mean? When you go home, take your concordances and look out the words "hearken," "hearkened," "hearkening," and the like, and you will find in the majority of cases that they mean "obey." "To hearken unto the voice of a man" is to obey that man's command.

That is what is meant. Joshua did not *pray* to God that God would order the sun and moon to obey him. He was there as God's lieutenant-general, and he himself issued orders to the sun and moon, and the Creator of sun and moon, Who guides them in their paths in the heavens, by Whom alone they shine, and by Whom alone they are darkened, obeyed the voice of a man and "fought for Israel."

There was no day like it before. Nor was there any day like it after it, until there came another Joshua, Who did not call a storm from the sea, but Who commanded the storm and it became a great calm. And His disciples said:—

"What manner of Man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey Him?"

DISCUSSION.

Rev. J. J. B. COLES, after remarking how glad they always were to see Mr. Maunder's name on the list of Lecturers, pointed out that the view he had put before them as to the restricted and local range of the miracle of Joshua's Long Day was shared by many Christian students, including the late Canon A. R. Faussett.

Bearing in mind the inconceivable vastness of the solar system and still more of the stellar universe, with its light years as measuring units, the explanation of a local range of the miracle of Joshua is perhaps more generally acceptable, but, on the other hand, the going back of the sun on the sundial of Ahaz (Isa. xxxviii, 8), and the words in Hab. iii, 11, "the sun and the moon stood still in their habitation," and the allusion to "the wonder that was wrought in the land," in 2 Chron. xxxii, 31, and also the Lord's words as to the signs in the heavens which will coincide with His action as the true Joshua in the future crisis of Israel and the nations, seem to support the view held by many others, that a stupendous miracle was wrought, and more in accordance with the actual words of Holy Scripture than the explanation suggested by the Lecturer.

Mr. SIDNEY COLLETT said he was sure that those who attended these meetings were always interested at anything which fell from Mr. Maunder's lips, especially on the subject of astronomy.

On this occasion, however, he was quite unable to follow the Lecturer in his conclusion that what the narrative taught was, not that the day was lengthened in response to Joshua's prayer, but that the sun's heat was tempered by the intervening clouds of a hailstorm.

Now this theory—for I submit it is only a theory—seems to me impossible for the following reasons :—

- (1) If this incident had simply consisted in the Lord sending a storm in answer to Joshua's prayer, it would not be true to say "There was no day like that before it or after it" (verse 14); for a similar thing did happen in answer to Elijah's prayer, when "the Heaven became black with clouds and wind, and there was a great rain" (1 Kings xviii, 45), and in James v, 16-18, we are enjoined to expect similar answers to our prayers. Indeed, many

of us can testify to the fact that God has often heard and answered believing prayer in regard to the weather.

- (2) But the principal fact that makes Mr. Maunder's theory impossible is that the great stones from heaven which the Lord cast upon the Amorites (Josh. x, 11), and which Mr. Maunder interprets as "a great hailstorm with thick clouds," took place *before Joshua called upon the sun or moon to stand still, or be silent* (Josh. x, 12), and therefore could not possibly have any direct connection whatever with Joshua's prayer to the sun except that, according to the Scripture record, the Lord helped Joshua first by casting great stones from heaven upon the Amorites; and "then" afterwards (as an entirely separate and subsequent Divine intervention) made the sun and moon stand still (or be silent) in answer to Joshua's prayer.
- (3) However, as the late Dr. A. T. Pierson once said, when various interpretations are put upon a difficult passage of Scripture, the simplest and most obvious is generally the correct one. So here, when we read that the sun stood still (or "was silent") in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day (verse 13), we are, I submit, driven to the conclusion that the words mean that, in spite of astronomical difficulties (which are not difficulties to the Almighty Creator), that day was in fact lengthened (see also Hab. iii, 11), making the statement in verse 14 literally true that "There was no day like that before or after it."

It is also a well-known fact that the three great record-keeping countries of the world are Greece, Egypt and China, and these, with India, have all an ancient record of a long day.

The Chinese record, which is the most remarkable, occurs in the essays of the famous Chinese Tāoist, philosopher and alchemist, Huainan Tzu, thus :—

"Duke Yang of Lu (1058-1053 B.C.), being engaged in a bloody battle with the army of the Han State, and fearing lest evening should close in and interfere with his victory, he raised his spear

and shook it at the declining sun, which straightway went backward in the sky to the extent of three zodiacal signs ! ” (six hours).

While the Indian account, which is equally striking, is preserved in Hamilton’s *Key to the Chronology of the Hindoos*, vol. ii, p. 224, as follows :—

“ It is recorded in the life of Chrishnu (the black shepherd prophet of the Hindoos), that in the Cali year 1651 (which corresponds with our 1451 B.C., the very year in which Joshua entered Canaan), the sun delayed setting, to hear the pious ejaculations of Akroon, who descanted on the virtues of Chrishnu, as he journeyed to Bindreben ; and that on his arrival in safety, that planet went down, making a difference of about twelve hours.”

Now, it is not difficult to trace in all these strange stories the corrupted record of an event of which the true account is found in the Bible, each country, however, substituting the name of some national hero in the place of Joshua, while the stories themselves are naturally coloured with the necessary local conditions which the particular country required.

Mr. W. Hoste ventured to criticize the interpretation of the reader of the paper, in spite of its originality and interesting character. “ Sun, stand still,” would mean nothing more than “ Cease piercing us with thy vertical rays,” and the answer of the Lord would be nothing more than the veiling of the sun, which so refreshed the Israelites that they could do in seven hours the work of a whole day. Certainly this would be in itself a miraculous result from so inadequate a cause ; but we must note that the moon also was commanded to “ stand still.” We have heard of people being “ moon-struck,” but otherwise the rays of the moon hardly need to be moderated. However, the Hebrew דָּמָה , of course, does mean “ be silent,” or perhaps “ cease doing what you are doing.” But sun and moon were not only shining, they were on the move, so “ ceasing to move ” is equally admissible as an interpretation. Of course, when we say the heavenly bodies ceased to move, we refer to results gradually experienced, not immediately detected. In verse 13 we read, “ The sun stood still (same word, דָּמָה) and the moon stayed ” (דָּמָה —ordinary word for standing). But at the close of the verse it is recorded, “ So the sun stood still (this time the word is דָּמָה too) in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about

a whole day." This would certainly be rather a clumsy way of saying that owing to the refreshment from the cloud the children of Israel were able to do a day's work in a third of the time; at any rate, the expression need not imply anything more than that the apparent motion of the sun seemed to slow down. The word translated "Stand still" in verse 12 is the word translated "*Rest* in the Lord" in Ps. xxxvii, and in 1 Sam. xiv, 9, Jonathan uses it when speaking of the Philistines to his armour-bearer: "If they say thus unto us, Tarry (רמכ) until we come to you: then we will stand still (עמד) in our place and will not go up unto them," so that the words seem by their usage to be closely allied, if not practically synonymous. "Stop what you are doing and stand still," or "Halt, stand easy," so that even if we accept the ingenious idea of the veiling of the sun by a storm-cloud, the other thought of an actual lengthening of the day, an arrest of the usual progress of nature by Divine power, is not ruled out.

If a mere meteorological change were intended in answer to prayer, it would seem unpardonable hyperbole to add, as in verse 14, "There was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man." As a matter of fact, nothing is *said* of the sky being cloudless during the battle, nor of the consequent fatigue of the Israelites, nor of the storm-cloud, nor of the extraordinary refreshment resulting. All these have to be introduced to build up an interpretation. The expression, "So the sun stood still and the moon stayed, *until* the people had avenged themselves," conveys a clear impression of a prolongation of the day, quite apart from and independent of the experience of the Israelites. Joshua *ex hypothesi* would see that more time would be required to complete the victory than the seven hours of daylight remaining could possibly afford, and would frame his demand accordingly.

Mr. Hoste suggested that the hailstorm came from the northwest, acting as a barrage to prevent the Amorites escaping to the north and shepherding them back south, to be dealt with easily by Israel. Otherwise it would hardly seem likely that, even though their cities were in the south, the Amorites would have fled down as far as Asekah and Makkedah—cities belonging eventually to Judah—at the risk of meeting an encircling force of their enemies.

Lieut.-Col. G. MACKINLAY said : The very pleasant duty falls to me to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Maunder for his most interesting and helpful Paper. The Victoria Institute owes a deep debt of gratitude to him for what he has done in the past. The numbers present this afternoon testify to our high appreciation of him now, and we earnestly hope that he will continue his invaluable aid in the future. We tender him our heartfelt thanks. (Applause.)

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, pointed out that there was a third explanation of Joshua's Long Day which had not been mentioned by the Lecturer or any of those who had taken part in the discussion, namely, that given by H. A. Harper, the late Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, that the continuance of the sunlight was due to refraction. For himself, he was satisfied with the Lecturer's explanation, which was confirmed by Ps. cxxi, 6, "The sun shall not smite thee by day nor the moon by night."

LECTURER'S REPLY.

As I was not able to take any notes of what I said in reply to the discussion summarized above, I have been obliged to substitute for them an answer prepared later.

In reply to the Rev. J. J. B. Coles, I am very anxious to make it clear that I do not seek either to explain, or to explain away, the miraculous in Scripture history. But it is necessary to distinguish between that which is miraculous and that which is natural. In the present instance there is a dispute as to the interpretation of certain words in the narrative which makes it doubtful wherein the miracle consisted. Mr. Coles has referred to the going back of the shadow in Hezekiah's reign as being parallel to our present subject ; I would venture to urge that there was in that case an unmistakable mark of a miracle in the fullest sense of the word. In God's government of the material universe we find that if the antecedents be the same, the consequent is the same likewise. Any apparent deviation from this law we ascribe to the direct action of the Almighty. Now the Lord Himself offered a choice to Hezekiah, which of two contrasted events should be given to him as a sign. Hezekiah chose the "hard thing," *i.e.* the result contrary to the natural order, and the Lord

fulfilled that choice to him. The fact of the event conforming to Hezekiah's choice warrants us, I think, in saying that this was no *natural* consequent of the antecedents.

In the case now before us, our only *authority* concerning the miracle is contained in the chapter itself. The prophet Habakkuk (Hab. iii, 11) indeed alludes to the events recorded in the chapter, but it is no more than an allusion. In the book called Ecclesiasticus, or "The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach" (xlvi, 1-6), those events are fully described, but nothing is added to our knowledge thereby; indeed, one important statement is contrary to the Scripture, and I believe that in general members of the Victoria Institute approve the VIth Article of the Church of England, which expressly confines the name and authority of "Holy Scripture" to the books of the Canon, from which Ecclesiasticus, and the other books which we usually denominate "the Apocrypha," are excluded. Much more, then, can no authoritative evidence regarding a Scripture miracle be derived from any heathen source. I was very sorry, therefore, to find that a number of "old wives' fables," which I had hoped had long ago passed into deserved oblivion, were again brought forward. They bear on their face the signs of being mere "lying wonders."

Thus we have the alleged stopping of the sun in Mexico, which cannot have corresponded to "Joshua's Long Day," because Mexico is more than nine hours distant in time from Palestine, so that it was only two or three hours past midnight in Mexico at the moment when Joshua at Gibeon gave his command at noon. The sun, therefore, had not risen in Mexico, and no observation of it could have been made, either of its moving or of its ceasing to move.

The Chinese record is clearer still, for it states that the sun went backwards in the sky to the extent of three zodiacal signs. That is to say, the sun seemed to go back with respect to *the stars*, which implies, not that the diurnal rotation of the earth was reversed for six hours, but that the annual revolution of the earth round the sun was reversed for three months; in other words, that the year was put back by a full season. When we have swallowed this camel, there is still a gnat to be strained at, viz.—that the constellations of the zodiac are not visible while the sun is up.

The quotation from Herodotus is even less satisfactory, because it is evidence on very indirect hearsay, removed a thousand years from the occurrence. The statement of Herodotus further

would imply not a single stoppage of the sun on one unique occasion, but of four distinct reversals of the direction of the earth's rotation. Probably Herodotus misunderstood some mystical statement of the Egyptian priests, and gave a literal meaning to what they were expressing figuratively.

The quotation from Alexander Hamilton is correctly given, but evidently Mr. Collett, who brings it forward,* has not studied Hamilton's book, which was written to show that Indian chronology was not chronology at all in our sense of the word ; it was symbolical, and Hamilton's belief was that he had found a clue to the symbolism. The chronology is certainly unreal, but Hamilton was not aware that that particular phase of Indian astronomy was not ancient, but belonged to the dark ages between the sixth and eleventh centuries A.D.

Our only authority, then, for this narrative is the chapter itself, but there are three verbs in the chapter the interpretation of which is in dispute. The first is *damam*, "to be dumb," that is, "to cease from speaking"; the second, *amad*, is used as a parallel word to *damam*; and the third is *uts*, "to urge oneself," "to hasten."†

* I am obliged here to point out that Mr. Collett's book, *The Scripture of Truth*, however excellent for the most part, has one short section in the eighth edition, pp. 284-288, entitled "Joshua's Long Day," which I would beg him to delete *in toto* from every future edition. This whole section is either wrong in its assertions, or misleading in the way in which they are applied.

† Gesenius, in his *Lexicon*, translated by S. P. Tregelles, 1881 Edition gives the following information :—

- (1) *Damam*, p. 203. (1) To be silent, to be still. (2) *To be astonished, confounded.* (3) *To be quiet, to cease, to leave off.* In a note it is added, "This root is onomatopoeic, and one which is widely spread in other families of languages, . . . it is an imitation of the sound of the shut mouth (*hm*, *dm*). Its proper meaning, therefore, is *to be dumb*, which is applied both to silence and quietness."
- (2) *Amad*, p. 637. (1) To stand. Used of men, and of inanimate things. Followed by propositions—(a) *to stand before a king, i.e. to serve or minister to him*; (b) *to be set over, to confide, to stand by anyone.* (2) *To stand for, to stand firm, to remain, to*

Of these three verbs *damam* is the dominant, seeing that Joshua uses it in his actual word of command; *amad* is the parallel verb, and implies that Joshua's command, whatever it was, was obeyed.

But "Be thou dumb" cannot, in the literal sense, be applied to the sun, for speech is not one of its properties, and we must seek some one or other of the activities which do characterize it as affording us the clue to the meaning intended in this passage.

The first property ascribed to the sun in Holy Scripture is that of giving light. In Gen. i, 14-18, we are told that "God made two great lights . . . and set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth." This is the primary function of both sun and moon. The sun has also other properties which are intimately connected with its giving light. It gives heat, it brings forth the fruits of the earth, it has power to "smite." Another property of the sun (and of the moon also), is that both appear to move in the sky (Ps. xix, 6); but whereas their shining is real, their movement is only apparent, and belongs in reality to the earth.

To bid anyone "to be dumb" is to bid him to cease from speaking, for the very word itself is derived from the action of closing one's lips upon one's speech. Where the person or thing addressed is by nature incapable of speech, then "Be dumb" must mean to cease from some action then going on, that can be likened to speech. Now, as we have seen, the sun has two characteristic activities: it gives light and appears to move. Thus the verb *damam* is sometimes used in Scripture, as Mr. Hoste suggests, in this sense of "Cease doing what you are doing." See Lam. ii, 18, quoted by Gesenius in this very connection: "Let not the apple of thine eye cease," that is, "Let not the apple of thine eye cease from weeping." *Amad* is used more frequently in a corresponding sense of "to cease" or "to leave off." Thus in Gen. xxix, 35, and xxx, 9, it is translated "left off"; Leah ceased to bear children. This meaning of "cease" or "leave off" may, if the object is in motion, carry the particular sense of ceasing to move, and both words are occasionally used in that special sense;

endure, to persist, to persevere, hence to remain in the same place or state. (3) To stand still, to stop, as opposed to go on one's way, to proceed.

- (3) *Uts*, p. 23. (1) To urge, to press anyone on. (2) *To urge oneself, to hasten.* (3) *To be narrow, strait.*

but both are also used with the wider meaning of "leave off what you are doing," whatever that might be.

Whatever the action from which the sun was ordered to "cease," that order was given, and it took effect at noon, as we learn by collating verses 12 and 13: "Sun, be thou dumb upon Gibeon. . . . So the sun ceased (to speak) in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day." In other words, when Joshua spoke, the sun was overhead both to him and to Gibeon, and the time was noon.* As the length of the summer day in the latitude of Gibeon is fourteen hours, and as the Israelites had started from Gilgal the previous evening, for they "went up from Gilgal all night," when Joshua spoke they had been on foot for seventeen hours—marching, climbing the mountains, and fighting—and there were still seven hours of daylight before the sun was due to set. For seven hours, from its rising, the sun had been climbing up the sky to its culmination; for seven hours it would have to go down to its setting. If the command to the sun, "Be dumb," meant that it was to cease its apparent motion, and "to stand still" in the sky, that "standing still" must have been in the zenith, not on the western horizon; it must have taken place at noon, and not just as the sun was about to set.

Some commentators have treated the expression "hasted not to go down" as if it meant "stood absolutely still and did not go down at all." Such a paraphrase is unwarrantable; the sun's ordinary movement across the sky is the outcome of the smoothest and most regular motion that we know—the rotation of the earth on its axis. Any change in that motion is contrary to our experience. To hasten in that motion would be to go more quickly than is usual; "to haste not" does not mean to stand still, but to go more slowly than usual. "To go down" means movement in either case: quick, if the sun "hasted"; slow, if the sun "hasted not."

The question of interpretation comes, then, to a very narrow point. The sun was ordered to cease from one of two activities—from moving or from shining. Which was it? The moving does not belong to the sun, it belongs to the earth, to which no command was addressed. The shining does belong to the sun and is its great function.

* See Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 207, 214.

But if it is asserted that the sun ceased from moving, not from shining, then those who assert this should face and answer the following questions :—

- (1) Why should Joshua have wished the sun to be fixed overhead "about a whole day," before it began to go down towards its setting? We need not debate whether "about a whole day" means 14 hours, the duration of daylight at that season, or 24 hours, the complete rotation of the earth. In the first case, the interval between one sunset and the next would have been 38 hours; in the other, 48 hours.
- (2) If in appearance the sun "ceased" from moving "in the midst of heaven," and remained motionless there "about a whole day," how did Joshua know it? He could not have looked at the sun; it would have blinded him, and there was no object in the heavens with the position of which he could have compared it.
- (3) How did Joshua determine his time that afternoon, and measure the length of that day, seeing that the sun, his only clock, was stopped?
- (4) Further, the natural result of the stopping of the sun when overhead for "about a whole day," would be to increase the temperature of the air beyond anything that mankind has ever experienced. How did the Israelites escape the consequences of Joshua's strange desire?
- (5) What did he hope to gain by it, and why was it granted to him?

Apart from the question of the correctness of the translation, two definite objections have been made.

First, why is the moon mentioned, seeing that its light and heat are negligible? My questioners forget that the difficulty—if difficult it be—is one which attaches to the narrative itself whatever translation we adopt. But I would suggest that Joshua was looking in the direction in which the Amorites were fleeing, in which case he would also have been looking in the direction of the moon, and could hardly have failed to see it.

Next, it has been objected that I have brought the hailstorm out of its proper chronological order. It is not I who have done so; it

is done in the chapter itself. Verse 10 brings the Israelites to Makkedah, where they were at the going down of the sun, while verse 13, which chronicles Joshua's command, shows that he was then at Gibeon, at noon; that is, it records the earlier event after the later. This preference for a logical, rather than a chronological, order is characteristic of many Hebrew narratives.* Further, we are expressly told that these verses, 12 and 13, are extracted from another authority, the Book of Jasher; and it is clear that the extract has been inserted in the most appropriate place.

It should be noted that, whether we think that the sun stood still or whether that it was veiled by cloud, it still remains that the Israelites were at Gibeon at noon, and reached the end of their march at Makkedah at sundown.

It still remains also that the narrative itself gives a clear explanation in verse 11, of the statement in verse 14: "The Lord fought for Israel." It was literally true that "the Lord fought for Israel" when "it came to pass that as" the Amorites "fled from before Israel, and were in the going down to Beth-horon, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died; they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword."

And now we reach the sentence to which the whole narrative leads up: "There was no day like that, before it or after it" (verse 14). It was unique. What made it so? Some have supposed that it was the length of the day, or the greatness of the miracle. That is not what the Scripture says. After all, how can we mortals judge whether a miracle is great or small? Is anything too hard for the Lord Whose power is infinite?

That day was like none other because of this fact, "that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man." That is what the chapter says; there is no hint that it was because the sun stood still, or that the day was long, or that it was a mighty miracle. Every reader of Holy Scripture knows that for one person "to hearken to the voice"

* Col. Mackinlay has shown us in his book, *Recent Discoveries in St. Luke's Writings*, how much additional light is thrown upon Scripture by the readiness with which the sacred writers abandon the strict sequence of events when a special emphasis has to be brought out.

of another means one of two things—that he who hearkens either grants a petition made by the other person, or he obeys his command. Mr. Collett has pointed out, what is obviously true, that God has always heard and answered prayer; therefore this expression, “that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man” has in this case nothing to do with any answer to prayer. And Joshua did not offer any prayer; *he issued an order*: “Sun, be thou dumb upon Gibeon and thou, moon, in the valley of Aijalon.” “And the sun was dumb and the moon ceased.” The order was obeyed.

Joshua knew as well as we do that neither sun nor moon could hear him, and that even if they heard, they had no power either to obey or disobey; they are neither gods nor men; their acts or movements are the acts and movements of the Lord Himself, Who alone is their Ruler. God heard His servant's order and He fulfilled it; He hearkened unto the command of His servant and performed it. No event like this is recorded in the whole of the Old Testament; that day stands unique.

Joshua was a real man, with his passions and weaknesses like other men, like ourselves. Forty years long he had been the servant, the lieutenant, of the greatest man who ever lived before Christ came. Many are the advantages of such a position, but it is seldom that a man so brought up develops much self-reliance. So when the crushing burden that Moses had borne was transferred to Joshua, it is no wonder that he faltered. The Lord Himself knew His servant's weakness, and, as we read in Josh. i, the Lord repeatedly exhorted him to “Be strong and of a good courage,” and those over whom he had been appointed to rule gave him the same exhortation. These words were not said to him because he was strong, but because he needed to be. Soon the day came that a most important duty was laid upon him; namely, to ensure that none of the spoil from Jericho, which had been laid under the curse, should be touched by any of his soldiers. In this, his first great responsibility, Joshua failed; the failure was not personal, as though he himself had hankered after the spoil, but clearly he had not so dominated his officers and men that they felt compelled to obey him. And so the sin of Achan followed and the defeat of Ai.

But Joshua made confession of his sin, and carried out faithfully the stern duty which then devolved upon him, and the Lord renewed to him his commission as Captain of the Lord's host. Then in that

great battle which decided the fate of the whole of the south and centre of Canaan, Joshua felt that not only were the Israelites his to command, but the greatest and most exalted objects of nature were so as well. "Sun, be thou dumb upon Gibeon, and thou, moon, in the valley of Aijalon." And the Lord was well pleased with the faith and courage of His servant, and fulfilled his command. "There was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man : for the Lord fought for Israel."

NOTE.—It lies aside from the main subject of the above paper, but it may give an unsuspected illustration of the definiteness of the relative apparent movements of the heavenly bodies to note that Joshua's description of the positions of the sun and moon carries with it the implication that in the year of the events under our consideration, Tammuz, the fourth month of the Jewish calendar, coincided, almost exactly, with July of our present calendar. (*See p. 132, lines 8 and 9.*)

As the Mosaic calendar had a double relation, being based partly upon the natural year, it followed—as twelve such months were eleven days short of a complete year—that it was necessary to intercalate a thirteenth month occasionally ; such intercalation being introduced in seven years out of every nineteen. Thus the months of the Jewish year vibrate to and fro with respect to the months of our calendar, which is based on the solar tropical year.

But if Joshua's great victory had been gained at midsummer, on the day of the solstice, then since the moon was just about to set when the sun was on the meridian, "in the midst of heaven," the former must have been close to the point in the heavens of the spring equinox, and could not have set over the valley of Aijalon, but must have set due west. If we assume any date for the battle before the solstice, then the moon would have set south of west ; only if the battle took place after the solstice could the moon have set north of west, and not until the solstice was past by a full month could the moon have set over the valley of Aijalon. The battle must have taken place, therefore, about the 22nd or 23rd of July as well as about the 21st or 22nd of Tammuz.

629TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, APRIL 4TH, 1921,

AT 4.30 P.M.

DAVID ANDERSON-BERRY, Esq., M.D., LL.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed, and signed, and the ACTING SECRETARY, Lieut.-Colonel Hope Biddulph, announced the Election of Colonel C. W. R. St. John as a Member, and of Mr. W. G. Walters as an Associate.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Mr. W. Hoste to read his paper on "Fetichism—in Central Africa and Elsewhere."

FETICHISM—IN CENTRAL AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE.

By W. HOSTE, B.A.

MOST people one meets nowadays have at one time or another touched Africa, either at the Cape or on the Mediterranean littoral, through wintering in Algiers or Cairo, or at least on their way to the Far East by landing for a few hours at Port Said, during coaling by those super coal-heavers, the Sudanese.

Such adventures may open the doors of the Great Geographical Societies, but leave closed the Great Heart of Africa, which could embrace Australia, India, China and the greater part of Europe, and still have unfilled corners.

This is the classical home of fetichism.

But even that landing at Port Said is not without significance, for he who has trod Egyptian soil has touched the ancient birthplace of Magic. This has spread its tentacles in every part of the world under the varied guises of the black art, witchcraft, necromancy, spiritism, and, particularly in Africa, of fetichism.

Some may demur at the inclusion of spiritism in such a list. Has not spiritism been hailed as an ally of Christianity? Did not a Church dignitary at the Church Congress of 1919 warn

us against confounding modern spiritism with the spiritism condemned in the Holy Scriptures, which he asserted to be more akin to African fetichism? It would have been of interest to hear some proof of such a distinction. I believe had the speaker more first-hand knowledge of African fetichism he would be impressed rather with the many curious points of contact between it and modern spiritism, than with their differences.

All these forms of occultism are probably included in the Holy Scriptures under the term "Sorcery," the *φαρμακεία* of the Septuagint, the equivalent for *קְשָׁפִים* in Isaiah xlvi, 9, and also of the words used for the "enchantments" of the Egyptian magicians in Exodus vii. In verse 11 it is *לְהַטִּיב* flames, dazzlings, delusions, and in verse 22 *לְהַטִּיב* from *לְהַטִּיב* to conceal.

All are equally condemned in the Scriptures. For instance— "There shall not be found among you anyone that . . . useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter or a witch, or a charmer, or a *consulter with familiar spirits*, or a wizard, or a necromancer, for all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord" (Deut. xviii, 10-12). This list covers a wide area, and to assert that modern spiritism finds no place in it is as unjustifiable as hazardous. It was for the practice of these and other nameless abominations that the people of Canaan, those "honest peasants," as some sentimentalists describe them, were destroyed before the children of Israel. It was well for the world that such a moral cesspool should be thoroughly cleansed.

There were, as we have been reminded, sorcerers in Egypt in the time of Moses, the two leaders of whom, Jannes and Jambres, withstood him by copying the miracles of the serpents, and the plagues of the blood and frogs. It was opposition by imitation. They did by Satanic energy what Moses did by Divine power, and so confused the issue. It is foretold that this very kind of opposition will characterize the last days, and we see it around us to-day in this year of Grace.

To remind you of a little mythology, the real author of the magical art was believed by the Egyptians to be Isis, the daughter of Seb and Nut, earth and sky. The wise Thoth gave the goddess power to raise the dead. This power she exercised, according to the well-known legend, by joining together the fourteen bits

into which her husband, Osiris, had been cut up by Seb, and raising him to life in a new form. Isis could, of course, also cure human ailments and became the mother of incantations, exorcism and quackery in general, and no doubt of many patent medicines much advertised in our day.

To exorcise an evil spirit you must get hold of the right name. The Egyptian *Book of the Dead* consists in great part of mystical words and names by which to break the power of evil spirits in the Kingdom of the Dead. This makes the book a veritable crux for translators. The following incantation from a papyrus in the Museum of Leyden is an example :

“ I am MENABI CHETETHONI CHABACHEL. Let me invoke thee, thou son of the ARCHITHETAPIRA PIRAASA KNURIPHARISA, great one IRISSA PSISCHI IRISSA KIMITHROPHOSSA OKUNATSISA OREOBOZAGRA PERTAOMECH PERACHOMECH SAKMEPH. Come to me ! Answer me that which I ask correctly and truly.”

If a man can learn this off, he certainly deserves some answer ! But lest some silly person (of course outside our Institute and this meeting) might get hold of this and try and use it, I would hasten to add that it will not work unless recited under right conditions. It must, for one thing, be carried out in the dark by the light of a lamp, reminding us of the darkened rooms of modern séances, with their dull red lamps, “ making darkness visible.” I will not say what lamp should be used with this formula, nor what the wick must be made of, but I do not mind telling you the peg you hang your lamp on must be of laurel wood, the daphne, sacred to Apollo. It may be noted in passing that the divining séances of African fetichism are also frequently carried out in the dark by the light of a log fire.

Egypt, the mother of the occult, gave her rules of magic and necromancy to the surrounding countries, and it is quite probable the Witch of Endor used some such incantation as the above, in calling up the prophet Samuel.

There can be little doubt that fetichism is in the direct line of descent from this magic. Here is a question for the student of comparative religions. Is fetichism to be regarded as part of a great corruption invading some purer faith, or is it the primary stage in the development of the religious idea in man, the first dim feeling after God in the vast evolutionary process, which it is the fashion to believe is going on all around us ?

Evolution, at any rate in the moral domain, like that "blessed word Mesopotamia," has lost caste since the war. It is understood that men who made the campaign in those inter-fluvial regions have little difficulty in restraining their tears when they hear the locality pronounced.

So with "that comfortable word" Evolution, which some people utter with so much emotion. The experiences of the war have raised serious doubts whether evolutionary progress in the moral sphere has been quite so intensive since the days of primitive Christianity, as was formerly supposed.

Some have even dared to suggest that the breaking down from the complex to the simple, the disintegration, which the radioactive discoveries and the latest theories of the molecule, indicate in the material world, have their counterpart on the moral plane.

Men have learnt to make themselves more comfortable and to kill one another more scientifically, but are they more moral, religious or happy? A reverend-scientist lately at Cardiff has, as we know, gone sponsor for Evolution in all the domains. His address was a mixture of doubtful science and more than doubtful religion, and was based on the speculations of the thread-bare hypothesis of Darwin and on the prophetic forecasts of his own inner consciousness, with which he was convinced all "thoughtful persons" must agree. It was the pathetic bid of ecclesiastical opportunism for the suffrages of a scientific association. But Mr. E. W. Maunder,* of the Greenwich Observatory, a distinguished member of this Institute, has pointed out—"It is upon facts that have been definitely recognized, not upon unsubstantiated speculations, that the structure of science has been founded." However, Brutus is content with "unsubstantiated speculations," and "Brutus is an honourable man."

What puzzles some "thoughtful men" is that though so many scientists are agreed that evolution must have taken place, there should be no agreement as to what it exactly means or how it works. As *The Times* of June 9th, 1905, said when reviewing a great controversy among scientists on evolution—"The plain truth is that though some agree in this or that, there is not a single point on which they all agree."†

* *Tracts for New Times*. No. 3, p. 4. Published by the Victoria Institute.

† See also *Evolution Criticized*, by the late T. B. Bishop, Member of Council.

However, it is the fashion to suppose that the religious idea was slowly evolved. Fetichism would be the first dawning in the soul of man of the idea of God. This was followed by animism, that by polytheistic idolatry, which finally emerged triumphantly into monotheism. All this is beautifully simple, but, to quote again Mr. Maunder*—"This last step is not in the order of evolution; the natural heir and successor of polytheism is, not monotheism, but pantheism." I may add that without a certain animistic belief it is hard to conceive how fetichism could exist. Besides, fetichism bears traces of truths far above and beyond itself. How did these find their way in? The answer is difficult on the evolutionary hypothesis.

Fetichism is one of those words whose character has suffered from the company they keep. It has an aroma of the Dark Continent. It flatters our self-righteousness to paint in most lurid tints the depravity of distant lands, like the school-boy who was set an essay on the morals of the South Sea Islanders. His essay contained the soul of wit, if nothing else, for it consisted of six words—"The South-Sea Islanders have no morals." Just so, and of course the African has no morals; it makes us feel very virtuous to believe it. He certainly lacks the veneration of European civilization, but from my experience I would consider at the present time an African village greatly preferable as an abode, in many respects both moral and material, to a European slum.

The word fetich came from the Roman Catholic Portuguese discoverers of the fifteenth century. They intended no opprobrium by the term. It was a sacred word to them. They called their own relics, rosaries and amulets, possessing in their eyes magical virtues, "feitições" or "feticos," meaning "magically active." The Portuguese saw the negro paying religious reverence, akin to their own, to his wooden figures and stones, and dubbed them "feticos" too. So the term was not indigenous to Africa, but was imported. This prepares us to learn that fetichism is not confined to Africa, but exists not only in heathen countries, such as India, but in other quarters nearer home.

The fetich of the West African is *umbanda*—a charm, and generally means some object with occult properties, because indwelt by a spirit. It has been asserted that the negro is not

* *Tracts for New Times.* No. 3, p. 5.

sufficiently evolved to have any idea of carrying a thing for luck, but this is only one of the many dicta of the Evolutionary School which it is safe to accept with caution. A negro will put a small shell into his woolly hair at night as a charm against dreams, of which there is a common dread, and I doubt if he thinks much more of a spirit dwelling in the shell than the man who nails a horseshoe over his door for luck.

A fetich may be anything—a roughly carved doll, a model of a travelling load, a bit of serpent's skin. Most raw natives of any standing carry round the neck like an amulet a small deer's horn or tiny bag containing some protective fetich.

If you buy a leopard skin, you had better keep an eye on the claws, or they will be stolen for fetiches, the popular idea being that discarnate spirits have a predilection for beasts of prey. The tip of the nose or tail of such animals are also much in vogue.

There are public fetiches at the entrances of villages consisting of poles stuck in the ground surmounted with the bleached skulls of animals sacrificed to the spirits. Each pole represents a spirit of some dead person, which has been appeased in the fashion to be described later.

The most potent fetich of all in Western Angola is called a *kandundu*. It is a sort of shrine large enough to hold a man, and there is a special class of persons who tend it, and in it certain rites of great potency are enacted. I never saw one, to my knowledge, but I have heard of it on good authority. I suppose the man who gets inside becomes indwelt by the spirit for the time being.

The native dreads the consequences of breaking the laws imposed by the diviners. Sometimes certain food is forbidden, and such is rigidly avoided. Sometimes a certain stream is put out of bounds, but if somebody will hold the native's hand as he goes over, the spell is broken.

When we come to inquire what fetichism is we get some bewildering definitions. Auguste Comte is on the side of the evolutionists and uses the term as describing "a necessary stage in the development of all religion, in which all material bodies are supposed to be animated by souls essentially analogous to our own." Certainly this would not be a difficult conception for the simple negro. Our children up to the age of four or five easily imagine their playthings alive, like the little girl who was accused of beating the hens, because her favourite stick was found in the hen-yard and the hens were in an evident state

of perturbation. "Oh, yes," she said, "Maurice (her name for the stick) may have done it. I know he often walks out that way!"

But would not this go to prove that the negro is religiously in the child stage? Not necessarily—he may be in his second childhood, for old age has its hallucinations, as childhood its imaginations. In any case Comte's definition is animism, not fetichism.

The French writer de Brosses in his work, *Du culte des Dieux fétiches*, 1760, understood by fetichism "le culte de certains objets terrestres et matériels," but this is idolatry, which is *ex hypothesi* a higher stage again in the evolutionary process. So this, too, is rather confusing.

De Brosses excludes the worship of the heavenly bodies, and I am sure he is right. But Comte joins issue with him, for he gives prominence to the sun and moon as "grands fétiches." To him and his followers fetichism is practically "Nature Worship," but another writer retorts that "Nature Worship is pure and noble compared with something 'irrationally revered.'" Herbert Spencer's view is radically different from that of Comte. He maintains in his *Sociology* that a fetich is "something unusual and inexplicable in appearance, in which the spirit of a dead man has come to dwell." This is quite distinct from Nature Worship.

Goblet d'Alviella in his Hibbert lecture, p. 82, defines fetichism as "the belief that the appropriation of a thing may secure the services of the spirit lodged within it."

This harmonizes strangely with a custom practised by the native spiritists of the Dutch Indies. I heard of it first hand from a Dutch gentleman, who had resided years in those parts and had been himself a long time a spiritist medium. The Dutch possessions are, he told me, honeycombed with spiritism. The natives will take up some old man as a *pensionnaire* and feed and lodge him gratis, on condition that he undertakes to become their familiar spirit after death. At death a circular piece of bone is cut out of the dead man's forehead, and when this is spun on a piece of string, as schoolboys do buttons, the familiar spirit is on its honour to respond to the call. Here we may say the button or bone is the link between the living and the dead, really a kind of fetich.

I must not trouble you with many more definitions; an ounce of experience is worth a pound of definition—I will give you only those of Webster and Littré.

The former's is: "One of the lowest and grossest forms of superstition, consisting in the worship of some material object, as a stone, a tree or animal often casually selected, practised among tribes of lowest mental endowment, as certain races of negroes." But some of these very races have given Bishops to the English Church, as the late Samuel Crowther, Bishop of the Niger Territory, and Dr. I. Oluwole, Assistant Bishop of Lagos, who was lately over here attending the Lambeth Conference; so we must not press this inferiority too far.

One more definition will suffice, that of Littré: "Objet naturel, animal divinisé, bois, pierre, idole grossière, qu'adorent les nègres des côtés occidentales de l'Afrique." No wonder the great philologist Max-Müller exclaimed in something like despair, "Fetichism! whatever that may mean."

Not being an armchair philosopher or evolutionary theorist, but only a simple traveller, I do not ask to be believed on my *ipse dixit*. But I am encouraged, amid the wide divergences of "the authorities," by the fact of having travelled in Central Africa for the best part of two years in the last decade, and of having been in contact with experienced men living on the spot, to give you a few of my impressions for what they are worth.

The Ovimbundu, the great slavers in the past, inhabit the west of Angola; then you get the Va Luimbe, across the "Hungry Country"; the Va Chokwe, who have a reputation for lying and stealing beyond their contemporaries, the Va Luena, Va Lunda, now North-West Rhodesia; the Lubans of the East Congo State, ruled so long by the notorious Mushidi; the Va Vemba, now North-East Rhodesia; and then lower south, the Zulus; and further still, the Pondos. These are all Bantu tribes and all practise fetichism, with considerable local differences.

In my travels among these tribes, personally I never saw negroes *worshipping* fetiches, and my inquiries on the spot have confirmed my experience.

The nearest approach to this is the deposing before the public *umbunda* temporary offerings of corn or meal; or a hunter, on the eve of an expedition, may lay his gun before the fetich as a mute appeal that he may shoot straight. But though the native does not worship, he does ask for help from the spirits. Offerings are made by natives when going to pray to the spirits of their forefathers under a tree or hut. Their size depends on the size of the request. If the offering be beer, they pour it on the

ground. We may, therefore, dismiss the definitions of Webster and Littré, which really confuse fetichism and idolatry.

Nor do the negroes worship the sun, nor regard them as "grands fétiches" as Conte affirms; they believe the Great Spirit made them. Among the Bantus there seems to be a general belief in the existence of a Great Creator, and in fact, from what I have learned, you would hardly meet, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, an unsophisticated native, that is uncontaminated by contact with godless whites, who would not readily admit the existence of a Supreme Being, who made the sun, moon, trees, etc. They believe in Him as Maker and Father: Ngambi is the native name in the Gaboon, according to the Rev. R. H. Nassau, whose book, *Fetichism in West Africa*, the fruit of forty years in the Gaboon, should be read by those anxious to study this subject further. He also speaks of some tradition, among the natives, of a deluge, also of a fable about a woman bringing to her village the fruit of a forbidden tree and, in order to hide it, swallowing it.

Unfortunately these beliefs do not influence their conduct much more than that of the ordinary European. Fetichism is not taken up with conduct or with preparation for the Great Beyond, but with warding off the machinations of evil spirits in the great "Now."

Some spiritists have tried to impress on us our indebtedness to spiritism for the great discovery of a life beyond the grave; they might as well boast that spiritism had invented printing or gunpowder. A negro would smile if you told him his communications with the spirit-world had proved to you an existence beyond this world. He would regard you as an ignoramus of a dangerous kind not to have known that before.

Like our spiritists, the witch-doctors profess to communicate with spirits and hold that such are not superhuman agencies, but discarnate spirits. In fact, their world beyond is peopled exclusively with such, if we except the Supreme Spirit and a power of evil analogous to Satan, though of course their beliefs are vague and they do seem to believe in certain second-class deities, such as the god of hunting, etc.

They seem to have no conception of angelic spirits, good or bad. One does not read much of angels either, in descriptions of that dreary worldly place, the spiritist heaven. It is much more likely, for reasons we need not detail here, that if spirits are communicated with, they are not discarnate human spirits

but spirits of a superhuman order, as Dr. A. T. Schofield, member of the Council of this Institute, well says in his work *Modern Spiritism*.* “We cannot believe . . . that any human beings, however depraved, can in their spirit-form after death descend to the horrors that accompany so many cases of ‘possession,’ the secrets of so many séances or the dreadful experiences of so many spiritists. Surely to call these denizens of the pit ‘discarnate spirits,’ is not to honour the dead but to dishonour them and to reach the incredible. Humanity may descend to the bestial; but not to the devilish without actual ‘possession!’” Yet though such things are concomitant of spiritism, we are asked to accept it as the ally of Christianity. I think we may well shrink from such an alliance.

Fetichism has two distinct sides: for the lay negro it is exoteric—a kind of protective superstition, akin to the use of charms, mascots, etc., in Europe; and for the professional witch-doctor on its esoteric side it corresponds fairly closely, as we have seen, with modern spiritism.

Fetiches serve many ends. They are (1) protective against evil spirits and so prophylactic against disease and death; (2) detective of evil spirits and of witches, their human confederates; (3) curative of disease; (4) incentive to affection, and (5) predictive (*i.e.*, of auspicious days for ceremonies, journeys, etc.).

The cult of the African for the departed is professedly not based on filial piety as in China, nor on faith in the Supreme Spirit, but on fear. As Henry Drummond has said, “Fear of Spirits is the National religion of the negro. Spirits have good memories—a nasty way of wiping off old scores against surviving relatives or enemies. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ!*”

These spirits are supposed to be of two kinds—bad, called *ovilulu* (in Umbundu), and a rarer variety, *ahamba*, or good spirits, who do no harm and can be safely ignored. A native who dies becomes *ipso facto* an *ochilulu*† or evil spirit, and goes to a place of suffering to make amends for his sins, but still retains his power for mischief. When accident or sickness or death occurs in a village, it is the work of some evil spirit either seeking to attract attention to itself and enlist the interest of sorrowing relatives or avenging itself for past injuries.

* Page 98.

† *Ovilulu*, plural; *ochilulu*, singular.

When the war broke out I happened to be travelling in West Africa. At a place I visited called Kapango in West Angola, they told me two young men from the place, who had gone into the interior in search of rubber, had been murdered shortly before by the Chokwes. One would suppose every effort would be made to trace the murderers, but no, the great effort was to find out what spirit had caused the murder. A witch-doctor alone is competent for this. Messengers were despatched to fetch one. These messengers often become the confederates of the diviner, who learns from them the details of the village. Collusion explains a good deal of African spiritism, as of the home variety, but not everything, and those who know best believe there is some spiritual power behind it, manifesting itself in a desultory, unaccountable, freakish way as in the séances around us to-day.

Candidates for the profession of witch-doctor serve an apprenticeship and are then initiated, but it must be with their own consent. I was told of a girl, one of a number destined for the profession, who drew back at the last moment and nothing could be made of her. This has its parallel in home spiritism. The will must be yielded first, but then, as spiritists themselves allow, there is a real danger of obsession, and even though the adept may change his or her mind, the spirit is very unwilling to change his. As Sir William Barrett, a scientific investigator of spiritism, quoted by Dr. Schofield,* says: "Spiritism is dangerous in proportion as it leads us to surrender our reason or our will to the dictates of an invisible and often lying being," and the author adds: "The surrender of free-will in spiritism is most dangerous and also most common."

There seems some misapprehension in our country about the African witch-doctor. He is not a witch himself, but a detector of witches, a sort of medium professing to possess occult powers which enable him to protect from sickness and death. He is not necessarily more wicked than his fellows, but he not seldom is a thorough-going scoundrel and imposter. His divining fetiches are often heirlooms, from father to son, and his position the same. In some parts of Western Africa a triangular patch of hair is the professional tonsure of the witch-doctor. He gains his livelihood by concocting protective fetiches, much as a doctor or chemist makes up prescriptions.

* *Modern Spiritism*, pp. 187-88.

There is a good deal of ceremony in the preparation of some of these, in which a number of persons may take part, and in very important cases a whole village or even district will gather for the occasions. Where the devilry of fetichism comes out unabashed is in the detecting of witches, supposed to be in collusion with evil spirits. The poison and boiling-water tests imposed on those accused of witchcraft involved in the past hideous cruelties and hung as a perpetual terror over the heads of the natives, who might at any moment find themselves suspected. But this was not the essential of fetichism, and though the spread of European authority and the wide influence of Christian missionaries has gone far to stamp out this side of it, the spiritist side flourishes as before.

When the witch-doctor arrives the usual preliminary revelation is that the spirits want beer, and accordingly a beer-dance is determined on. As this exactly hits off the general taste, everyone is pleased. That beer can be enjoyed beyond the veil corresponds with the revelation of "Raymond," that whisky is procurable in the spiritist heaven, as well as "spiritual cigars," of some kind of *ersatz* tobacco. So the beer is prepared and the dancing and divining begins, and as the good witch-doctor is in no hurry whatever, it may go on for weeks, as long as the patience of the villagers lasts. One hears night after night the monotonous yelling of the natives rising and falling in the stillness of the dark hours, as they dance round the log fire, before which the witch-doctor sits, divining with his basket of fetiches.

As he shakes this up and down, some one fetich more than another may seem to come to the surface, and according to the interpretation which the diviner reads into this, so is his final divination. Now comes the turn of the unhappy relatives, who find themselves held responsible for the evil deeds of their defunct relative. According to their means must be the greatness of the sacrifice. The rich must offer an ox, a poorer family a sheep or a goat. The blood is poured out to the great Spirit and the friends eat the flesh, and the spirit is set free and joins the ranks of the *ahamba*, or well-disposed spirits. In the case of an avenging spirit, it is supposed to be definitely appeased. But not in the case of chiefs or those who died rich. In their case the sacrifices go on for years, until at length their spirits, who seek to harm, become kindly-disposed and helpful. My host, who gave me these details, had sacrificed a promising career

in the C.I.D. at Scotland Yard to come to Africa as a missionary, and had been in the country nearly thirty years, so I think he may be relied on. I proposed our sallying out one night to view the ceremony. He assured me it would be perfectly useless to try, as everything would be stopped before we could get within sight of the fire. The diviners will not and confessedly cannot carry on their business in the presence of Christians. There must be, as in modern séances, a favourable atmosphere. The following incident will illustrate this.

If a witch-doctor dies, only his fellow-practitioners may bury him. None else may touch the body. All witch-doctors within reach are summoned. They divine as to where the burial should take place. My friend once happened to arrive in a village just after the death of a witch-doctor, when seven or eight of his colleagues were scouring the village, furiously divining, to find the destined grave, but the presence of the missionary seemed to paralyze them. "*Kachitava, kachitava*," was the cry raised on all sides ("It is in vain"), and it was plainly intimated to him that he was a marplot. It will be remembered, perhaps, that when the Welsh mediums Thomas gave their spiritist demonstration in London last year, which proved such a fiasco, they had previously objected to one of the Committee of Experts as unsympathetic. He had, it appeared, been very successful in exposing fraudulent manifestations, and so was *on the index*.

If the public fetiches are voluntarily burnt by the local native authorities, it is a long step towards breaking the superstition. I never saw this done, but I once witnessed the burning of the fetiches of a noted witch-doctor, and also of a native chief. The former had been for years an opponent of the missionaries. Her husband had been publicly baptized the Sunday before, and this had so impressed her that the next Saturday she came up to the Mission Station and said she wanted to "follow the Words of God," as the native expression is. On the following day a special service was held at which she, with her own hands, burnt her valued fetiches in a bonfire, in the courtyard, ending with the little bells she used for convening her adepts to her séances. I wondered how they would fare in the fire.

The chief was another case. He lived further north, at a place called Ndalla, to the west of Lake Tanganyika. He welcomed us quite warmly. I noticed he was festooned with great necklaces of blue beads (these for ornament) and had fetiches round every limb. I asked him to explain their virtues. The one round his

neck was to keep off sore throat. That one round his left arm was to make his wife love him. Another was to keep pain from his legs, another to protect his feet. I suggested, quite gravely of course, that he ought never to be ill, indeed that he ought never to die. He demurred at that. He was just getting over a bad sore throat, and half the people in the district were dying of sleeping sickness (all of whom probably wore fetiches). "Oh no, we must all die sooner or later." "Well," I said, "we have to tell you that the Great God above has sent His Son down into this world to save men from dying. In fact, those who believe on Him become immune from death. They may leave this world, but they don't die, they fall asleep." He seemed immensely struck with this. I ought to mention that, my knowledge of Luban being very limited, I had to speak by interpretation.

In the afternoon we invited the chief and the whole village to gather round in the open courtyard in front of the chief's house to hear more. In the middle of the service we noticed the old chief struggling out of his great bead necklaces, and then detaching one after the other his fetiches and making a pile of them on the ground. The friend I was with asked him what he was doing. He replied, "If it be true that the Son of God has come, and I believe it is, what good can these things do me?" He then called his wife and children to do the same, and they came forward and deposited their fetiches on the pile. We were glad he did not attempt to force the whole village to follow suit against their personal convictions. Then with his willing consent a bonfire was made and the whole collection burnt. When the match was being applied, those standing by recoiled in horror, thinking that at least the sky would fall. But when they saw no one was any the worse, they took courage and closed in again. The prime minister, a most recalcitrant looking individual, seemed anything but pleased at all this, but the next day he too decided to "follow the Words of God," being won over by the exhortations of some Christian natives among our carriers.

This is a point where modern spiritism differs from her poor relation in Africa. In the former case the fundamental doctrines of Christianity are said to "need restatement," which is a euphemistic way of saying that they are not true, as believed by ordinary Christian folk. It must be a spurious Christianity which can hail as ally a system which denies the fall of man, the Deity of Christ, the Atonement and the Judgment to come ;

and conversion must be very rare among mediums. But in the case of witch-doctors, I have met with quite a number who have become Christians; probably quite as many, in proportion, as from any other class of the community. The native Christians unanimously hold that fetichism is of the evil one, and insist on fetiches being destroyed on conversion to Christianity. The wearing of a charm or the possession of one in the house is considered to be of the devil.

For the sake of our Church Congress speaker and of others who may be in doubt, we may here sum up the striking similarities between that which we will call esoteric fetichism and civilized spiritism.

Both profess to communicate with spirits; both hold these to be discarnate and that the beyond is peopled with such; both ignore angels, good or bad; both are frequently practised in the dark, spiritism usually, I think; both need a favourable atmosphere; both are antagonistic to revealed Christianity, as usually understood, though less so in the case of the African cult. The heaven of both is a glorified "world," where taste for drink and the minor vices may be gratified, though I never heard that negroes hope to smoke or cake-dance in heaven. Both systems seem to be a compound of trickery and demonry. Both are in the hands of professional mediums; neither exercise any ethical effect on their votaries, for both mediums and witch-doctors are often immoral, given to drink and lying; and with all their vaunted communications, real or pretended, it is exceedingly doubtful whether spiritist mediums, any more than negro witch-doctors, have contributed one item of original truth to the domain of useful human knowledge. Manifestations there have been, revelations none. No one would pretend that fetichism edifies or elevates its disciples, nor does spiritism either, from what we hear and read. As has been truly said,* "Spiritualism vulgarizes that which is holy, while adding to our knowledge no single word of real help or worth."

When we come to the exoteric side of things, the belief in protective charms, etc., we may smile in a superior way at the superstition of the benighted African; but something very closely allied to it is rife in Christendom. In reality, fetichism is as widespread as misbelief. When faith goes out at the front door, superstition comes in at the tradesman's entrance. When

* *Spiritualism*, by Coulson Kernahan, p. 52.

men lose faith in big things, they begin to have faith in small : amulets, fetiches, mascots and floating tambourines. The man to whom our Lord and His Apostles are but names, will never sit down thirteen at table. In free-thinking Paris the No. 13 in a street is scarcely, if ever, known. It is replaced by No. 12 *bis*, for fear of ill-luck. The man who sturdily refuses "to bear his cross" will wear a lucky pig at his watch-chain. When in France in 1915 I learnt that mascots and charms were worn by tens of thousands of combatants. People say they do not believe in such things, but they use them ; like the man who said he did not believe in ghosts, but confessed he was afraid of them.

You pity the dark negro. "My poor black brother, how can you hope to frighten away evil spirits with those hideous fetiches at the entrance to your villages ?" But what about the six gargoyles at the north entrance to Westminster Abbey ? They are just as hideous, and were originally placed there, it is believed by many,* for much the same purpose. The two unmistakable British bull-dogs over the central door must be there as watch-dogs, but they are too high to keep off mere mortals. I am not suggesting that the dean and chapter believe in such things, but a tourist-negro might ask, "Why leave them there, if you don't believe in them ; I burnt my fetiches when I became a Christian ?"

In closing we come back to our first question. Is fetichism a first step up or a last step down, an evolution or a degradation ? The former theory is contrary to experience. What strikes the traveller in Central Africa is the dead level of hopeless stagnation in which the raw natives exist. They vegetate on with no power or desire to rise. Where indeed were debased savages ever found emerging unaided into higher and clearer views of God ? "Hath a nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods ?" † but degradation from the highest ideals is only too simple, "My people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit." No one denies that Divine Revelation has been progressive, but its beginnings were not petty, superstitious and debased, but demonstrative of the Eternal power and Godhead of the Creator. Evolutionists have yet to explain in a reasonable way the "robust monotheism" of that most venerable document, if viewed in the lowest light, the first chapter of Genesis. The gulf between it and the sorceries of

* See *e.g.*, *Naology*, by Dudley of Leicester, p. 567. 8vo., 1846.

† Jeremiah ii, 10-11.

ancient and modern times is great and fixed. Here we have no tribal henotheism, but a monotheism as far removed from the cosmogonies of Babylonian and heathen polytheism as heaven from earth. As one has well said* : "Not one of these can be read without a smile—the machinery creaks all the time. No one ever thought of smiling at the Bible accounts of the Creation and restoration of the earth." Idolatry was a departure from pure monotheism. Men, who would not see, became blind. Fetichism is a degradation from a purer faith of which it contains traces, a far-off glimpse of a Supreme Creator, a vague idea of accountability to Him, a dim reminiscence of atonement by sacrifice, misty traditions of past happenings in the cradle of the race.

Modern civilization, professing itself to be wise, has turned away from the testimony of Creation and Revelation, and with its superstitions, its mascots, its séances, is nearing the level of religious dotage where the despised negro has grovelled so long. There are signs of better things for the Dark Continent. Perhaps "the first shall be the last, and the last first."

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said :—The lecture has proved interesting, instructive, and, what is more, suggestive.

For instance, it has suggested to me the true position fetichism holds amongst the world's religions. These all can be divided up into three groups, each group corresponding to one division of man's consciousness. As I have had the honour on a former occasion to point out to you, that source of knowledge is threefold : (1) *Object or sense consciousness*, and to this corresponds the group made up of *animism, fetichism, shamanism, totemism*. (2) *Soul or self-consciousness*, and to this corresponds the group containing, among others, some forms of *Judaism, Stoicism*, and theologies based on the philosophy of *Kant*. (3) *God or spirit consciousness*, to which division correspond *deism, pantheism, theism*.

Animism appears amongst all low tribes, and is the belief that spiritual beings fill all nature, animate and inanimate, and their life is a continuation and not a new life. They can transmigrate into human beings, animals, plants and inanimate objects, and can avenge

* *The Fall—Fact or Fiction*, by C. F. Hogg.

their past and present wrongs by bringing disease and death on the offenders. From this naturally arises *ancestor worship*. Savages are in this very like their more civilized brethren. As one clubman said to another, who was boasting of the greatness of his ancestors, "Why, sir, you are like the potato plant: the best part is underground!" Thus they believe the souls of chiefs and warriors rise to divine honours. This idea of the divine ancestor may be carried far enough to reach supreme deity, as when the Zulus, working back from ancestor to ancestor, reach *Lunkulunkulu*, the Old-old-one, as creator of the world.

Hence *animism* differs from *fetichism*, for the latter is the belief that the possession of an object can procure for its possessor the services of the spirit lodged within it.

Hence we reach the three divisions into which spiritual beings fall, according to the African. (1) *Divine*. These are to be worshipped, and this is *idolatry*. (2) *Ghosts*, by this term meaning the spirits of the dead who have not reached apotheosis. These have to be propitiated in the ways mentioned by the lecturer. Under this heading comes the doctrine of *relics* amongst us. (3) *Fetiches*, meaning thereby the beings that are lodged in the various things that are known by that name. These have to be compelled to serve, or else the objects in which they are supposed to lodge suffer punishment by being kicked, chopped, burned, etc. How child-like! And here we find a place for *mascots*, lucky pigs, billikens, crooked six-pences, etc. Now the influence which the possession of a *fetich* is thought to give to its possessor is known as *ju ju*, as we have and use the term "luck." Anything extraordinary happening is put down to *ju ju*. For instance, when he first comes in contact with white men, and sees some of the commonplace exhibitions of modern science, commonplace to us but startling to him, he puts it all down to "white man's *ju ju*." Now fetichism may be called *primitive* when the savage personifying everything around him chooses from among these an imaginary personality in an object capable of being appropriated by himself whose spirit becomes his protector or his slave. Or *secondary*, when the object is chosen as a fetich either spontaneously or through a magical operation.

At the other end of the series we have *deism*, the root principle of which is the *transcendence* of God; *pantheism*, the root principle of which is the *immanence* of God; and *theism*, which combines both

great facts in consequence of receiving the Bible as a Divine revelation. That being so, I cannot believe that polytheism develops into monotheism, still less that the polydæmonistic tribal beliefs reach monotheism by the same route. History testifies to the contrary. The polytheism of Greece did not develop into monotheism but into scepticism, and scepticism never develops into monotheistic belief. Nay verily ! Auguste Comte himself being witness ! When he founded *positivism* he said that "religiosity," as he called it, "is a mere weakness, and an avowal of want of power." But as he grew old he found that there was needed an appeal to the human heart as well as to the human head, so he constructed a religion. His gods are three : *Supreme Fetich*, the Earth ; *Supreme Medium*, space ; and *Supreme Being*, humanity. These he directed were to be worshipped daily in the temples of positivism. Surely this is, as Professor Flint calls it, a "monstrous mixture of atheism, fetichism, ultramontaniam and ritualism." Yet positivism is claimed by its author and his disciples to be the very last thing in philosophy and religion ! Is this the end of evolution ?

It is neither development nor degeneration. Man leaving God, God left man to his own devices and to his own knowledge, and the more childish he becomes so the more childlike do his beliefs become as to the unseen world. As the lecturer has shown us, a child is a creature of his senses, hence a religion based on the senses as a source of knowledge becomes that great Child—the African !

Lieut.-Colonel G. MACKINLAY said :—Mr. Hoste's account of the burning of fetiches on conversion in Africa is paralleled in Europe. The wooden household saint of many Roman Catholics corresponds in many ways to African fetiches ; both are consulted and asked to help in various difficulties, and both are liable to punishment and abuse if the requests are not granted.

I have known many Spaniards who have burnt their household saints on conversion. One woman on such an occasion took out all of them from the three-cornered cupboard in which she had carefully kept them all her life, and one after another she solemnly committed them to the flames. She kept the most sacred one to the last, but finally put that also in the fire, watching it intently, half expecting it to spring out ; but it also was soon consumed, and when all her stock of venerated relics had disappeared, she cried

out most earnestly, "And now, Lord Jesus, I have none but Thee."

At Thonon, in Savoy, an unconverted woman had a wooden St. Anthony, who is supposed to protect animals; but many of her pigs fell ill and some died. In her sorrow and indignation the woman upbraided the saint, urging that as she had grown the wood of which it was composed in her garden, and as her son had fashioned the image, that she had not been treated with due consideration after all the trouble she had taken!

In Numbers v, 11-31, we have a solemn account of the drinking of the water of bitterness by an accused woman. May not the poison and boiling-water tests in Africa, alluded to by our author on p. 160 of his paper, be a distortion of this God-given Jewish rite? An instance of degradation, as opposed to a higher upward growth, due to a supposed evolution?

The paper is a very valuable one, and the resemblances pointed out between the ancient African fetichism and the spiritism around us, which is called modern, are most striking.

MR. THEODORE ROBERTS desired to emphasize Mr. Hoste's conclusion that fetichism was to be regarded as a degradation from a purer faith and as characteristic of the dotage of the race of Ham. He referred to the fact that while black boys easily passed white boys at the age of 12, in later years the white boys surpassed black, and thought that in this there was an analogy with the fact that the race of Ham was the first to be highly civilized, as shown in Assyria (Cush) and Egypt (Mizraim), Gen. x, 6-12, whereas the races both of Shem and Japhet had long since surpassed that of Ham.

He considered that all available evidence showed that, so far from civilization having been evolved from the savage state, the opposite was the case, the wild men being really the truant children of the human race who had broken away from the restraints of civilization; there being, as was well known, no instance of a savage tribe becoming civilized apart from contact with civilization.

All this pointed to the great fact of the Fall of Man, and showed that the present cult of spiritism was, like fetichism, a concomitant of the dotage of the race that adopted it. He remembered how *The Times* remarked on Mrs. Annie Besant's adoption of theosophy

that she had accepted the Mahatmas on far slenderer evidence than that for which she had rejected Christianity, it being always the case that men who abandoned a true faith were easily disposed to accept a false one.

Prof. LANGHORNE ORCHARD cordially concurred with what had been said as to the great value of the admirable paper read that afternoon by an author who could lay claim to a first-hand acquaintance with his important and difficult subject. They would unanimously thank him for a very interesting paper—timely, practical, and marked by carefulness and sobriety of thought.

Fetichism—a protective magical superstition—is undoubtedly related to spiritism, and each comes under Divine prohibition. If we investigate the genesis of magic, we find some truth in the Egyptian theory that its mother (Isis) was the daughter of Earth and Sky. In magic we see man's projection of himself upon his environment, blended with the presence of the supernatural. In fetichism this self-projection selects some inanimate thing for its spiritual abode. In a little child is a tendency to think that "Dolly" is alive and possesses human attributes. A carpenter whose patience gives way before refractory lock and key is apt to vent his indignation by knocks, blows, exclamations, entirely dependent for efficacy upon the inanimate objects being endowed with certain human attributes.

In later developments of fetichism, the inhabiting spirit is not necessarily human, and the fetich, no longer a charm simply, may come to be worshipped. This is exemplified by the American "ockis," whose "priests" receive the not inappropriate name of "jugglers." Might they not share it with the "mediums" of present-day spiritism!

Line 7 from the bottom of p. 160 of the paper, referring to the setting "free" of the spirit, reminds me of the Romish doctrine of Purgatory, and the suggestion is emphasized by the fact that "according to their means" is "the greatness of the sacrifice" required from the unhappy relatives.

We shall concur with the author's estimate of the imaginary hypothesis called "evolution." Monotheism preceded polytheism. "When faith goes out at the front door, superstition comes in at the tradesman's entrance." "Fetichism is a degradation from a

purer faith of which it contains traces, a far-off glimpse of a supreme Creator, a vague idea of accountability to Him, a dim reminiscence of atonement by sacrifice, misty traditions of past happenings in the cradle of the race.”

Dr. A. T. SCHOFIELD, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Hoste and to the Chairman for presiding, said he hoped that the audience that afternoon appreciated the character of what they had been hearing; for this paper touched the fringe of demonism, of that unknown evil world of which we know practically nothing outside the statements of the Bible. No Christian, and but few thoughtful men, will deny that we have many evidences of being surrounded with an invisible evil world of great power, and the recurrences in the present day of spiritism and the increasing cases of demon-possession known to the medical profession make the subject of very special interest. Prof. Flournoy says: “There are principalities and powers which we in our ignorance toy with, without knowing the frightful consequences of tampering with the unseen world.” Fetichism represents what may be termed the lighter side of the horror of darkness. For the darker side we must look back to the awful war, and around to the scarcely less appalling peace we are enjoying, and to Russia, all of which none but the very short sighted ascribe to merely human agency. The war with the “world-rulers of darkness” is active around us.

Lieut.-Colonel A. P. FORD-MOORE writes:—“Responding to the Council’s invitation to submit MS. comments, I do so with regard to Mr. W. Hoste’s lecture.

“In the first place I should like to congratulate the author on the title of his lecture. From the context of his remarks one would conclude that he had only been some two years in his travels. If so he no doubt collected many interesting anecdotes, but hardly could he claim an extensive or exhaustive study of his subject, at any rate to deal with it in the dogmatic manner he has adopted. It takes many years of careful personal study, long and intimate acquaintance with the native races, to appreciate the ideas underlying their customs and beliefs. A short general tour round, speaking through an interpreter, or gathering yarns from white settlers, hardly entitles one to say whether their beliefs are retrograde or otherwise.

“The author seems a little unfortunate in his reference to the gargoyles and British bull-dogs at Westminster Abbey and the reasons they were placed there, but this is hardly the place to enter upon a discussion of the fancies which prompted the old architects to perpetrate these ‘drip-stones.’

“I am not alone in thinking that fetichism is ‘a first step up,’ a groping for truth and light. The traces of a purer faith would surely be more apparent had fetichism really been a degradation from such a faith, and the experience of those who have really studied the subject, who have approached it with open, unbiassed minds, would seem to confirm this. A child thinks as a child, and, as the author says, can ‘easily imagine their playthings alive.’ If we are to imagine that fetichism is a degradation, are we also to imagine that the race itself has degenerated, and if so, from what rootstock, and where was it situated?”

Lieut.-Colonel F. A. MOLONY, O.B.E., writes:—“I greatly regret that I shall be unable to be present at the meetings on April 4th.

“It seems to me that Mr. Hoste has proved that there is real affinity between African fetichism and that spiritism which certain distinguished men are now pressing us to adopt.

“A magistrate in the east of Cape Colony and close to native territory remarked to me, ‘If we do not educate the natives, there will be smelling-out of witches and other abominations.’ So this official in a comparatively civilized part of Africa regarded the recrudescence of fetichism as possible and very evil. Now if it becomes known to the African that we are taking up spiritism, will he not be much encouraged to revive fetichism?”

“Further, may we not learn from what Mr. Hoste has told us about fetichism how spiritism is likely to develop here. He says, ‘Spirits have good memories—a nasty way of wiping off old scores against surviving relatives or enemies.’ In fact, it needs but little imagination to realize that, if we allow spiritism to spread, it will do an immense amount of harm here; and that its relative, fetichism, will be encouraged to do further mischief in Africa, and I therefore think that Mr. Hoste’s paper is most practical and timely.”

The Rev. Dr. J. E. H. THOMSON, of Edinburgh, writes:—“It is needless to say that I have been deeply interested in Mr. Hoste’s paper on fetichism. Though I have not had the special oppor-

tunities of studying the subject on its native soil as he has had, through relatives who were missionaries on the West Coast of Africa, and other missionaries who through them became my friends, my knowledge is more nearly first-hand than most. I may mention that one of these friends is Dr. R. Hamil Nassau, from whose book on fetichism Mr. Hoste quotes. I can say that I can corroborate most of Mr. Hoste's statements. The cases in which I am not quite in agreement with Mr. Hoste may well be due to my imperfect understanding either of what Mr. Hoste has said or of what I had heard from my friends. Like Mr. Hoste, I think the religious history of the race before Abraham was not of the evolution of higher morality and loftier thoughts of God, but of degeneration in every direction: 'God hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions.' Yet it seems to me that there is a place for evolution—not as taking the place of the Divine Reason, but as expressing the method by which that Reason manifests itself.

“In confirmation of what Mr. Hoste maintains, that behind and above the fetiches and the spirits which inhabit them the negroes of the West Coast of Africa believe in a great god, I may relate what my cousin, the late Dr. W. C. Thomson, missionary in Old Calabar, told me. He had been telling an old Chief the disasters that in consequence of earthquake had befallen a district somewhat to the north. The old man, when he heard, looked out from under the verandah of his house to the blue sky, and said, 'What terrible things that great face works.' Evidently he regarded the sky as the face of the great god.

“Personally, I was not aware that the fetich spirit was regarded as having lived. My impression has been that they were elemental spirits, who took up their abode in any odd object, stick or stone, tree or rock. That might be urged as a distinction between the spirits evoked by the modern spiritualists, or, as Mr. Hoste calls them, spiritists, and the fetich worshippers. I do not think that these frequenters of séances associate the spirits with any special object. That also might be brought forward as a distinction to separate the fashionable spiritists from the fetich worshippers. A thing which seems to me to be as much akin to fetichism as modern spiritualism is the habit of having mascots. There is no worship given them, yet somehow the possession of them is supposed to secure success. The whole idea of luck is purely superstitious.

“ I am not quite sure that I am correct when I attribute to Mr. Hoste the idea that the idolaters worshipped the idols themselves and not some spiritual being whose representative they were. I think that at all events the Greeks, when they worshipped Artemis and offered sacrifices before the image that fell down from heaven, did not worship merely the shapeless aerolite, but a spiritual being who made this her symbol. The Greeks, according to my idea, were fetichists, only they glorified with their artistic genius the objects they made their fetiches. In actual fact the magnificent statue of Jupiter, though carved by Phidias, is really as much a fetich as the whale tooth, which I know once was a fetich in the neighbourhood of the Gaboon.”

Dr. C. Fox writes :—“ Being unable to be present, I do not know whether the lecturer alluded to the strange theory of the Mascot, so extremely apposite and also, I feel, important ; and wish to take the opportunity to point out—as he or others may likely do—its close analogy (one might say, really, identity) with that of the fetich. The latter is, of course, pagan and idolatry, as is necessarily the regarding of ‘ chance ’ a postulate of unbelief, though so continually named and heeded, especially in the News. I trust the essayist was desirous to sound a warning note against the entire system of which his theme gave an historic or local test, and think it probable such was his purpose. It is extremely needed. For the thus obtaining and most jealously keeping an object—no matter what or how trifling—is now most prevalent, especially at sea—where superstition appears to be most usual, and the relying upon its presence as tutelary—*i.e.* really saving—is an overlooking and contempt of God, very grievous where He is known and professed.”

LECTURER'S REPLY.

I am gratified to find that one main thesis of my paper—that fetichism is the last stage in the religious landslide that has been taking place in human history—is so generally accepted ; and am indebted to the Chairman, Colonel Mackinlay, Dr. Thomson, Mr. Theodore Roberts and others for confirmatory evidence and suggestions. The wonder is not that fetichism should contain so few traces of the original revelation, but that after centuries of

isolation and degradation it should contain any. Of course the negro comes originally from the same stock as ourselves, even the most unabashed evolutionist only stands for one original pair of the genus homo, and there is not the slightest proof that this pair were ignorant savages. When I wrote "threadbare hypothesis," p. 152, I referred to Darwin's explanation of evolution—natural selection. The late Lord Salisbury, in his famous address at Oxford in 1894, after tenderly "cremating" this theory, ended up the funeral oration by an appeal to Lord Kelvin, whose words, spoken in 1874, he quoted: "I have always felt that the hypothesis of natural selection does not contain the true theory of evolution, *if evolution there has been in biology*" (my italics). Lord Kelvin, who was present, found nothing to modify in this statement after twenty years of further thought and experience, and in proposing a vote of thanks to Lord Salisbury, only emphasized his words. We do well to remember that "if," and refuse to allow ourselves to be imposed upon by what is still an unproved hypothesis, with enormous difficulties to overcome and chasms to bridge, before it can be accepted as scientific fact.

I lately came across an extract from Professor Lionel Beale, of King's College, London, a sufficient authority on biology: "There is no evidence that man descended from, or is or was in any way specially related to, any other organisms in nature through evolution or by any other process. In support of all naturalistic conjectures concerning man's origin there is not at this time a shade of scientific evidence." After this it is not very convincing to hear amateurs speaking oracularly of the "latest biological discoveries." Among these discoveries* are those of Professor F. Wood-Jones, Professor of Anatomy at the University of London, who emphatically rejects the dictum of Huxley that "man, the anthropoid apes, the monkey, the lemurs, the pronograde quadrupedal mammals represented a true evolutionary series." He says, "*No attentive student of anatomy can possibly believe this to be true.*" He is just as positive, however, as Huxley that he has found the true line of descent. The latest claimant, it appears, to the honour of fathering the human race would be the tarsius, a nocturnal squirrel-like creature, which is supposed to have inhabited the

* See *Man's Ancestry*, by the late T. B. Bishop, p. 8.

Malayan islands millions of years ago in the Eocene Age. The apes, by the showing of this scientist, are to be regarded as *descended* from man. The professor quotes Professor Boule, of Paris, and others in support of this view, which, however, as Mr. Bishop points out, "makes utterly valueless all the scientific evidence which has hitherto been relied upon by biologists as proving the animal origin of man" (*i.e.* through the apes).

No doubt in a few years some other professor will arise and demolish Professor Wood-Jones and his *tarsius*. But while evolutionists are engaged in "biting and devouring one another" we may possess our souls in patience and continue to believe in the Creatorship of God. It is hardly a question of what God might or might not have done. In the absence of any scientific or other proof that He did create according to a certain theory, we may safely refuse to bow to the idol.

Mr. Theodore Roberts' analogy is exceedingly interesting and suggestive as an illustration of what has been going on in the religious history of the race. With reference to Dr. Thomson's remarks, I am glad of his general agreement with my conclusions. As regards his query, fetichism and animism must be distinguished. In the latter the spirits are, I believe, supposed to be elemental, indwelling trees, rocks, etc., but in fetichism they are professedly discarnate. I do not think I attempted any pronouncement on idolatry; the more ignorant and degraded idolators might worship the idol itself, those more advanced the spirit associated with the idol. In answer to Dr. Fox, I did point out the close analogy he refers to. Fetiches as mascots are for the "common herd," but it is on the esoteric side that fetichism bears so close a relation to spiritism, though, of course, I do not assert an exact correspondence in every detail. I am grateful to Dr. Schofield, Professor Orchard, and Colonel Moloney for their remarks as to the inner significance of this correspondence. As for the real spiritual power behind fetichism I have received since writing my paper the following from my brother, Mr. T. H. Hoste, who lived thirteen years on the Lower Congo: "Neither I nor the missionaries with whom I was associated thought there was anything to understand about fetiches, and in my time the whole thing was treated cavalierly. A remarkable incident, however, occurred within my knowledge shortly before I left Africa. Three important men gave themselves

up and insisted, against the will and desire of their community, on being stoned to death for having destroyed various people through the agency of fetichism. This was entirely on their own voluntary confession. . . . The strength of our attack lay in the fact that we and our converts could flout and destroy fetiches with impunity, but this was no real proof that there was nothing in fetichism."

As for the first chapter of Genesis, the Higher Critical suggestion that its source was a Babylonian myth, adapted and developed by the Israelites "in their own characteristic fashion," will not do. For the assumption that "the fashion of the Israelites" was to purify heathen myths and religions is, if we may trust their own prophets, to invert the true order of history, the tendency being exactly the opposite. The "characteristic fashion of the Israelites" was to allow their own monotheistic faith to be only too easily invaded and degraded by polytheistic beliefs and practices. But as has been well said,* "When we find two accounts of the same event—one vague, fantastic, extravagant, and the other sober, definite and clear—experience shows that the sober narrative is nearer to the event than the fantastic one." All this is confirmatory proof that in the beginning man was created by God "very good," and started with a clear and worthy revelation of his Creator, but fell from this high estate through sin, and apart from Divine Grace has been falling ever since.

* *From Creation to the Flood*, by Canon Digby M. Berry, M.A., p. 29.

THE 630TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, APRIL 18TH, 1921,
AT 4.30 P.M.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE K. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, K.C.B.,
IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the Election of the following:—T. B. Hunter, Esq., O.B.E., W. H. Pibel, Esq., F.S.A., as Members, and Col. H. Biddulph, R.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., as an Associate.

The CHAIRMAN then called on the Rev. Canon J. T. Parfit, M.A., to read his paper on "Religion in Mesopotamia, and its Relation to the Prospects of Eastern Christendom," which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides.

RELIGION IN MESOPOTAMIA. By the Rev. Canon
J. T. PARFIT, M.A.

MESOPOTAMIA is a land of origins, and mankind is indebted to this cradle of the human race for many of its fundamental religious beliefs. To the earliest inhabitants of Babylonia the world was a mountainous island surrounded by the great "Deep." Below were the vaults of the seven zones of Hades, and above was the firmament which supported the waters of the heavenly ocean above, which was the dwelling of the great gods.

The stars were fixed in the firmament in such a way as to convey messages to men of their destinies, which messages could only be read by discreet astrologers.

The sun, they believed, came forth from a door of heaven in the east and entered, at even, the door in the west. The sun and the heavenly bodies were naturally worshipped by such believers.

The discoveries of Dr. Pinches and Mr. G. Smith brought to light the Babylonian stories of the Creation, the Fall and the great Flood, whose counterparts exist not only in the sacred Scriptures, but in the religious traditions of other nations in East and West.

Bel-Marduk was regarded as the Creator of the present order of things, and the struggle between light and darkness is symbolized by his fight with the Dragon of Chaos.

Rimmon and Hadad, Dagon and Tammuz were Babylonian gods that were subsequently worshipped in Syria. Tammuz is the same as the famous Greek Adonis, the youth of marvellous beauty, killed at a boar-hunt, whose blood was changed into flowers.

The prophet Ezekiel, who complains of the twenty-five men actually worshipping the sun with their backs to the door of the Temple, also speaks of the Israelitish women whom he saw in a vision weeping for Tammuz at the gate of the house of Jehovah (Ezek. viii, 14-16).

One of our photographs shows the place in the Lebanon where his festival was annually celebrated with peculiar pomp both here and at Alexandria.

Ishtar was the popular goddess worshipped everywhere, the wife of Tammuz, the Ashtoreth of Palestine, the Aphrodite of the Greeks, the Venus of the Romans. The image of Ishtar was sent into Egypt in the reign of Amenophis III, and the excavations at Carchemish show that the goddess of that great Hittite city was the Babylonian Ishtar. Amongst these excavations I was shown a Hittite shrine that resembled so closely the ordering of the Hebrew Temple that one might suppose David and Solomon had this model before them when constructing the great fane in Jerusalem.

Many minor features of modern religious belief were common in Babylonia 4000 years ago. The inscriptions clearly indicate a belief in the Divine Right of Kings. The *gods* raised the monarchs to the thrones of their respective countries and made them the rightful rulers.

As with the Hebrews, sacrifices and offerings were made to the gods, rites of purification existed, great lavers stood at the entrance to the temples, incense was burnt in honour of the gods, to whom hymns were sung, accompanied by wind instruments and harps. The priesthood was apparently hereditary as with the Levites, the priests shaved their heads and tithes were regularly paid to them. Prayers were recited in Accadian even when this language ceased to be understood by the people. They were all strict Sabbatarians.

This will suffice to illustrate my first remark that many fundamental religious conceptions spread from Mesopotamia. They

are common to men in all parts of the world to-day, they arise largely from the observation of natural phenomena. Prompted by the instinct of natural religion, they were developed and expanded by different tribal temperaments into so-called sects and religions; and yet under new names and a changed environment it is possible to meet to-day in Mesopotamia most of the Babylonian aspects of religious belief, so fundamental were these ancient conceptions.

It has been said that in Mesopotamia there are more sects, more gates to heaven and more roads to hell than in the United States of America. All the divisions and sub-divisions of Islam are represented here, every variety of Jewish belief and unbelief, more than a dozen different Christian sects, all the latest productions of Western thought with the most antiquated forms of Indian philosophy.

Besides the Sufis and Babis from Persia there are the Sabceans and the Yezidees, in whose religious opinions one finds Judaism, Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism, Star Worship, and Ornithomancy, all jumbled together in glorious confusion.

A pilgrimage to any of the sacred shrines is a sure passage to Paradise; none know the Babylonian nether world better than the Yezidees or Devil-worshippers of Nineveh, and the Sabcean theology abounds with hells and innumerable demonic rulers.

My second remark is that "One Babylonian family which founded the most remarkable race of the world's history received Divine guidance, so that mankind's fundamental conceptions based upon Natural Religion were clarified and controlled under the influence of what we call Divine revelation."

Bishop Butler has said that "Revelation is a republication of Natural Religion and a supplement to it, and a Revelation to *Mankind* must fall within the grasp of all men or it would fail to be a Revelation." Consequently when we compare the Biblical story of Creation with the Babylonian or other records, we affirm of the former that though, according to many Scientists and Commentators, it cannot conceivably be an absolutely correct account of Creation, yet it is nevertheless as correct an explanation of the origin of the Cosmos as it is possible to place within the grasp of finite man, and that it is apparently more correct than any other attempt that has been made to explain the mystery.

Dr. Driver suggested that the Hebrew and the Babylonian narratives of the Flood evidently have a common origin. In its Hebrew form the story becomes a symbolical embodiment of

ethical and religious truth. A judicial motive is assigned for it ; it becomes a judgment upon corrupt and degenerate mankind and exemplifies a great principle by which God deals with nations and individuals. There is no degrading of the Higher Powers as in the Babylonian story, which attributes the disaster simply to the *caprice* of the gods, but tokens of God's goodwill towards mankind are given, and a gracious declaration of His purposes for the maintenance and welfare of society.

This Hebrew branch of the Babylonian race has been the channel of Divine Revelation as much by its history as by its conceptions of fundamental religious truths.

The history of Israel, said Dr. Westcott, was a continual advance towards the realization of a fellowship of nations. In spite of an exclusive national religion (which they, with all other nations, evolved), they stedfastly maintained a belief in a real unity of the human race. They were the first to introduce the conception of the history of humanity as the history of a common life.

It was in these plains of Mesopotamia that Daniel unfolded the meaning of the two monarchs' visions, explained the organic unity of the powers of the world, and pointed to the kingdom that shall at length embrace all mankind. The Hebrews taught humanity to look upon history *as a life* directed by *will*, and not as catastrophes ruled by destiny or phenomena produced by law, "and this lesson is more legibly written in their history than anywhere else. One catastrophe after another overwhelmed them, they fell beneath each of the great forms of ancient civilization and received from each the choicest treasures it could bestow." Hopes were kindled by periods of triumph or chastened by times of captivity. They came out of Egypt a united nation, though a host of fugitives, and entered Canaan as a conquering army.

In Palestine they were disciplined by a Theocracy, a Monarchy and a Hierarchy ; they returned from their captivity in Babylonia as a small colony which formed the nucleus of a religious commonwealth : their dispersion became so extensive that they became attached to many nations and served in opposing armies, and their faith was influenced by their contact with Greek philosophy and Roman law, yet that Faith could never lose its leading feature—the expectation of a Kingdom that would embrace humanity, the Kingdom of the Messiah. The Messiah came, and the ideals of His Universal Kingdom have been best preserved by the Christian Church, which at the beginning was

a Hebrew Christian Church. The history of its vicissitudes, of its discipline, its triumph and captivity, is not dissimilar to the history of the Jews.

My third remark or suggestion is that "We have apparently reached a very definite advance towards the realization of that Kingdom and fellowship which has been the leading feature of Divine revelation since the first clear call came to the Semitic Sheikh whose earliest religious conceptions were received at Ur of the Chaldees."

I shall only briefly refer you to the phenomena that lead me to make this suggestion. You will be able to supplement the reasons for my hope by your knowledge of what is happening outside the countries with which we are now concerned.

1. The "Unchanging East" is changing at last under the influence of Western trade, laws and civilization. India, China and Japan have changed, but the Mohammedan lands have been the last to yield.

2. For 500 years Islam has held the gates and keys of the Orient, has barred the way to a peaceful settlement of the East, has fostered religious hatred and fanaticism, has either held captive or held in check the greater part of Eastern Christendom, and has caused endless trouble to European peoples.

3. The collapse of Turkey has changed all this. The die is already cast, and no modification of the Treaty of Sevres will alter the fact that the *political* weapon of this great Eastern religion, the so-called "Sword of Islam," has been shattered for ever.

4. As a *religion* Islam remains, and may even continue to flourish, for it has prospered most under British protection; but other influences have been at work and the character of Islam as a religion is also rapidly changing.

5. One of the greatest strongholds of its fanaticism was in Mesopotamia. The recent revolt was engineered at Kerbela and Negif. The revolt had to be crushed, and its suppression has incidentally extinguished the last surviving fires of fanaticism. The religious intolerance of Islam, though not yet entirely eliminated, is now doomed to disappear.

6. The Wahabis of Central Arabia represent a different form of religious bigotry that is less dangerous to civilization than the fanaticism fostered by the Turks. We have rendered essential services to their leader, Ibn Saood, who sent his son to London, where I had the privilege of a few words with him some months

ago. British influence in Central Arabia is of a most salutary character, and the one encouraging feature of the Wahabi reform movement is its principal aim to bring Mohammedanism back to the simplicity of the Koran.

7. Mohammed at the outset of his career regarded Christianity and Judaism as co-ordinate religions. In the 59th verse of the second Sura, we read: "Verily the Moslems, the Jews, the Christians and the Sabeans . . . whosoever believeth in God and the judgment day, and doeth that which is right, shall have their reward with their Lord, they shall have no cause to fear, neither shall they be grieved." Circumstances and the spirit of the times are forcing the leaders of Islam back to *that* standpoint.

8. When the Emir Feisal entered Damascus he uttered memorable words as he stood in the Great Mosque: "Henceforth we will make no difference between Moslem Arabs, Christian Arabs and Jewish Arabs, for every man must respect the rights of others."

9. In a recent interview with Sir H. Samuel in Jerusalem, the Emir Abdullah declared there was no antagonism between the Jewish and the Arab claims in Palestine.

10. It will be quite impossible for the Zionists to impose religious disabilities upon aspirants to administrative posts in Palestine. The very nature of the situation at Jerusalem and the traditions of British administration will in due time compel all extremists, Jewish, Moslem or Christian, to recognize the just claims of others.

11. There are more than 60,000 Jews in Mesopotamia, and large numbers of them have been educated in the well-equipped Alliance schools of Baghdad. Many are being employed to-day by the civil administration of Mesopotamia, and for some years before the war one of the two Baghdad deputies in the Turkish Parliament was a Jew. The educated Jews of Mesopotamia are now either Agnostics or nonconforming Jews of the modern Western type.

12. The resources of Mesopotamia must be developed, and the oil, the cotton and the grain will, of necessity, be brought to the ports of the Mediterranean. (*Vide* correspondence between the United States and British Governments.)

13. The Jews of Mesopotamia and Palestine will be found on the trade routes, they will spread in both directions, and they are mostly Arabic-speaking Jews. There are thousands in Aleppo and many in Mosul.

14. The economic development of these countries will make it impossible for the present artificial divisions to last. Commercial enterprise and engineering schemes will in time open up a waterway from the mouth of the Orontes near Ancient Antioch to the head of the Persian Gulf, and some of the waters of the Upper Euphrates will be continued westward to the mouth of the Orontes.

15. Religious beliefs are stereotyped largely by political conditions and social environment; they are greatly affected by facilities of communication with the outside world and contact with other forms of religious thought.

16. Since the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Eastern Churches have been under bondage to the political dominance of Islam. Now they are free, and as they emerge from their captivity they are hastening to divest their communities of excrescences alien to the Faith and are strengthening the bonds of union in the spirit of that fellowship quietly and consistently emphasized throughout the ages by the still small voice of Divine Revelations.

17. The Assyrian Church was one of the smallest of the Eastern Christian Communities, and one of the most inaccessible, living in the fastnesses of Kurdistan. Driven out by the war, they were sheltered in a refugee camp near Baghdad. Here the children learned English, the young men were enlisted as soldiers and learned the use of modern weapons, while the whole community learned many new things by its contact with the outside world. The new administration in Mesopotamia cannot ignore these sturdy mountaineers, for they acquitted themselves valiantly when fighting under Russian and British officers during the Great War. They will help to police the frontiers and guard the new oilfields.

18. The Moslem Arabs will largely cling to agricultural pursuits, but labour is necessary, as well as security, for developing the resources of a country that holds the key to the world's future, and the Christians, the Jews, the Sabeans and the Yezidees will supply the need. They will no longer be slaves, they will enjoy freedom for the first time in half a millennium under circumstances that will assuredly affect their religious beliefs.

My conclusion is briefly this :—

That Western civilization, its commerce, government, laws, education, science, religion and the upheaval of a great world war, have broken the power of religious fanaticism in the East

and prepared the way for the recognition of complete religious liberty. This is most apparent in Mesopotamia—the last stronghold of fanaticism—where a satisfactory settlement and the safeguarding of the stages already reached will affect the whole of Eastern Christendom, the Jewish question in Palestine and the peace of the Moslem world.

The measure of religious liberty already obtained is producing fellowship, conference, and a friendly criticism where only bitterness and religious hatred existed before. There is therefore a prospect of a League of Religions, with a recognition of that which is fundamental in religious beliefs, and a frank examination of the claims and evidences of Divine Revelation.*

DISCUSSION.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, suggested that what we had been hearing about the oil-fields in Mesopotamia might ultimately settle that which had troubled us so much last week, viz., the coal question.

He pointed out that Palestine was geographically the centre of the world, and that the great waterways indicated a design in their arrangement for all nations to traverse them in order to come to Jerusalem for worship, as he believed they would do under the reign of Christ. The Mediterranean Sea would give access to the inhabitants of America, the British Isles and Western Africa, as well as the countries bordering that sea, while the Red Sea appeared almost like a canal made for the purpose of bringing by water the inhabitants of India, China, Malaya, and Australia, as well as Eastern and Southern Africa, to Palestine.

Dr. SCHOFIELD said his first acquaintance with Mesopotamia was through the Report of Sir Wm. Wilcox at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, and he was immensely struck with the necessity of some knowledge of that country, with the understanding of the earlier chapters of Genesis.

He also then gave him the first intelligible account of Noah's Deluge that he had heard.

What he would like to ask the Canon was, whether it was true that Babylon had never yet been uninhabited (according to Isaiah),

* The Institute is not responsible for the opinions expressed in the Paper.

and was even now a city of some 10,000 inhabitants, and if he thought it was yet to be rebuilt as a commercial metropolis?

Also whether he thought the eventual port of Mesopotamia would be Tyre, or some port on the littoral of Palestine, as Sir Wm. Wilcox suggested, or Basrah?

Mr. HOSTE asked the lecturer whether he understood him aright to say that it was impossible there should ever be a Jewish State set up again in Palestine?

On the paper being printed, Mr. Hoste supplemented this question with a few further remarks: "We are greatly indebted to Canon Parfit for the brilliant series of lantern views of the Mesopotamia region, with which with bewildering rapidity he illustrated his lecture. I wish I could say the same of some of the 'views' expressed in the lecture itself. Of course we were at a disadvantage in not having the lecture before us in print as usual, and so may have misunderstood the exact terms of some of its contents. I thought if there was one point on which all Biblical students were agreed, it was the re-establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, though a few years back the very return of the Jews to their own land would have been scouted as a dream. Why should it be taken for granted that such a State should be so intolerant of other faiths, as to exclude, say, capable Moslems, from a share in the administration? Religious liberty and equality of political privilege might well be a condition of the setting up of the said State. Another point: The Canon suggested, I understood, that a certain ruin at Carchemish may quite possibly have been the model of Solomon's temple. This strikes one as a very hazardous conjecture, contradicting as it does the plain statement of Holy Scripture that David gave the pattern to Solomon, 'which the Lord had made him understand in writing by His hand upon him' (1 Chron. xxviii). We never read of David or Solomon even visiting Carchemish, nor is the place once mentioned in the Bible till the reign of Josiah. If the alleged similarity be anything but conjectural, why should not some visitor attracted to Jerusalem by the fame of Solomon have seen the temple in its glory there *and copied it*? As for the 'League of Religions,' it is clear that a Christianity which would join hands on equal terms with Judaism or Mohammedans could not but be one bereft of its essence. I remember a few years back in

Bangalore being taken by a friend to a meeting of reformed Moslems, with whom it was hoped to join hands. As long as the conversation was limited to expatiating on the greatness and goodness of the one God, all went well, but as soon as a Christian present tried to show that it was not unreasonable that a Holy God might have righteous claims against the sinner, which could only be met by the Divine Atonement of Christ, a chill fell over the meeting."

PROFESSOR LANGHORNE ORCHARD writes :—"The Paper is very interesting ; particularly so are the historical, political, and connected religious notes. Paragraph 5, page 179, contains the statement that the Genesis record 'cannot conceivably be an absolutely correct account of Creation.' Yet, as this record is a Revelation from God, it can have no admixture of error. Its truthfulness, avouched by science, is not open to reasonable doubt. Is the word 'correct' really a printer's error, and ought we to read, 'absolutely complete' ? We agree with the author of the Paper that the Biblical Creation-narrative is far superior to the Babylonian or any other account, as 'an embodiment of ethical and religious truth,' and its monotheistic and other features bear testimony to its earlier date."

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

To Dr. Schofield :—The town of Hillah, with about 14,000 inhabitants, is situated on the banks of the Euphrates on the site of Ancient Babylon. It is now becoming a commercial centre of increasing importance. The plans of a great scheme of canals and waterways to run from the mouth of the Orontes to the Persian Gulf, published in the Engineering Supplement to *The Times*, provide for a huge dockyard at Babylon.

The official correspondence with the United States shows that arrangements have already been made to bring oil pipes through the French sphere to the Mediterranean, which undoubtedly means that the most important ports for Mesopotamia will eventually be on the Syria and Palestine littoral.

To Mr. Hoste :—1. I only differ with Mr. Hoste apparently in the meaning of the expression "Jewish State." There are many Hebrew Christians in Palestine as well as many other Christians and Moslems. If, even when the Jews are in the majority, they

are admitted to a share in the administration and enjoy "equality of political privilege," then it would be incorrect to speak of a "Jewish State" in Palestine.

2. I do not believe the ruins at Carchemish served as a model for Solomon's temple. I referred to the resemblance to illustrate my "First Remark."

3. The League of Nations is being established to "prevent war," and in using the expression "League of Religions," my intention is to indicate the possible cessation of religious war. Christian Apologists have no fears for Christianity if only men will come and reason together. Religious intolerance hinders the spread of the Gospel. The main point of my paper is to show the triumphant progress of the one and only Divine Revelation.

To Professor Orchard :—My meaning in paragraph 5, page 179, will be better understood with the added words, "according to many Scientists and Commentators."

631ST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, MAY 2ND, 1921,

AT 4.30 P.M.

THE REV. PREBENDARY H. E. FOX, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the following Elections:—Miss C. Nelson-Smith as a Member, Lieut. Louis S. Lee, Dr. Ellis T. Powell, Miss Mercy Mayhead and Mrs. W. R. Houghton as Associates, and the Rev. Dr. S. M. Zwemer of Cairo as a Missionary Associate.

The CHAIRMAN then called on the Rev. James Gosset-Tanner, M.A., to read his paper on "The Tripartite Nature of Man."

THE TRIPARTITE NATURE OF MAN. By the REV.
JAMES GOSSET-TANNER, M.A.

VARIOUS philosophers have perceived a threefold nature in man. Aristotle distinguished between the *νοῦς*, the *ψυχή*, and the *σῶμα*, as the intellect, the soul, and the body. It was reserved for the Word of God, and especially for St. Paul, to point out the true division, which is spirit, soul, and body. This comes out very markedly in 1 Thess. v, 23, "I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." I conclude that the spirit is what we receive more definitely and immediately from the Creator than the other. "So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him" (Gen i, 27). Again, "The Lord God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life (lives, Hebr.); and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii, 7). In Heb. xii, 9, God is expressly called "the Father of spirits." The soul is what we derive mediately from our parents. It includes the affections, passions, intellect, tastes and capacities, many of which are reproduced in children in a minute and startling way. It is probable that even genius, which is often regarded as independent and quite *per se*, had its

germ in a parent or ancestor. Not all talent is traceable to the mother. Eloquence descended to three generations through the father in the case of the Wilberforce family: first, the Philanthropist, then the Bishop, lastly the Archdeacon. In the case of the late Dr. Butler, of Cambridge, both father and mother were highly gifted, either in classics or mathematics or both. These faculties were markedly reproduced in the sons. Something similar can be traced in the Wordsworth and Asquith families.

It is evident that the soul has the closest possible connection with the body: it thinks with the brain, flashes in the eye, points with the hand, and stamps with the foot. Dr. George Moore observes that no monkey or other animal can point with the hand. That gifted Irishman, Archer Butler, remarks that "some affections are dependent on body—as anger, courage, desire, and all the forms of sense—while such operations as those of intelligence seem exclusively mental."* Dr. Moore tells us that "however suitable the body may be for the purpose of enabling the soul to hold intercourse with the objects of this world, we have intimations that the soul possesses powers by which it would be conscious, active, rational, and capable of all that can be predicated of human intelligence, even if the body were at once dissolved. The mind, in a mesmeric state, can perceive objects directly or independently of the senses."† Again, "The will in exercising attention while acquiring knowledge, and in reflection, that is, in using memory, really produces such a change in the size and order of the nervous fibrils of the brain, as to render it better and better adapted for use as long as the laws of its formation allow. For however good the natural formation of a child's brain may be, he must grow up an idiot or a savage if his will be not called into action by moral influences, that is, by sympathy with other spirits."‡

The interdependence of the spirit and the soul is equally real, though not so easy to trace. Here we may examine Heb. iv, 12, a passage which helps to confirm my belief that St. Paul was the author of this epistle. "For the Word of God is alive, and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." So it is only to the

* *Lectures on Ancient Philosophy*, II, p. 375.

† *Power of the Soul over the Body*, pp. 157, 158.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

Word of God that we must come for a clear distinction between soul and spirit. Heard points out that here we have a valuable comparison: "That which the marrow is to the joints, that the spirit is to the soul. As marrow is flesh within flesh, so the spirit is a soul within the soul. The comparison of Justin Martyr that the body is the house of the soul, and the soul the house of the spirit, is another illustration to the same effect; it points to the same thought that the spirit lies encased within the soul, as the soul within the body."*

By this view of the threefold nature of man, we can reconcile the Traducian and Creationist theories, which for a long time perplexed philosophers. We can believe with the former that the soul and body are derived from our parents, and with the latter that the spirit comes immediately from God.

Now we come to a very important branch of the subject. According to St. Paul, there are three sorts of men, *σαρκικός*, *ψυχικός*, *πνευματικός*, carnal, natural or psychic, and spiritual. But there is a difference between the carnal man of Rom. viii and that of I Cor. iii, 1-4. In the first instance the carnally-minded man is dead, in the latter he is a babe in Christ. We must remember that the converts at Corinth had been brought out of an abyss of licentiousness. I might notice, by the way, Kingsley's observation that the view of marriage exhibited by St. Paul in writing to the Corinthians differs greatly from the matchless ideal portrayed in the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

As to the *πνεῦμα*, or spirit, it is evidently dormant, and nearly dead in the unconverted. A passage in Jude xix should be carefully noticed. Those who walk after their own ungodly lusts are described as *ψυχικοί, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες*. This is translated in the Authorized Version as "sensual, not having the Spirit." It might more correctly be rendered "psychic, having no spirit." In the same way we speak of some people as heartless.

Alford's† note is very valuable here. "We have no English word for *ψυχικός*; and our Biblical psychology is, by this defect, entirely at fault. The *ψυχή* is the centre of the personal being, the I of each individual. It is in each man bound to the spirit, man's higher part, and to the body, man's lower part; drawn upwards by the one, downwards by the other. He who gives himself up to the lower appetites is *σαρκικός*; he who by

* Heard's *Tripartite Nature of Man*, pp. 88, 89.

† Alford's *Greek Testament*, in loco.

communion of his πνεῦμα with God's Spirit is employed in the higher aims of his being is πνευματικός. He who rests midway, thinking only of self and self's interests, whether animal or intellectual, is the ψυχικός, the selfish man, the man in whom the spirit is sunk and degraded into subordination to the subordinate ψυχή. These men have not indeed ceased to have πνεῦμα, as a part of their own tripartite nature : but they have ceased to possess it in any worthy sense."

The Scripture expressly declares that by the ψυχή, or soul, man cannot apprehend spiritual things. An important passage on this subject is to be found in 1 Cor. ii, 12-15. In verses 12 and 13 we read, "Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God ; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth," and in the last clause of 1 Cor. ii, 13 we read, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες. This I would undoubtedly translate, with Alford and Conybeare and Howson, "Interpreting or explaining spiritual things to spiritual men." The context demands it. For it goes on : ψυχικός δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ, Μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστι, καὶ οὐ δύναται γινῶναι, ὅτι πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται. "But the natural (or psychic) man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him : neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth (or discerneth) all things."

St. Paul distinctly teaches that both Jews and Gentiles are by nature dead in trespasses and sins. But they are not dead in the soul, or intellect, as that is very lively, and often occupied with business, science and art, as well as all the attractions of the world. The part that is dead is the πνεῦμα, or spirit. When Ruskin had a conversation with Spurgeon, he said to him, "What do you mean when you talk of the death of the soul?" "I mean," replied Spurgeon, "the separation of the soul from God : it was originally with God, and when it is separated from Him it dies to God, that is its death, but that death is not non-existence."* If you change the word soul into spirit, this definition is correct. The command to such as are in darkness is, "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light" (Eph. v, 14).

* Fullerton's *Life of Spurgeon*, p. 168.

So the threefold nature of man has the closest possible connection with conversion. When the great awakening takes place, the man is said to be "born of the Spirit," or "born from above," and the spirit in man is what is reached and quickened by the Holy Spirit of God. Our Lord expressly tells Nicodemus, "that which is born of the Spirit is spirit": it is not soul.

The effect of the Fall is seen in this. A natural or psychic man has no sense to understand or explain spiritual things: they are to him simply as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. He does not know the real nature of sin, nor its desert. And he cannot grasp the only way of salvation. Not till the Ithuriel touch of the Holy Spirit has awakened his dormant faculty, do the scales fall from his eyes. Many remain for a long time, like Wesley and Whitefield in their Oxford days, under the bondage of the law. But when they emerge into the liberty wherewith Christ sets His people free, the shackles are broken. There is a great conflict at first, such as St. Paul describes in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, when the partially-awakened man is "brought into captivity to the law of sin which is in his members." At last he is able to say, "The law of the Spirit of life which is in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death" (Rom. viii, 2). Bengel makes the valuable remark that the word *πνεῦμα* is seldom used of unbelievers. He would doubtless remember that it describes wicked spirits.

"When the new or pneumatical nature begins to stir under the old or psychical nature, it asserts its rights and claims our whole being, spirit, soul, and body, as the temple of the living God."* So the pneumatic or spiritual man means a man filled with the Spirit. How else can we understand Gal. vi, 1? "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness." None but those who live in the presence of God can carry this out. Let us look a little more closely at the passage with which we began, in 1 Thess. v. 23. *Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγιασάτω ὑμᾶς ὀλοτελεῖς, καὶ ὀλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθεῖη.* "The word *ὀλοτελής*, which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, is clearly contrasted with the following *ὀλόκληρον*, and the contrast is that between *totus* and *integer*,

* *Tripartite Nature of Man*, p. 219.

complete and entire. In the one case the apostle prays that their salvation may be complete as a whole (*totus*), in the other entire (*integer*) in every part. The *τέλος* in the first compound suggests the end, which is our whole sanctification; the *κλήρος*, of the second, suggests the means, that we may be sanctified in every part. Sanctification thus rests on these two conditions, that the Holy Spirit shall possess each of the three parts of our nature, and possess them entirely."* And let us notice how long this is to be continued, "unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," which is the goal of all our hopes, and is eagerly expected by all believers. How encouraging is the promise that is added, "Faithful is He that calleth you, who also will do it." This is a blessed consummation which many of the Lord's people have been desiring of late, and some of them have been entering into it. Some of us have known and valued the lives of such men as Charles Fox, Francis Paynter, and Evan Hopkins; and we believe that they lived out the ideal set before us in this passage.

We may sum up this part of the subject in the words of Dr. Arnold: "Thus, then, when this threefold division of our nature is mentioned, the term body expresses those appetites which we have in common with the brutes; the term soul denotes our moral and intellectual faculties, directed only towards objects of the world, and not exalted by the hope of immortality; and the term spirit takes these same faculties when directed towards God and heavenly things, and from the purity, the greatness, and the perfect goodness of Him who is their object, transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord."† So then the ego may be in a state of sense-consciousness, when the body is strong, or world-consciousness as Evan Hopkins described it; of self-consciousness, when the soul or psyche is prominent; or of God-consciousness, when he passes through the outer court of the holy place into the holiest of all, the immediate presence of God.

In the intermediate or disembodied state, the spirit and the soul are evidently united. But what is specially emphasized in Heb. xii, 23, is "the spirits of just men made perfect." What consciousness, what happiness, what holiness is revealed to us in this expression! It is evident that the disembodied state cannot be an unconscious sleep. Indeed, St. Paul would not say in

* *Tripartite Nature of Man*, p. 138.

† Arnold's *Sermons*.

Phil. i, 23, that to depart and be with Christ is very far better than abiding in the flesh, unless the Saviour's presence were realized and enjoyed.

Isaac Taylor had the idea that this state was a preparation for a sight of the Glory which mortals cannot bear now, and for hearing the unspeakable words, which it is not possible to utter now (2 Cor. xii, 4). But this cannot be proved.

The old dichotomy is at fault here, which would simply divide man into soul and body. The emotional and intellectual parts of man, which make up the soul, are very dependent on the health and strength of the body. As bodily strength diminishes, and death draws near, these faculties weaken. Then it is that the spiritual nature asserts itself more brightly than before. We have heard of the dying saint, who had lost all recognition of his nearest and dearest in this world. But when the name of the Lord Jesus Christ was mentioned, he at once brightened up and said, "I know Him, He is infinitely precious to me. He is coming for me."

This threefold division bears closely on the nature of the resurrection-body. In 1 Cor. xv, 44-46 we read, "So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown a natural (or psychic, or soulish) body; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural (or psychic) body, and there is a spiritual body. And so it is written, the first man Adam was made a living soul." And this explains the natural or psychic body. "The last Adam was made a quickening Spirit," and this explains the nature of the new spiritual body. So our present body is dominated by the psyche or soul; and the resurrection-body will be dominated by the Spirit. Here we may quote Rom. viii, 11: "But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit which dwelleth in you."

St. Paul distinctly tells us in 1 Cor. xv, 37, 38, that the spiritual body will not be identical with the old. "And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain. But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed His own body." We might almost gather from this, that, as the seed-corn dies, but yet produced a new plant, there will be a germ of the old body in the new spiritual one. We may be sure that there will be no blood in the spiritual body, for "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. xv, 50). However, in our

Lord's resurrection-body, He distinctly said, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have" (Luke xxiv, 39). The new body will be heavenly; it will be raised in incorruption, in glory, in power; it will put on immortality: death will be swallowed up in victory. "The Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of His glory" (Phil. i, 21, R.V.).

At present the redemption of our nature is very imperfect. The Apostle says in Rom. viii, 23, "Ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body." The spirit of the believer is entirely emancipated. He can say, "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free." The soul of a servant of God is partially redeemed. But the body is in no sense redeemed. It is under the bondage of corruption. Hereafter the Lord's people will share His glory. "The glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them" (John xvii, 22). They will become "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Peter i, 4). In some mysterious and marvellous sense, they will be one with Christ and one with God, according to our Lord's prayer, "As Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us" (John xvii, 21).

The nature of the spiritual body is beautifully imagined by Bickersteth:—

Our spiritual body was the same in type,
 In face and form and fashion, as on earth,
 Yet not the same—transfigured: suited this
 For the quick motions of the new-born spirit,
 As that for all the functions of the flesh;
 Obedient to our faintest wish, as was
 Sometime the disembodied soul; yea more,
 So willingly responsive, that it woke
 Wish to exert, where exercise itself
 Was pleasure. Would I speak, my tongue was fain;
 And language copious, yet precise and clear,
 Embracing all the loftiest thoughts enshrined
 In all earth's dialects, flowed from my lips
 Spontaneously, catching the finer tints
 Of mingled light and shade, like photographs
 Of Contemplation. Would I touch my harp,
 The very touch was music, and enticed
 Melodious words. The opening eye drank in
 Such scenes of beauty, and the listening ear
 Such trancing harmonies, audience and sight
 Seem'd sweet necessity. Or would I move,
 Volition, without wings, or nimble tread

Of footsteps, wafted my aerial form,
 Swifter than sunbeam's glance from east to west,
 Whitherso'er I would, as mortals move
 Their hand or foot by motion of swift thought,
 A body meet for heaven, as that for earth.*

Here we may remember Bunyan's remark, after he had witnessed the way in which some of the servants of God were welcomed into the Celestial City, "The which, when I saw, I wished myself among them."

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN expressed his cordial thanks to the meeting for the very able and instructive paper which had been read, and especially for its exposition of the subject in close accordance with the statements of Holy Scripture on the Nature of Man.

Rev. J. J. B. COLES said :—We all wish to thank Mr. Gosset-Tanner very heartily for bringing this subject before us in such an able manner. There is doubtless still much to learn in the study of psychology and human personality. The psycho-analysis of Professors Freud and Jung, and recent investigations in connection with the subconscious mind have taught us the need of caution and of suspended judgment.

"Tripartite" is a helpful word, but it is not exhaustive. In Heard's *Tripartite Nature of Man*, and in the writings of Evan Hopkins, Andrew Murray and others, the psychology from the New Testament standpoint is defective, and to a certain extent misleading. To state that the spirit is "dormant" only has led and must lead to imperfect and misleading conclusions as to man's true condition.

Christian psychology as in the New Testament is a very profound subject.

Dr. SCHOFIELD said that he heartily thanked the venerable lecturer who had given them such an admirable paper at the age of ninety; but he thought the subject of spirit, soul and body would be incomplete if no references were made to St. Paul's wonderful sermon

* *Yesterday, To-day and For Ever*, Book IX.

on Mars' Hill in speaking of the Unknown God, where he gives us in a few words the most compact summary of spirit, soul and body he had met with, in the following words, "For in Him we live, and move, and have our being." Here we get spirit, soul and body, and as the late great psychologist, Dr. Hughlings Jackson pointed out to him long ago, the divisions of the brain roughly correspond with the spheres of these three: In the upper brain or cortex, the mid-brain and cerebellum, and the lower brain or medulla.

The first is the region of consciousness and is dominated by and is the instrument of the spirit. Here alone do we *live* in the fullest sense both toward God and man.

The mid-brain is the seat of soul in animal life; and its essential character is the control of all movements, subject of course to higher impulses whose orders it is its business to carry out. It is in the soul-life we *move*. The third or mere physical existence is continued when all soul-movement is absent, and consists in the action of the life-centres only—the beating of the heart, and the breathing of the lungs. It is in this region we physically *exist*.

Here then is clearly distinguished the tripartite nature of man.

The three can be clearly distinguished by the phenomena—alas! too familiar to us still—of drunkenness.

Alcohol is a paralyser of the nervous system in proportion to the size of the dose.

When a man drinks a few glasses of wine or spirits, the first effect is to paralyse the spirit's life. He becomes noisily drunk. The mid-brain, released from the rational control of the spirit, gives full play to his animal or soul-life. He sings, shouts, and moves about all more or less irrationally. One-third of the brain is paralysed.

If now he drinks more, he suddenly—as the soul-life in the mid-brain ceases to act in the large and smaller brain—can no longer stand, but falls down; movements necessarily cease, and all speech and song, and he is now dead-drunk.

The paralysis is seldom carried so far as to cause death, from the simple fact that the arm that has conveyed the poison to his lips is now itself paralysed, and can no longer act.

It is to this humiliating reason in the man, that thousands do not die of drink every night, and not because the depraved appetite is satisfied. One-third of the brain, the lower, is still acting, the heart still beats, and the man still breathes. If someone else now pours

more alcohol down his throat the man will soon not be dead-drunk, but dead.

It was to him a subject for reverent wonder that so long ago we should have, Eastward, in a religious address to philosophers, so accurate a summary of the functions of spirit, soul and body.

Lieut.-Colonel M. A. ALVES said :—I wish to express my thanks to the Reader of the Paper, firstly, for those things in it, with which I am in hearty agreement, and secondly, for giving an opportunity of discussing a subject which I believe to be of great importance.

When the Apostle Paul wrote the words, “the spirit, and the soul, and the body,” he was referring solely to regenerated men. These, as such, are individual creations, being Divinely begotten.

To find out what man is by nature, we must go to the earlier chapters of Genesis, correctly translated. There I find (see Gen. i, 26-27), that man was a special creation distinct from that of the brutes, and in the image of God, and in this latter respect, distinct not only from them, but the male in a measure distinct from the female (see also Gen. v, 1, 2).

In 1 Cor. xi, 3-10, the Apostle Paul emphasizes this sex distinction. Spiritually, and in Christ Jesus, there is no sex distinction (see Gal. iii, 28).

In Gen. ii, 7, we find that into an earthen model God breathed “a breath of lives” (no definite article), and man became—What? That which the whole of the lower animate creation named in Gen. i already were, or possessed, viz., a “living soul” (see Gen i, 20, 21, 24, 30, and other passages in Genesis and Leviticus, rightly translated). This “breath of lives” is called “breath of spirit of lives” in Gen. vii, 21-23; and it is there mentioned as the common property of fowl, cattle, beast and creeping thing, as well as of man.

This to my mind shows that man and brute have one originating life source, and that this source is a creation of God and not a part of His own Personality. Indeed Adam’s easy fall in the presence of temptation is evidence to me that it was not Divine in its essence (see 1 John iii, 9).

I consider that, as water is a compound of oxygen and hydrogen, so “the soul,” in its first Bible sense, the property of sentient beings alone, is the result of the union of spirit of life and matter; so that the natural man is, Bi- not Tri-partite.

The Christian receives in regeneration the earnest—not the fulness—of a new and Divine uncreated Spirit.

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD was one of those who has joined in a very hearty vote of thanks to the able Author for a most interesting Paper. We trust that our indebtedness to him will, through God's good Providence, increase and grow.

The subject of the Paper is one of the most difficult problems in philosophy, and the way in which it had been treated gave evidence of much patient investigation and careful thought. Our attention had been drawn to the remarkable similarities which existed between spirit and soul; and also, though not so successfully, to the dissimilarities.

The problem remains still unsolved; but it will be our own fault if the Author do not succeed in conducting us far on the road to a solution. In the second paragraph of page 6 is a valuable idea as to connection of the *ego* with three states of consciousness pertaining respectively to body, soul, and spirit.

The true view of the tripartite man appears to be that the tripartite arrangement represents the self in relation or communion with his environment. This is threefold:—(1) the material and corporeal; (2) the sentient, appetitive, impulsive, desiring, emotional, intelligent, possessing life and force; (3) the source of life and force. To each of these three kinds of environment corresponds a self-affinity, faculty or means of communion, which we name body, soul and spirit, respectively.

A question more easily asked than answered is:—How may the soul be definitely distinguished from the spirit? Holy Scripture and science tell us that life and force have their source and origin in spirit. "It is the spirit that quickeneth" ("maketh to live"). The soul lives, but does not give life; it is the passive, rather than the active, *ego*. Active thought and energy, which seek communion and knowledge of things spiritual, have their dwelling-place in spirit.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS thought that difficulties were raised in connection with the subject by taking metaphorical expressions as if they described actualities, and he considered the Author of the

Paper had not been free of this in the way he had interpreted Heb. iv, 12, which hardly meant more than the penetrating power of the Word of God. He thought Dr. Schofield's quotation of Acts xvii, 28, was interesting, but he differed with his assignment of the three verbs, and thought that "live" referred to the soul, "move" to the body, and "have our being" to the spirit, which last he regarded as the *ego*. He did not think that in the unregenerate the spirit was either dormant or dead, and instanced the spirit of Napoleon which controlled multitudes of men for mischief. He thought the expression "Dead in trespasses and sins," meant that man had forfeited his life and was, therefore, morally dead to God. He endeavoured to reply to Prebendary Fox's question with regard to the new birth in John iii, by distinguishing between person and personality. He held that the person never changed, but that the effect of the new birth was to produce an entire change of personality, and that this ultimately affected the whole man, body, soul and spirit, the body being the last to be changed on the Resurrection morning.

Dr. ANDERSON-BERRY said: There are two theories as to the nature of man—first, *Dichotomy* as set forth by a friend of my youth, Professor Laidlaw, in his valuable work, *The Biblical Doctrine of Man*; secondly, *Trichotomy*, set forth so eloquently this afternoon by the Lecturer. These, although apparently antagonistic and often treated as such, seem to me to be both true. For *structurally* man's nature is twofold, whilst *functionally* it is threefold. The philosophy of the Bible is dualistic. There *are* two substances—*matter* and *spirit*—and of these two man is made. Of the former is his body formed; of the latter are his soul and spirit constituted. "God is spirit," and beings without a material frame are known from their sole substance as "spirits," thus referring to their mode of existence. So is man when he becomes disincarnate, for "a spirit (or ghost) has not flesh and bones."

Considered *functionally*, man's nature is tripartite. His body functions as the organ of object or sense consciousness. His soul is the organ of self-consciousness and so denotes "life in the distinctness of individual existence" (Cremer). Whilst he is conscious of the realm of spirits, of spiritual things, of God Himself, by means of his spirit.

Now, on p. 190, the Lecturer says the spirit is dormant in the unconverted ; and makes Jude say that it is non-existent. Whereas on p. 191, it is dead. Being dormant, being non-existent and being dead, are states as far apart as entity from nonentity, life from death. Perversion is not suppression, and it is the former sin accomplishes. In a literal sense it is no more dead than the *psuche* which individualizes it, just as in itself it is no more holy than the *psuche* (2 Cor. vii, 1). We have still a spirit which can be disturbed (2 Cor. ii, 3), refreshed (2 Cor. vii, 13), cleansed (2 Cor. vii, 1), kept pure (1 Cor. vii, 34), rescued from destruction (1 Cor. v, 5), and requires sanctification as well as the body and the soul (1 Thess. v, 23).

How is it, then, that Jude can say that the soulish or unconverted man has not a spirit or *pneuma*? The key is in Paul's list of the Christian possessions in 2 Cor. vi, 6, where we find " *a holy spirit* " mentioned. This is the new nature imparted by the Holy Spirit and is emphatically holy, for we are told that what is born of God " *cannot sin.* "

Nor can I agree with the Lecturer in connecting the passions, etc., solely with the soul, for in John we find our Lord's spirit troubled, and in Matthew His soul troubled, whilst in the *Magnificat* Mary said, " *My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.* "

Referring to p. 194, it appears to me that by *psuche* Paul emphasizes Adam as material, earthly, created perishable, the first link in a chain of living souls with bodies doomed to perish. By *pneuma zoopoion* he emphasizes what Christ had become, partly in consequence of His heavenly origin (verse 47), partly in consequence of what this supra-natural had rendered possible—the creative act of God by which the last Adam rose superior to death and was constituted with a heavenly and imperishable body, thus acquiring power to be the first link in a chain of a new humanity endowed by Him with immortal life in bodies heavenly and imperishable as His own. The spiritual body is but the organ of the regenerated *psuche*, that individualization of the regenerated *pneuma*—a living soul in the New Creation all-conquering and eternal.

MR. SYDNEY T. KLEIN, F.L.S., writes :—" This paper will, I am sure, be welcomed by those subscribers to our *Transactions* who are not

able to be present at its reading. It deals with a subject which is probably the most important for us in our earthly life, because a clear comprehension of all that it signifies will materially help us to gain a truer perspective of this world of appearances in which so many imagine that they live and move and have their being.

“As a humble but earnest student of nature and the physical sciences for over half a century, I may perhaps be allowed to state the conclusions I have come to on that which constitutes a human being.

“From our finite outlook it may be said that the human being comprises body, soul and spirit, as follows :—

“The *body*, with its life, is purely physical, it is built up of the same protoplasmic cell (the foundation of all living matter) as we find in the bodies of all animals and plants. It has no free-will of its own, its wish must always be in one direction, namely, in the form ‘Let my will be done.’ It has instincts which are not wrong in themselves, in a purely animal nature, but certain of them are made manifest as conscious wrong when they come in contact and, therefore, in competition with the spiritual.

“The *spirit* is an emanation from and an integral part of the Great Spirit. Being purely spiritual, and in the image of the Great Spirit, it is not limited by space and must therefore be what we should call Omnipresent, and being independent of time limitation it must be omniscient. It cannot be said to have freewill of its own ; its desires must always be in the form, ‘Let Thy Will be done,’ and all its ways are perfection. It is the Son of God growing up within us and is our Real Personality.

“The *soul* is the shadow or aspect of our real personality on the physical plane of consciousness under the limiting conditions of time and space. It can therefore only think in finite words ; requires succession of ideas to accumulate knowledge ; is dependent on perception of vibrations in æther, air or matter for forming concepts of its surroundings and without those concepts on its plane of consciousness it would have no knowledge of existence. It constitutes the ‘I am’ of our consciousness, or what may be called the physical *ego*.

“As already pointed out, neither the spiritual nor the physical, the natures by which the soul is surrounded, can be said to possess

freewill ; they must work in opposite directions ; but their competition for influence over our desires and actions provides the basis for the exercise of man's freewill—namely, the choice between that which is real and that which is only shadow, between progression and stagnation. The spiritual influence must conquer in the long run, as every step in that direction is a step towards the *real* which can never be lost. When the body dies, the mind or plane of consciousness, upon which the soul or 'form shadow' of the spiritual is cast, disappears, and with it necessarily ceases the existence of the soul as a manifestation, but it then finds its true being in its spiritual originator. The self-conscious 'I am' of the soul thus loses the *self*, the source of all imperfections, and becomes God-conscious when it at last realizes its one-ness with the All-loving.

"Let me make my meaning clearer when I call the soul the *shadow* of the real spiritual self.

"St. Paul says that the unrighteous, that is those who have no knowledge and therefore no love of God, shall be without excuse, because 'the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity.' Namely, the spiritual world may actually be discerned by us provided we look in the right direction, that is, inwardly at our surroundings. The invisible is the real, the visible or phenomenal is only our finite imperfect aspect or shadow of the infinite perfect noumenal.

"The spiritual is the wonderful power which underlies all physical activity, it is the cause of all causation, immanent in every phenomenon, but also transcending that phenomenon as much as the Infinite Spiritual outlook transcends the finite physical aspect of our perception."

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

I quite agree with Prebendary Fox and other speakers that the nature of man is a deep and inexhaustible subject, and that I have only touched the fringe of it. Dr. Schofield has clearly pointed out what a close connection there is between spirit and soul on the one side, and body on the other.

I agree with Colonel Alves that the Apostle Paul had regenerated men specially in view when he used the expression "spirit, soul and body," in 1 Thess. v, 23. But we need not conclude from this that there is not a sense in which the threefold division does apply to all men. In fact, this brings us up to the point doubted by some speakers, whether the spirit in the unconverted can be considered dead, or dormant. I still think that both expressions are true; I have quoted Scripture in proof of both. The spirit is never non-existent, therefore the word dormant best expresses its condition in the unregenerate. The command to all such is "Awake, thou that sleepest."

With regard to Mr. Theodore Robert's remark that "the spirit of Napoleon controlled multitudes of men for mischief," I certainly think that it was the soul which was so vigorous. It is a mighty power in the case of thousands of unconverted men, by whose example, influence, or eloquence, large numbers of men are continually moved to action good or bad.

Dr. Anderson-Berry has called attention to an important point, when he reminds us that our Lord was "troubled in spirit," and St. Paul was "refreshed in spirit," with similar instances. With respect to this, we must remember that in spite of every attempt to classify our nature, its several parts are so interfused and blended that they act together, at any rate in the regenerate. Our Lord evidently had a human spirit in addition to the Divine Spirit by which He was filled. So the definition in the Athanasian creed, "of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting," is evidently inadequate.

Some of Mr. Klein's remarks with regard to "the body with its life," appear to refer to the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ which is constantly translated life in the New Testament. Apart from this, the body can have neither wish nor instinct.

I certainly cannot understand how the spirit of man can ever be omnipresent or omniscient. In a glorified condition it may be independent of time or space; but it cannot claim attributes which only belong to God. Should we not say that the spirit *ought not* to have freewill of its own, and that its desires *ought to be*, "Let Thy will be done"? So too, when Mr. Klein says, "the spiritual

influence must conquer in the long run," we quite believe that this will be the case with every true follower of Christ.

With regard to another observation of Mr. Klein's, I have already intimated my agreement with Alford, that the soul is the ego, or the personality. But when dominated by the spirit, it ceases its wilfulness.

I desire to return cordial thanks to those who have treated my observations with so much kindness and leniency.

632ND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, MAY 23RD, 1921,
AT 4.30 P.M.

PROFESSOR T. G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the Hon. Secretary announced the Election of the Rev. John Wick Bowman, M.A., D.D., as an Associate.

PROF. PINCHES rose to explain that, owing to the unfortunate illness of Dr. St. Clair Tisdall, he had been asked to read the paper. He undertook the task with considerable diffidence, owing to the very special nature of the paper.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL: SOME LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE REGARDING ITS DATE. By the Rev. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, D.D.

Τοῖς τοι δίκαιοις χάρις βραχὺς νικᾷ μέγαν.

(Sophocles).

THE question of the date of the composition of the Book of Daniel, as it at present exists in the Massoretic Text of the Old Testament, has long been under discussion. The Higher Critics have given their verdict regarding its genuineness, and they have, in their own opinion, decided its date within a very few years. To mention one of their latest pronouncements, the Peake Commentary on the Bible says: "No Old Testament Scholar of any repute now maintains that the Book was written by Daniel" (p. 323). This writer admits, however, that it is referred to in the so-called Sibylline Oracles (dating from about 140 B.C.), the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" (109-107 B.C.), and the First Book of Maccabees (*circa* 100 B.C.). Notwithstanding this, the Higher Critics in general have persuaded themselves that the Book of Daniel was written only a few years before the earliest of these works, *viz.*, in 167-165 B.C., and yet within a little over a score of years had grown famous and gained credence far and wide, even among people speaking a language

entirely different from the Semitic tongues in which it was composed. Even those critics who are willing to allow an earlier date are convinced that its origin cannot be put back farther than to a period considerably later than Alexander the Great's conquest of Palestine in 332 B.C.

It is not our duty to state the arguments brought forward in support of this conclusion. They may be read in a multitude of books which deal with the subject. Our purpose in the present Paper is to consider only the question what light the language of the original documents, illustrated by others of ancient and known dates recently discovered, throws upon the matter.

The late Professor Driver, in his well-known *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, and again in his little work on Daniel in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, though admitting evidence from many other sources also, rightly lays great stress on the information to be gained as to the date of the Book from a careful study of its words in the original languages, Hebrew and Aramaic. New evidence has been brought forward since Dr. Driver wrote, which seems to me to necessitate an entire reconsideration of the subject. This is drawn largely from the facts learned from the Aramaic papyri discovered comparatively recently in Egypt, and especially in the ruins of some houses in the remains of ancient Syene (Assouan) and Elephantine.

Do these new facts confirm the Critics' conclusions or confute them? In answering this question it will be well in the first place to hear Dr. Driver's own words, and then see whether they can any longer be maintained to be correct.

Dr. Driver wrote in 1894 (*I.L.O.T.*, pp. 467-476): "In face of the facts presented by the Book of Daniel, the opinion that it is the work of Daniel himself cannot be sustained. Internal evidence shews with a cogency that cannot be resisted that it must have been written not earlier than *circa* 300 B.C., and in Palestine; and it is at least *probable* that it was composed under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 168 or 167." Dealing with the evidence of language alone, he proceeds to sum up his conclusions thus: "The *Persian* words presuppose a period after the Persian Empire had been well established: the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *supports*, and the Aramaic *permits*, a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great (B.C. 332). With our present knowledge, this is as much as the language authorises us definitely to affirm; though *συμφωνία* as the name of an instrument (considering the history of the term

in Greek) would seem to point to a date somewhat advanced in the Greek period." Elsewhere he refers to two other Greek words, *ψαλτήριον* and *κίθαρς*, contained in Daniel as still further confirming his argument. He adds: "Whatever may be the case with *κίθαρς*, it is incredible that *ψαλτήριον* and *συμφωνία* can have reached Babylon *circa* 550 B.C."

Let us examine this latter point first, since Dr. Driver lays so much stress upon it. He is willing to give up *κίθαρς*, because, as is well known, Homer uses* it in Asia Minor (probably) long, perhaps many hundreds of years, before Daniel's time; and hence Dr. Driver admits that both the word (used in Dan. iii, 5; vii, 10, 15) and the thing may have been well known before the Macedonian Period in Palestine. To the ordinary mind it does not seem altogether impossible that, if *one* Greek musical instrument had become known in Babylonia before Daniel's time, two others should have been introduced along with it, especially as the names of *other* instruments mentioned in the same connexion, whether themselves Greek (as was at one time affirmed by critics, though they now admit their Eastern origin) or not, were not long afterwards known in Greece. To insist, as Dr. Driver does, that these two names of musical instruments prove "a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great" for the composition of the Book of Daniel because they occur in it seems hardly justifiable. But if he is right, what are we to say to the occurrence of even *more* words of Greek in *dated* Aramaic papyri found in Egypt and belonging to a time *considerably earlier than* the Macedonian conquest of that country? Although the papyri from Assouan and Elephantine are all more or less fragmentary, yet in the small collection published in the original Aramaic by Arthur Ungnad in 1911, the total bulk of which is considerably less than that of the Aramaic part of Daniel, there are several Greek words. About *three* of these there is no room for doubt. These are the words: *στατήρ*, *ἀρσενικόν*, and *κιθών*. About yet another word † there may be some doubt, though Levi, in his *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* seems to be convinced of its Greek origin. These papyri date from 494 B.C. ‡ to about the end of that century, and are therefore

* *Iliad* III, 54; XIII, 731; *Odys.* I, 153; VIII, 248.

† *𐤓𐤕*: which Levi derives from *τάξις*, probably in error.

‡ See p. 210.

much earlier than the date (332 B.C.) assigned by Dr. Driver as the very earliest possible for the composition of Daniel, on the ground of its containing *two* Greek words. Moreover, these words in the papyri are not the names of two musical instruments among a group of the same kind, as in Daniel. One is the name of a Greek coin, a second that of a colour, the third denoting an article of Greek dress. Nor are the words found all together in a group: they are scattered in different manuscripts. If we apply Dr. Driver's argument to them, it breaks down utterly. *Is not the same conclusion inevitable when applied to the Book of Daniel?* If the occurrence of *three*, or even *four*, Greek words in these papyri does not (and cannot, because of the dates of the documents) prove their date to be that of Alexander the Great, or perhaps much later, how can *two* Greek words in Daniel "demand" the assignment of the book to a late date? It can hardly surprise us if a few Greek words found their way in return into, not the cultivated Babylonian vernacular, but the colloquial Aramaic, the lingua franca of the mercantile community of the Jews resident in Babylonia in the latter part of the sixth century before our era. At any rate, even if the date of Daniel be held to be more recent than this, the existence of Greek words in the book cannot "demand" its relegation to the period after the Macedonian conquest of Palestine. The Book of Daniel may well belong, even on the grounds chosen by Dr. Driver for argument, to somewhat the same time as the writing of the Assouan-Elephantine papyri.

What period was this? and what certainty of the date can there be? It is not a matter of conjecture but of certainty. Many of the Assouan-Elephantine papyri have the date of writing given in them even more precisely than our modern letters and other documents. They mention not only the *year* but the *month* (often in two calendars, the Egyptian as well as the Hebrew-Aramaic) and the *day* of composition. In some cases, the papyri being somewhat torn or worm-eaten, the date can no longer be read; but the number of documents in which these particulars are preserved is sufficient to shew that they all belong to the period between 500 and 400 B.C. Thus, taking Arthur Ungnad's little collection entitled *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, the first document—a letter from the Jewish community of Yeb (Elephantine) to Bagoas (in the original *Bagohi*), Persian Governor of Judæa (mentioned by Josephus in *Ant. of Jews*, XI, vii, 1), complaining in forcible language of the destruction of

the Jewish Temple at Elephantine three years previously—is dated : “ 20th of Marcheswan, year 17th of Darius the King.” As Darius II reigned from 424 to 405 B.C., it is not difficult to discover that the appeal was written in 407 B.C. In the same way, omitting the days and months (the latter, as I have said, often given in two notations), other papyri are dated as follows :—

- Ungnad, Doc. 2a, Strassburg Papyrus, 14th year of Darius II,
410 B.C.
- Ungnad, Doc. 5, Cairo Mus., P. 13480, 37th year of Artaxerxes
I, 428 B.C.
- Ungnad, Doc. 6, Cairo Mus., P. 13464, 5th year of Darius II,
419 B.C.
- Ungnad, Doc. 8, Cairo Mus., P. 13492, 12th year of Darius II,
412 B.C.
- *Ungnad, Doc. 15, Cairo Mus., P. 13470, 15th year of Darius II,
409 B.C. (?)
- Ungnad, Doc. 27, Cairo Mus., P. 13493, 2 ? year of Xerxes (?)
482 B.C.
- Ungnad, Doc. 29, Cairo Mus., P. 13475, 2 ? year of Xerxes (?)
483-2 B.C.
- Ungnad, Doc. 28, Cairo Mus., P. 13467, 4th year of Artaxerxes
I., 461 B.C.
- Ungnad, Doc. 30, Cairo Mus., P. 13491, 9th year of Artaxerxes
I, 456 B.C.
- Ungnad, Doc. 31, Cairo Mus., P. 13489, 27th year of Darius I,
494 B.C. (?)
- Ungnad, Doc. 37, Cairo Mus., P. 13476, 5th year of Amyrtaeus,
circa 400 B.C.

* Papyrus No. 13470 had a number, now illegible, after the 15. It is not absolutely certain, though very probable, that the name erased in P. 13475 is that of Xerxes. In P. 13489 there is some slight doubt whether Darius I or Darius II is the king referred to. Ungnad's note runs thus : “ The No. 20 is not quite clear : it has not the usual shape. That a 10 is meant is *not completely excluded*. In the latter case we are dealing with the seventeenth year of Darius II (424-405); in the former case only Darius I (521-486) would come into consideration, for Darius II reigned only nineteen years. Then our document would be (from the year 494) the most ancient Papyrus from Elephantine. The writing, however, speaks rather in favour of Darius II.” If the latter king is meant, the document dates from 407 B.C., and P. 13493, of B.C. 482, is the earliest.

As the last date which Daniel the Prophet mentions in the tenth chapter of his Book is the third year of Cyrus, 535 B.C., the interval between the composition of the Book, if ended then (and it may not have been composed for some years later, if we for the moment presume it to be genuine) and the writing of the earliest of the Assouan-Elephantine Aramaic documents would be very short, not more than forty-one years, if P. 13489 be the oldest in the collection, and only fifty-three years if P. 13493 occupy that position. We must now enquire whether the language of the Book shows any reason to suppose that, instead of being by that short period of years *earlier* than the recently discovered documents, the Book is really more recent. Dr. Driver's attempt to prove this by the evidence of two Greek words in Daniel seems to me to have failed, since these Egyptian-Aramaic papyri contain at least three, and are certainly not compositions of the post-Alexander period. As these documents extend over the greater part of a century, deal with a considerable variety of subjects, from the destruction of a Jewish temple and the request for permission to rebuild it, to legal documents, agreements and correspondence, we ought to be able in some degree to estimate the amount of change in the Aramaic language which took place during the fifth century B.C. We may also learn to what extent the language was being affected by Persian influences, whether the grammar agrees at all closely with that of the Aramaic of Daniel, and whether the amount of Persian in Daniel is or is not in excess of that found in these Aramaic papyri, which, if the Higher Critics are right, must have been written a long time, possibly several centuries, before the Book of Daniel. If, on the other hand, the traditional view of the date of the Book is correct, it was composed such a short period before these documents in Egyptian Aramaic that the resemblance between them should be great. The Aramaic of Ezra should also be taken into consideration, since, if genuine, some chapters belong to the period during which the Assouan-Elephantine papyri were drawn up. It is evident that we have a mass of information at our disposal which should yield important results when carefully studied.

Dr. Driver calls attention to the number of *Persian* words used in Daniel—especially in the Aramaic part of the Book. These he estimates at fifteen, though he is of opinion that there are two more ("Daniel," pp. lvi and lvii). There is not the slightest doubt that all these seventeen words are Old Persian, as I now proceed to show.

1. *Partēmām*, Dan. i, 3, 6 (*cf.* Esther i, 3 ; vi, 9) is the Hebrew plural of the Avestic Persian word *Fratema*, "foremost," and hence "Chief, Leader." In Achæmenian Persian the word is *Fratama*, "first," so we have in that dialect "*fratamā martiyā*," leading men : "*Dahvyunām fratemā-dhātō*" in Yasht x, 18 = "præ-positus (præ-fectus) provinciarum." In the word we are considering we have the superlative of the root *Fra*, of which the comparative occurs in the Strassburg Papyrus (Ungnad 2a, line 4), in the word *Fratara-k(a)*, with the termination *-ka*. The word denotes an officer of a certain rank.

2. *Pathbāg* (Dan. i, 5, 8, etc.) : rightly explained in the B.D.B. Hebrew Lexicon as Avestic *pati-baga*, "special portion," *i.e.*, food assigned to the king ; in Ass. it appears as *pati-pa-baga** (Hilprecht, Series A, Vol. IX) : Sans. *prati-bhāga*, share, division, present of fruit, flowers, to a king.

3. *Azdā* : from the Gāthic *azda*, Vedic Sanskrit *addhā*, from *a*, this : = thus, certainly, = certain. In the Strassburg Pap., line 3, *azda* occurs, = enquiry, information : Armenian *azd* = notice, information ; *azd līnel*, to be informed ; *azdem*, I inform. In papyrus 13480, lines 5 and 7, the Persian *azdakara* occurs, meaning "an intelligence officer," perhaps.

4. *Haddām* : the Avestic *han-dāma*, limb ; in Syr. and later Aramaic the word occurs only as verb in Pa'el, "to dismember."

5. *Dāth* : law. Avestic *Dāthem*, n., law, justice, from root *dā*, Sans. *dhā*. The word seems undoubtedly Persian [though its Babylonian origin might be asserted, for in Ass.-Bab. inscriptions (Knudtson, "Assyr. Gebete an den Sonnengott," Nos. 293, and 1, 23, 116, b, 21, etc.) we find *Dātu*, *dāti*, *dati*, meaning "decision, rule, law," perhaps from the Semitic root *dān*, *dīn*, to judge. For example : "*Dati sha imni wa shumēli ishten-ta-an ḥalqa*," "*The laws of the right hand and of the left hand have perished every one*" (Muss-Arnold, p. 270)]. If *Dati*, etc., are really from the Persian, their occurrence in Assyrian inscriptions of this class shows that a certain number of Persian words had been introduced into the written classical Assyrian even before the Persian conquest. A few such words, as we shall see later, had thus been borrowed from the Persian before Cambyses' time. In both the Assouan-Elephantine papyri and in Assyrio-Babylonian tablets, principally of the time of Artaxerxes I (466-425 B.C.), the compound

* *Vide* p. 228, No. 27, below. The extra *-pa* is probably a mistake of the scribe.

Dātabār, Persian tax-gatherer, occurs not infrequently. Such officials become numerous in Babylonia (Hilprecht, *Bab. Exp. of Univ. of Pennsylvania*, Series A, Vol. IX, p. 8).

6. *Ahashdarpān*: Satrap. Achæmænian Persian *Khshatrapāvan*, from *Khshatra*, realm, and root *pā*, to protect. Hence Greek *ἑξαρπάνης*, *σαρπάνης*. The ξ for *khsh* recalls the English habit (in Bombay) of representing the Sansk. *Ksh* by *x*.

7. *Rāz*: a secret, = Avestic *razah*, loneliness; Sansk. *rahasya*, secret. (It is retained in Pahlavi and modern Persian *rāz*, a secret.)

8. *Adargāzar*: an official title, perhaps "counsellor." Avestic *Adhara*, within, and perhaps root *ghzhar*, to flow.* Whether the mediæval Persian *andar-zhaghar* is connected with our word may be doubted.

9. *Zan*: P. 13480, "Kind, sort"; Achæmænian and Avestic *zana*, race (of men); Armenian *zan*, sort. Root *jan*. Av. *zan*.

10. *Pithgām*: message, decree; word, thing. Achæmænian *Pati-gāma*, from *Pati-gām*, to come to; Armenian *patgam*; mod. Persian *paighām*, a message.

11. *Haddābar*: cf. Eg.-Aramaic *hamda-kar* (P. 13492, line 4); the doubled *d* representing *md* or *nd*, the words probably formed similarly, only *kar* (doer) for *bar* (bearer). [Or possibly *Haddābar* for *Haudabar*, from Achæmænian *Khauda-bar*, Avestic *Khaoda-bar*, "helmet-bearer."] But perhaps Driver is right in suggesting *gadābar*, as in the Eg.-Aram. papyri the *h* (𐤀) closely resembles the *g* (𐤂).

12. *Gadābar*: Avestic *gadhāvara* (which, if it occurred, would be *gadāvara* in Achæmænian, club-bearer; from *gadhā*, a mace, club (perhaps, as Ungnad says, a club for throwing). In the Avesta the term *gadhāvara* is applied to Keresāspa, just as the equivalent *gadhā-bhrit* in Sanskrit is to Kṛishṇa and the Latin *claviger* to Hercules. In modern Persia the mace-bearer (*chūb-dār*) "carries a long staff with a large head covered with embossed silver." In India at native courts the mace-bearer is in Urdū styled *sonṭe-bar-dār*. Xenophon (VII, iii, 10, and VIII, i, 38; iii, 15, *Cyropædia*) mentions the high position of the *σκηπτούχος* at the Persian court; as does Tacitus (*Ann.* VI, 33) at other Eastern courts. It is likely that the same office existed in Babylon,

* Cf. our word *influence*.

since Herodotus states that every Babylonian man of any importance carries a staff (*σκήπτρον*) with an ornate top.

13. *Sarak*, a chieftain, head man, from Avestic *sarah-*, head. The termination *-aka* (later *-ak*) was often adjectival in ancient Persian ; but it occurs with nouns also, as here ; more frequently in the papyri than in Dan. It became very common in Pahlavi. Perhaps *sarak* is the only occurrence of the termination forming a noun in Daniel, but in the Eg.-Aram. papyri we have *fratar-ak* (P. Strassburg, line 4), *gūshak* (*ibid.*, B, line 4) [and *Sewānakānīn* (P. 13472, line 6), “people of Syene” ; here we have not the *-ka* but *-kan* or *-kanī*]. The termination *-ka*, as *adjectival*, is common in Sanskrit, Pali, Avestic, etc., as well as in Greek and practically in all Aryan tongues ; but as forming *nouns* it is very rare in the oldest dialects of Persian. In the three words we have quoted, *sarak* (Daniel), *gūshak* and *fratarak* (Eg.-Aram. papyri) the termination does not form a *diminutive*, as in the later Persian is so common (*cf.* Sansk. *Prathama-ka*).

14. *Nidneh* or *nidnēh* (Dan. vii, 15) is a word which assumes various modifications at the hands of editors (including the conjecture נִדְנָה , which hardly needs consideration). Baer reads נִדְנָה , Kautzsch נִדְנָה , Nöldeke and Bevan נִדְנָה , considering that the feminine pronominal suffix is incorporated. In the Talmud and Targumim the word occurs in use as נִדְנָה and נִדְנָה . It occurs as נִדְנָה and נִדְנָה in the Hebrew of 1 Chron. xxi, 27, where it clearly denotes the sheath of a sword. (This is evidently not the somewhat similar word which is found in Ezek. xvi, 33, and which is from the Assyrian *nadnu*, *nidnu*, *nindanu*, *nudnu*, *nudunnu*, *nudinnu*, “a gift, a dowry.”) The word we are now considering does not actually occur in either Avestic or Achæmenian texts, but no doubt is possible about its derivation. The root in Avestic is *dā*, to give, to put (*δίδωμι*, *τίθημι*, dare), Sansk. *dhā*, to place, *dā* to give. (In Av. and Ach. the distinction between these roots is generally lost, though preserved in Greek and Sanskrit.) In both Avestic and Achæmenian the root forms compounds with the preposition *ni-* ; hence we have Avestic *ni-dā*, to give up, hand over ; Sansk. *ni-dhā*, to deposit, put in, fix in. From the compound root we have in Avestic the words *nidhāiti*, *nidhāta*, a putting off, put down, connected ; nature, abundance ; stored up ; and in Sanskrit *nidhāna*, a receptacle. This latter word must

have existed in Old Persian too, probably in both dialects, in the form *nidāna* or *nidhāna*. We find in Pāli also *nidhāna*, receptacle, treasury, store, and in modern Persian the Avestic word becomes *nihān*, hidden, secret. It must therefore have existed in the old language of the country. In Sanskrit the term for the sheath of a sword was *pi-dhāna*, from the same root *dhā*, with another prefix, *pi-* (for *api-*, Greek *ἐπι*).

15. *Appeden* : Achæmænian *Apa-dāna* (root *dā*), a castle, palace, literally a place set apart. In Sanskrit *apa-dhā* (Skt. *apa* = Gk. *ἀπό*) means to set apart. It is noteworthy that the same Persian word has been taken into Armenian, only with the *d* changed into *r* and the Armenian plural termination *k'h* added, thus becoming *aparank'h*, palace. *Appadān* occurs in Babylonian too (Muss. Arn., p. 79).

16. *Nebizbāh* occurs in the Aramaic of Dan. ii, 6; v, 14. As the Massoretic Text is generally so correct in the consonants of the Hebrew and Aramaic words, I hesitate to suggest any change. But the word as it stands does not seem at all explicable. I venture, therefore, to conjecture that the second *b* here may have originally been *n*. The word in the alphabet used in the Eg.-Aram. papyri would then be $\eta \int | \gamma \int$ instead of $\eta \gamma | \gamma$.* From the context the meaning required is "reward" or "gift." A. ben Ezra says the word means *gift*, as it stands in the Massoretic Text; but its etymology is not clear. If written as I suggest, $\eta \int | \gamma \int$, and read *nibāzēnāh*, there is no difficulty. The first element in the word is the prepositional *ni*, which occurs so often in Persian words and equals Greek *ἐνί*, Russian *на*, etc. Then follows the root *bag-* (*baž-*), to take part in, to share; hence in the Gāthas, the oldest part of the Avesta, *baga* means share, lot, which in later Avestic poems becomes *bagha*. In Achæmænian inscriptions *Baga* [later *Bagha*] means God, a God (cf. Russian *Bog*, pronounced *Bokh*). In Sanskrit the root is *bhaj* and *bhanj*. It is found in Armenian also, in the form *baž*, an impost, a tax; *bažel*, to tax; *bažin*, part, share; *bažanel*, to divide. If to *ni-baz-* we add the Avestic noun-ending *-ana* or *-anā*, we get *nibāzānā*, a gift, which in Aramaic would be written $\eta \int | \gamma \int$.

* The *n* (\int) of the Siloam inscription alphabet (circa 700 B.C.) is identical with the *b* (γ) of the Eg.-Aram. papyri.

17. *Sarbāl* (Dan. iii, 21, 27) is doubtless the Avestic *sāra-vāra**, literally "head-covering." In the Avesta itself the word means helmet. In later Avestic the word *sar-* in the dual number denotes the body, hence the word *sarbāl* seems to have had several different meanings at different times. The LXX render it by ἀναξίριδες†, tight trousers, and apparently also by ὑποδήματα, shoes. Its modern Persian form, corrupted into *shalvār*, means trousers. Herodotus (vii, 61, 62) says that the Persians and Medes in Xerxes' army wore trousers. But these private soldiers would not wear the same dress as did the learned men of Babylon. Regarding the Babylonians, Herodotus informs us (i, 195) that their long hair was bound round with *tiaras** (which word has many significations in Greek), and gives other details of their dress. Theodotion uses the Persian word itself in Dan. iii, 21.

18. *Hamnikā*; in Dan. v, 7, 16, 29, is variously read. The Kthib has Hamōnikā, Hamōnkā, or Hamnōkā; the Qri has Hamnikā; this the LXX and Theodotion render by μανιάκης. The Syriac word is Hamnikā, which in the Targums becomes Manik, probably shortened from the Greek. In the Talmud the forms Hamnikkā, Mōnyāq, monyāq, and mūnyāq occur. Polybius uses the Greek form of the word to denote the armlet or necklet (torques) worn by the Kelts. It has long been known that the word in Daniel means necklace, but what is its origin? The B.D.B. Hebrew Lexicon suggests that in its indefinite form the word in the text should be read Hamyānak, and that it is "a diminutive of the Persian Hāmyān." But Hāmyān is merely the modern Persian pronunciation of the Arabic Himyān, which is a genuine Arabic derivative from the Arabic root *hama'* (to fall, etc.), and means (1) a loincloth, (2) a girdle, (3) a purse hanging from the girdle. Now Arabic words taken into modern Persian only very rarely take the diminutive -ak, which seems much more recent as forming diminutives than even the "time of Alexander the Great." Moreover we lack the very slightest proof that Arabic vocables had won an entrance into Old Persian

* In Vendidad XIV, § 9, the *sāravara* is the *turban* of a charioteer, and so, perhaps, *sarbāl* here. But there are two difficulties in the way of a Persian derivation of *sarbāl*: (1) that *b* can hardly represent the Persian *v*; and (2) there is no *l* in Old Persian in either dialect, and the only way in which the second *r* in *sāravāra* can be accounted for changing into *l* is by supposing that the change was made to prevent the repetition of the *r*.

† In some MSS.

and there formed diminutives. The derivation of the word, however, is quite clear. In Avestic we have a word *maini* (Sanskrit *mani*, a gem), an ornament, and especially a necklace. In the Avesta "with a golden collar" (*zarenu-mainish*) is a term applied to a vulture. Combining this word *maini* in the sense of an ornament with the prefix *ham* (Sanskrit *sam*, Greek *συν*, Latin *cum*) we have *Hammaini* in Avestic, which in Achæmenian would be *Hammani* (written *hamani*). With the *-Ka* termination (not in the diminutive sense) the Achæmenian form of the word would be *Ham(m)ānīka*, a collection of gems, a necklace. Probably, therefore, the Qri form *Hamnīkā* is correct, meaning "the neck-ornament."

19. *Tiphāyē*. Most scholars until recently fancied that this word in Dan. iii, 2, 3, was due to a scribal blunder, and various conjectures were resorted to in order to correct it. Now, however, we know that the reading is correct, for the word occurs in line 4 of Section B of the Strassburg papyrus, dated year 14 of Darius II (Ungnad, pp. 8, 9), with only this difference that a *yod* is inserted after the initial consonant, making the syllable long, or at least fully written, and confirming the correctness of the traditional vocalisation of that syllable. The B.D.B. Lexicon does not attempt to explain its etymology, all attempts previously made being deemed erroneous. The meaning of the word had been lost *even before the LXX version of Daniel was made*. The Peshittā version merely transliterates the word with the change of a single letter. The word being Persian, it is evident that the second element in it is the vocable which in Achæmenian is *pati*, lord, and in Avestic *paiti* (in Sanskrit *pati* = Greek *πόσις*). The first part is *ti*, which is a shortened form of the particle *ati* (Achæmenian), Avestic *aiti*, Sanskrit *ati*. Neither dialect of Old Persian actually affords an instance of the omission of the initial vowel in this word; but the particle itself occurs only once in the Achæmenian inscriptions. In the cognate Armenian, however, several words are formed with this particle, and in every instance the initial vowel is lost. Thus we have *Ti-air* (contracted *tēr*) from (*a*)*ti*, over, and *air*, man; hence *tēr* = lord; *Ti-kin* (= *γυνή*), over-woman, lady; *Ti-ezerk'h* "over-limits," the world, the universe. The particle *ati* does not lose its initial vowel in Sanskrit, nor is *ati-pati* found in that language; but words similarly compounded do occur, as, e.g., *ati-rājā*, *ati-strī*, *ati-mānusha*, *Atīndriya*. Compounds similarly formed with *adhi*, a prefix of similar meaning to *ati*, also occur: as *Adhi-pati*

(ruler), *adhirājā*, *adhipurusha*; so, too, with the preposition *api* (= Greek ἐπι), only in this case the first vowel is often lost, as in *pi-dhā*, *pi-nah*, *pi-drūbh*. *Adhi* too often loses its first vowel, as in *dhi-shthūa*.

20. Another undoubted Persian word is *Nebrāshtā* (Dan. v, 5). The first element here is *ni*-. Then the Avestic root *brāz*-, to shine = the Sanskrit *bhrāj* with the same meaning. In Avestic the *z* becomes *sh* regularly before *t*; the participle would be *brāshsta*, or, with the prefixed *ni*-, *nibrāshsta*. In the Aramaic *nebrāshtā* the final vowel is, of course, the definite suffix. The Persian word would mean "illuminated," and hence the Biblical term would no doubt denote a lamp, a chandelier.

21. The word *Zēman* is also most probably taken from the Persian. In the Avesta we find *Zrvān*, time. The word has been adopted into all the main Semitic languages, the *v* being changed to *m* in Heb., Aram., Arab., Aeth., and into *b* in Syr., Sam., etc. (In modern Persian the word *zamān* has been borrowed once more from the Arabic.) It occurs quite frequently in the Eg.-Aram. papyri.

Dr. Driver says that there are at least fifteen Persian words in Daniel. We have found about twenty-one, and our investigation has shewn that they are undoubtedly Persian, though some of them have not previously been considered as certainly borrowed from that language, nor has their etymology been in every case previously established.

It might seem that our examination has thus strengthened the argument *against* the antiquity of the book. But this is not so, as will be perceived when all the linguistic evidence is before us.

Eduard Meyer* has shewn that the Aramaic documents contained in *Ezra* are to be held genuine. They would hardly be worth including in his work by the historian were it otherwise. The part of *Ezra* which is in Aramaic is: Chapters iv, 8, to vi, 18, and vii, 12 to 26, both inclusive. Even Dr. Oesterley speaks of *Ezra* iv, 8, to vi, 18, as an "Extract from an Aramaic document" (Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*, p. 327). Now anyone who examines these portions of *Ezra* will perceive that the style and language employed are the same as in the rest of the Aramaic part of the book. Dr. Oesterley states that "In so far as these sources" (those from which the earlier parts of *Ezra*-

* A hostile critic: in his *Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle, 1896. Hommel, *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung*, pp. 22 sqq.

Nehemiah are drawn) "are brought into connexion with the names of Persian kings, and assuming that this is correctly done, the dates of the kings in question will, of course, be the approximate dates of those parts of the book. So that the earliest portion will belong to the time of Cyrus, about 537, while the latest parts of the sources, the memoirs of Nehemiah, cannot have been written later than the end of the reign of Artaxerxes, about 424" (*Op. cit.*, p. 325). He proceeds, however, to assert that the book "in its present form belongs to the Greek age, in all probability later than 300 B.C." He affirms this, however, not on philological but on historical grounds, because Josephus mentions a High Priest Jaddua as living in the reign of Alexander the Great (*Antiq.* XI, vii, 2; viii, 7). We have nothing to do at present with this latter point, but only with the admission that at least part of the Aramaic is possibly of as early a date as 537 B.C. This is earlier than we should venture to claim for the Aramaic of Daniel, earlier than any of our Assouan-Elephantine papyri. If we accept Dr. Oesterley's statement as meaning this, then *there is philologically no reason for denying that the Book of Daniel may be genuine*. At any rate the Egyptian Aramaic papyri bring us back to 494 B.C. (P. 13489), or at least to 482 B.C. (Pp. 13475 and 13493), and down to about B.C. 400, as has already been pointed out.

Now those parts of the Aramaic sections in Ezra which are generally admitted to be genuine and long anterior to Alexander's time (332 B.C.), to say nothing of the date commonly accepted by the Higher Critics for the composition of Daniel (c. 167-5 B.C.), contain rather *more* Persian words, comparatively speaking, than does Daniel—certainly not less. So do the papyri. If Daniel had been composed in Alexandrian times in Palestine, we should have expected it, in consequence of the long continued influence of the Persian language, to have contained a larger Persian element by far than either the Aramaic of Ezra or that of the Egyptian papyri. Or, if not, it would certainly have absorbed into its vocabulary a considerable proportion of Greek terms. In nearly two centuries of Greek influence, it might at least have acquired more than *two* solitary Greek musical terms. But, if the critics are right, its rate of progress in Greek was remarkably slow. Not only Macaulay's but even our own schoolboys could beat it. Of course, our critical friends may reply that the pious forger of the book was clever enough to guard against any extensive use of Greek vocables, lest he should thereby be detected. What a strange thing it is, then, to find him so much off his guard,

not only as to let himself be detected through the use of two quite unnecessary Greek words, but also to be oblivious to the fact that his use of some twenty Persian terms would render him liable to suspicion. On the other hand, we might say that the comparative smallness of the number of Persian words in Daniel, and the almost total absence of Greek, form a good argument in favour of the authenticity and genuineness of the book.

It has been argued that there is an utter absence of Persian in the Babylonian tablets before the Persian acquisition of that country. If this were correct, and not merely comparatively so, it would not be a matter for surprise. Cuneiform Babylonian, as now known to us, was an old and long established literary language, which would admit foreign words only very gradually and with great reluctance. Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of the day, which, though reduced to writing long before, had not yet become the language of any considerable literature. Proper attention has not yet, to our knowledge, been paid to this most important fact. Yet a parallel case may easily be cited. In China there is a considerable difference between the literary language written in the characters handed down by literary men for many hundreds of years and the vernacular of the various provinces. English and other foreign terms may effect an entrance into the spoken tongue, but it will be far harder to acclimatise them in the literary tongue. Again, in vernacular English we find it easy to speak and write of the *Alake* of Abbeokuta, the *Sheikhs* of Arabia, the *Maliks* of Baluchistan, the *Mullās* (mad or otherwise) of the Soudān, the *Shāh* of Persia, the *Sultān* of Turkey or of Egypt. But if we were writing in a classical tongue like Latin or Greek, it would be hard to compel ourselves to admit such words into our composition. Latin in this case represents the classical cuneiform Assyrio-Babylonian tongue, while English, whether spoken at home or abroad, assumes the place of the Aramaic language commonly used by the foreign and trading community of the great city. The Aramaic dockets attached to cuneiform tablets found in Babylon long before Daniel's time attest this fact.

It has been assumed that Persian words cannot have been used in Babylon until a considerable time had elapsed after the Persian supremacy had been established in that city. But this is by no means certain. The Babylonians had come into close contact with the Medes and Persians (who spoke dialects of one and the same language) hundreds of years before that time. Contact

had been established at least as early as Tiglath Pileser the First's days, for his inscriptions show that he overran the Iranian plateau about 1100 B.C., while the inscriptions of Shalmaneser mention the Medes (Mādāi) in the account of his expedition into the land of Namri in 837 B.C.. In 744 B.C. Tiglath Pileser IV carried captive from Media to Calah no less than 60,500 prisoners, and multitudes more in 737 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar had among other wives Amytis, daughter of Astyages (Ishtuvegu), the last king of Media. Others say he married the daughter of Cyaxares (Uvakhshatara), Astyages' father,—in either case a Median princess. This would cause close social and some commercial intercourse between the Iranians and the Babylonians. The result would be some effect on the main trading language of Babylonia, that is to say Aramaic. [In a lesser degree contact with the Greeks might introduce a few Greek words; for Cræsus of Lydia (560 B.C.) was in alliance with Sparta as well as with Nabu-nahid, and he ruled certain important Greek cities in Asia Minor. We are apt to underrate early Greek influence in Asia as well as in Egypt. Greek mercenaries were in Nubia as early as 660 B.C.* Were there no Greeks in Babylonia before Alexander? Sardes fell in 546 B.C. Herodotus found no difficulty in reaching Babylon about 450 B.C.† and in making himself understood by means of interpreters. It is not the *large* number (only *two*), but the *small* number of Greek vocables in Daniel which surprises us.]

It has been said that in Daniel there is an anachronism in the use of so many Persian titles of Court and State officials in references to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, before such Persian officials could have existed at the Babylonian Court. It is true that in chapter iii, 2, 3, out of seven such titles five are Persian. This cannot represent the actual fact. That is to say, these Persian titles must have come into use in Aramaic after the Persian domination had begun. But it must not be concluded, therefore, that a long time must necessarily have elapsed between the Persian conquest and the composition of the book. When England received the Mandate for Mesopotamia, it was not found possible in every instance to express exactly in Arabic the precise titles assumed by the British officials. It was not only convenient but necessary to introduce certain English terms. This was

* Under Psammetichus, 664-610 B.C.

† He was born between 490 and 480 B.C., and lived to about 425 B.C.

important, too, in order to distinguish, say, the English Judge from a native Qāḏī, an English Paymaster from a native one. The difference was real from several points of view. Nor did it take a considerable number of years before the natives of the country learnt to use the foreign terms. Somewhat similarly the Babylonians would speedily learn to apply Persian titles to Persian officials. At least the Jews in Babylonia would feel no prejudice against applying the new terms soon after the establishment of Persian rule to certain Babylonian officials, when speaking of them a very few years later in Aramaic. It was, no doubt, an anachronism, yet not one difficult to make allowance for. It implies, doubtless, that Daniel composed the book, even the earlier part of it, *after* the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. But this is not strange, for the capture of the city *is recorded* in the book. We do not know how long afterwards Daniel continued to survive, but a few years would suffice. As it is not likely that he spent all the rest of his life in Babylon, but was probably found useful elsewhere, perhaps at Susa (Shushan), where he had been before, his Aramaic might easily adopt a few Persian terms in everyday use at the Persian court at Susa, and very soon, probably, at Babylon too.

Dr. Driver urges that "The numerous contract-tablets which have come down to us from the age of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, and which represent the everyday language of commercial life, show no traces of Persian influence; and if the language of Babylonia was uninfluenced by Persia, that of Israel would be far less likely to be so influenced." (*Daniel*, Introduction, pp. lvii, lviii.) This argument, however, is quite fallacious. For the fact that the Babylonian contract-tablets are in *Babylonian*, the legal and classical language, not in the *Aramaic* lingua franca, makes the above comparison unjust and unsatisfactory. Moreover, it is not correct to say that even classical Babylonian was in its vocabulary unaffected by Persian. Even before the Persian conquest some few words from that language had possibly been borrowed [for example, the *Dati* (also *ditu*, *diti*) already referred to]. Though this word may possibly not be Persian, yet there can be no doubt about certain others. In a tablet of Cambyses' sixth year, lines 1, 6, 9, 12 and 18, we find the word *Pardīsu*, for example. Although Professor Sayce tells us that the Babylonian scribes tried to derive it from a Babylonian source as if it were *Par-ēsu* (Sayce, *Rel. of Eg. and Bab.*, p. 272), yet it is the Avestic

Pairidaēza, an enclosure walled round, from *pairi* (= Gk. *περι*) and the root *daēza*, to wall in, the whole denoting a park: becoming in Greek *παράδεισος*. (Strassmeier, *Inscripfen von Cyrus*, 213, 3: *Amal was sha pardisu*, park-keeper.) Again the Persian measure which in Greek became *ἀπράβη*, is mentioned as *Artabu** (Strassmeier, *op. cit.*, 316, 1 and 6). Another possible† “trace of Persian influence” is the word *Pīru* (also written *Bīru*), which Tiglath Pileser III, Sennacherib, and Sargon use in their inscriptions (*vide* Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Dict. s. v.*). The word means elephant, and the terms *shinni pīri*, ivory, *maskak pīri*, elephants’ hide, occur in the accounts of these kings’ expeditions. But *pīru* is perhaps from the Sanskrit word *Pīlu*, elephant, so called from the supposed resemblance between that animal’s ear and the leaf of a *pīlu*-tree (*Careya Arborea* or *Salvadora Persica*, Linn.). The word in Assyrian is also written *Pīlu*. In this form it was derived from Sanskrit directly; but the other form *Pīru* may have come through the Persian, for Persian had not the letter *l* in either the Achæmænian or the Avestic dialect, changing that letter into *r*. It cannot be denied, even by the Higher Critics, that Sennacherib, Sargon, and Tiglath Pileser lived before the establishment of the Persian domination over Babylonia, yet even into Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions some Persian words seem in their time to have made their way. The occurrence of a Persian word in an inscription of Cambyses proves the same thing, for the word must have already acquired a firm place in the Babylonian vocabulary or his scribe would not have used it. We have quoted only three Persian words in this connexion, but if Dr. Driver holds that the use of only *two* admittedly Greek words in Daniel is sufficient to justify him in affirming that these two “Greek words demand a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great” for the composition of the Book of Daniel, what shall we say of the occurrence of *three* Persian words in the Babylonian Inscriptions? Do they

* Having already assumed a Babylonian termination.

† I say *possible*, and mention the word with some hesitation, because the word, explained in an Assyrian bilingual text as pronounced *pīru*, is expressed by the compound ideograph AM-SI; the reading of this ideograph was unknown till discovered by Prof. Pinches of the British Museum. He says: “This carries the date of its introduction back to about 2000 B.C. The form *pīlu*, if I remember rightly, is found later. As elephants were hunted near Haran, it seems more likely that *pīru* was a native word, and not derived from the Sanskrit.”

suffice to prove that the Persian conquest of Babylonia must have taken place before the times of the kings named in the inscriptions from which we have quoted ? If so, we shall have to ask the critics to re-write the history of Assyria and Babylonia for us, as they have already so kindly done that of Israel and Judah.

It should be observed that the Persian words used in Daniel belong in every case to the Achæmenian rather than to the Avestic form of the tongue. This is important as bearing upon the age of the book. The Achæmenian inscriptions are *dated* nearly as exactly as are the Assouan-Elephantine papyri, for they bear the name of the king who in each instance commanded them to be inscribed. The extant inscriptions give us, however, the knowledge of only a few hundred Achæmenian words. The Avestic vocabulary is much more extensively known, for we find a large number of words in the remains of the Avesta. We have often to refer to that dialect in order to supplement the defects in our scanty store of Achæmenian vocables ; but this must be done with care, because we are not certain of the exact date of the composition of the different parts of the work. There are also some differences of reading in different MSS., none of which is of great antiquity. Tradition tells us a few slightly disquieting stories about the revision made under the Sāsānides. Yet the language of the Gāthas is, in its essentials, so little removed from that of the Rig Veda that its antiquity needs no other demonstration. The other and more recent parts of the book, as we now have it, are evidently in the same language, in a form much more ancient than the Pahlavī, in which alone certain traditions are preserved. Unfortunately, the Avesta deals exclusively with religion, and hence it omits all the part of the language which treated of secular matters. Therefore many words are absent which we should like to know. But as we know the grammar and composition of the language fairly well, we are able oftentimes to detect Persian words in Aramaic that are not actually extant in the Avesta or in the Achæmenian inscriptions. This enables us to state with certainty that not a few words in Daniel, Ezra, and the Egyptian papyri are Persian, and often to ascertain approximately their meaning. This much it is necessary to explain in order to anticipate some possible objections, though none such can arise with reference to two of the three Persian words which we have quoted from the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions.

It should be noted that the Avesta contains no Semitic words at all, except the single term *Tanura*, an oven for baking, in Vendidad VIII, 91. This is an additional proof of its antiquity.

It is evident from the study of the Assouan-Elephantine Aramaic papyri that they contain a *larger* Persian element than does Daniel. This must show that they were composed when a *longer time* had elapsed between their composition and the establishment of the Persian dominion in Western Asia. But as the papyri are *dated*, we are thereby taught that Daniel must have been written at a date *earlier* than they. We must now, however, proceed to produce evidence of the existence of this large Persian element in the papyri, as we have done in reference to Daniel, taking nothing for granted.

Beginning with the papyri given by Ungnad, and taking the words generally in the order in which they occur in his little book, we instance the following, including the Greek vocables:—

(1) כרשן, Aram. pl. of Pers. *karsha*, a certain weight (= *κέρσα κόρσιου*, Hesych.), root *karsh*, to draw, pour out, etc.; equivalent to 10 shekels.

(2) דושכרתח : Avestic *Dushkeret*, adj., evildoing, from *dush-*, prefix, ill, and *kar-*, to do, make (Skt. root *kri-*); here the Aram. word is a noun, = an evil deed.

(3) פרתרך, would be *frataraka* in Ach., from *Fratara*, comp. adj. from root *fra* (Eng. *fore*), with noun-termination *-ka*; hence = "one more to the fore," a foreman, hence a military commander of some important grade. The superlative is *Fratama*, Ach., *fratema*, Av., found in the pl. in the word פרתמים in Daniel, meaning nobles.

(4) הנדרי : from Av. *han-* (often *ham*, cf. Skt. *sam-*) together, and root *daēz-* to heap up, to dam up; hence in Aram. *handēz* must mean "surrounded, besieged."

(5) אוד : the word occurs in Daniel as *azdā* and is rendered "certain." (See der. given on p. 212.)

(6) תיפתיה : occurs in Dan. iii, 2, 3, the defective form, omitting the first *yod*, being there adopted, as it very often is in other words in the papyri also. (See explanation of the word in p. 217 above.)

(7) גושך : from Ach. *gausha*, Av. *gausha*, the ear, with affix *-ka*. Here title of some Persian official; in the Aram. in the pl. definite. With this title cf. what we are told about the

Persian official entitled the "King's ear," Plutarch ii, 522, E, also cf. Lucian "Adv. Indoct.," 23; so, too, the term the "King's eye," Herod. i, 114; Ar. Ach., 92; Aesch. Persae, 985.

(8) אַרְדִּים : the Av. *ava-daēsa*, from *ava*, yonder, on the other side, and *daēsa* a sign, indication; hence *avadaēsa* (Ed. Meyer), the word here used in Aram. means an intimation, direction, order.

(9) אַרְדָּבָּן : Aram. pl. of Persian word which in Gk. becomes ἀρτάβη and in Bab. *artabu*, a Persian measure. Derivation perhaps Ach. *arta*, Av. *ereta* (Skt. *ṛita*), right, law, religious duty, and root *pa*, to protect.

(10) נִשְׁתָּן : a word which occurs in Ezra iv, 7, 18, 23; v, 5; vii, 11, in both Heb. and Aram. passages. In Ezra the R.V. in v, 5, renders it "Answer." The B.D.B. Heb. Lexicon translates "letter," giving it as a Persian word (though noting Meyer's doubts), and suggesting the derivation from the root from which comes the modern Persian *nivishteh* (older *nibishtah*), "written." This derivation, however, is quite impossible. For the word taken from the Ach. *paīs*, Av. *paēs*, to colour, adorn, with prep. *ni* prefixed *ni-paēs*, to write down, occurs in Darius' inscriptions as *nipishtam*, written down, Inf. *nipishtanaīy*. It is clear that the form *nishtewān* is not the same as *nipishtam*. The two Ach. verbs from which these two distinct words come both occur, strangely enough, in a passage in Darius' Besitūn Inscriptions, running thus: "Adam ni-yashtāyam imām dīpim nipishtanaīy," I bade write this tablet. The root of *nishtewān* is really *stā*, to stand (Ach. and Av.; in Skt. *sthā*), which, with the prefix *ni* becomes *ni-shtā* in Ach., *ni-shtā* in Av., and *Ni-shtā* in Skt. Its causative stem *nishtāya* occurs in the Achæmen. inscriptions, meaning "to cause to stand in," and hence to "appoint, enjoin, command." The past part. of the Skt. verb means fixed, firm, settled. The verbal adj. *nishthavat* (in one form *nishthavān*) means perfect, complete. In Av. the verbal would be *nishtavant*, and in one form *nishtavān*, just the word found in the Aram. (allowing, of course, for the fact that the vowels in Aram., as in Heb., are not due to the original text). The word occurs in P. 13480, line 3, as well as in Ezra. It means something enjoined, fixed, settled. It might denote "statement, report, document, memorial." It might assume the sense of "letter," only if used as the message of a superior, which Persian politeness might express by a word strictly signifying a command, as at

the present day. The term in Aram. for a letter in Ezra is *iggereth* (Ezra v, 6), derived from the Assyrian *ēgirtu*. This word is often found in the Eg.-Aram. papyri, as well as in Biblical Aramaic. The LXX render *nishtēwān* by *φορολόγος*, tax-collector! This is a fair specimen of the knowledge these translators had of the foreign words occurring in Daniel and Ezra.

(11) **אודכר** : informant, intelligence agent ; the termination *-kara* in Old Persian being added to express the doer, agent ; here it is added to the *azd*, or *azda* mentioned above (p. 225, No. 5).

(12) **זן** : *zan* has been explained above, p. 213.

(13) **רתכר** : from Av. *ratha*, a chariot, hence *rathakara*, a charioteer or driver, wagon-driver.

(14) **נופת** : Pers. *nāvapat*, evidently meaning a ship-captain. In Ach. *nāvaya*, adj., means, when applied to water, able to bear a *ship*, navigable. Ach. must have had the word *nāv-*, = Gk., Lat. and Skt. stem meaning a ship. The termination is Ach. *pāti*, Av. *pāiti*, master.

(15) **אופשר** : the first element in the word is *upa*, near, etc., found in Av., Skt., etc., and perhaps the root *sar*, Av., to unite. The Aram. word is often read with *d* instead of *r* for the penultimate letter. Meaning unknown.

(16) **המדכר** : *Hamdakara* as a Persian word reminds us of the *haddābar* of several passages in Aram. of Daniel. That the words are Persian seems clear, but the derivation and meaning are unknown.

(17) **גנזו** : found in Ezra and elsewhere, meaning treasure. It was borrowed in Assyrian in the forms *ganzu* and *gunzu*. We find also the compound *ganzabaru*, representing Old Persian *ganzabara*, which became (according to the usual rule of assimilation) *gazzabara*, wrongly punctuated *gizbār* in Ezra vii, 11.

(18) **פרמנכר** : "commander," from Ach. *framānā*, command ; cf. Skt. *pramāna*. (In modern Persian the word is *farmān*.)

(19) **אופכרת** : fr. *upa*, as above, and either root *kar*, to make, or root *keret*, to cut ; hence *upa-keret*, to cut in, cut to shape ; in either case Persian.

(20) **הנדרון** : from *han* = *ham*, together, and *perhaps* Av. root *dvan*, to fly.

(21) **אפסר** : Probably Persian, *apasara*. (It may be the word *afsar*, found in modern Persian, meaning a crown.)

(22) פִּחְטְמוּנִי : is the construct. pl. of פִּחְטְמוֹן, which looks like a Gk. word. Can the latter part be a corruption of ἀρτέμων, topsail ?

(23) טֶשֶׁן : pl. of טֶשׂ, which Levi derives from τάξις, probably not correctly. Brockelmann doubts this. He is certainly wrong, however, in deriving the word, in the sense of a plate, dish, from modern Persian *tasht*, with which not a single letter corresponds.

(24) זַרְנִיק. I agree with Sachau that *zarnīk* (P. 13492, line 17) is the Gk. word ἀρσενικόν, which occurs in the same form in Syriac also, and in modern Persian, Turkish, etc., as *zarnīk*, *zarnīq*, *zarnīkh*, *zarnī*. The various methods of spelling and pronouncing the word show that it is borrowed. It does not denote *arsenic* in the modern sense, for in Greek it was applied to a paint, and hence suits the context, which deals with shipbuilding. The document contains a large number of Persian and Babylonian words, shewing how much these languages had affected Aramaic by the date (413 B.C.) when the papyrus was written. A few Greek words had also been adopted. Aramaic had evidently the same tendency to adopt foreign words then that it manifested in its later history. This was very natural in a commercial tongue.

(25) אִשְׁרָנָא : the word occurs quite frequently in the papyri, also in Ezra v, 5, 6. The meaning is not quite clear, but it does not mean "a wall," as generally rendered. Nor, perhaps, does it mean *forecourt*, as others suggest. It occurs in P. 13492, lines 5, 9, 21, as also, *e.g.*, in P. 13495, line 11. Some suggest a Bab. etymology, which seems doubtful. Possibly it may be Persian, from some word cognate with Skt. *śarana*, a refuge, sanctuary.

(26) פִּתְפֻּרָס, also written פִּתְפֻּרְסִין : evidently from the root which in Av. is *fras*, to ask, to enquire. In course of conjugation the stems *peres*, *peresa*, *parsa*, etc., occur. The verb is used in Ach. too, and in the Gāthas. As a noun *frasa*, a question, occurs in the Gāthas. With the prefixed prep. *pai* (= Av. *paiti*, Skt. *prati*, Gk. *πρί*, *πρός*), = to ask, to seek out ; to read : *patiparsāhy*, thou readest, Behistūn Inscr. IV, 8. Hence *patipars* here means an enquiry, investigation, and *patipars-īn* is its Aram. pl. masc. Cf. Skt. *pratipraśna*, enquiry.

(27) סַתְתָּר is the Gk. *στατήρ* : it occurs in Ass. (in Artaxerxes' time) as *istatīru* (Hilprecht, *Bab. Exp. of Univ. of Pennsylvania*, Series A, Vol. IX). Persian words too occur there, such as

databari, ustarbari, uzbarra, pitipabaga, etc. Herodotus tells us that Gyges of Lydia struck coins about the seventh century B.C. These were used in Babylonia and Persia. Specimens exist of staters struck in Sidon bearing a Persian king in a chariot. The Greek word here quoted from P. 13468, line 12, occurs also in P. 13476, line 4.

(28) כַּתוֹן : P. 13490, lines 8, 9, 13: evidently the Ionic Gk. *κῆθών*, Attic *χῆτών*. Herodotus says the Persians and Medes in Xerxes' army wore *chitons* (Herod. vii, 61, 62).

(29) פְּתִיפָא : the Av. *paiti-pā* (likè Skt. *pratīpa*) means "against the current"; in Skt. comes the sense of "adversary."

(30) אַבִּיגָדָן : vocalisation perhaps *abigadan* or *abigeden*, from Ach. *abi*, Av. *aiwi*, *aiwi*, against, and root *gad*, to ask, demand, is from the context = to penalty fixed for breach of agreement. That the Persian element in Aram. in the papyri, (as in Biblical Aram.) is in the Achæmenian dialect is clear from, e.g., the Ach. *abi* in contrast with the Avestic *aiwi*, *aiwi* (P. 13466, line 6).

(31) הַנְּגִיָּת : from *Han*, *ham*, together, and *Gaētha*, family, Av., of the same family, relative.

(32) הַנְּבָקָא : from *han* and *baga*, Ach., *bagha*, Av. share, lot, or *baghā*, part, portion, hence the word means partner. The sense is clear also from the equivalent genuine Aram. phrase in line 5: "Bar lī wa barāh lī, akh wa akhāh lī, qarib wa rakhīq"; a son of mine and a daughter of mine, a brother and sister of mine, a relative and a stranger. (The use of *qof* to represent the sound of *gh*, called *ghain* in Arabic, is noteworthy, because (1) in the single Aram. verse in Jeremiah x, 11, we find the word for earth* written both אַרְקָא and אַרְעָא; and (2) in Persia to the present day the same letters are sometimes interchanged with one another. E.g., *āghā* and *āqā* have to a Persian ear the same sound, though not in Arabic. (Native Persian scholars have assured me that they can detect no difference in the sounds of *q* and *gh* in Persian.)

(33) זַפְּרָגָן : whatever the word may mean, it seems to be derived from Av. *zafar*, mouth (of a demonic being), and *gan*, to smite, slay. (Probably name of a grain.)

In the language of Daniel (and Ezra), besides the Persian words which we have commented on, there is a small number

* So, too, in Eg.-Aram. papyri.

of Babylonian terms. The same fact is true of these papyri. It may be well to give a few examples from Biblical sources first, and then from these papyri, in order to show that no distinction can be found in this linguistic point between the two series of documents.

Omitting for the present the Assyrio-Babylonian proper names, such as Arioch, Meshak, Shadrak, Abed-Nego, besides those of Kings Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, and Daniel's own appellation Belteshazzar, all of which will require notice later, we proceed to give a list of a number of words in Daniel borrowed from Babylonian :—

(1) אֲשַׁף : Ashaph, from Bab. Ashshapu, ashapu (ashipu, ishipu), an enchanter, diviner ; from ashāpu, to bewitch, divine.

(2) אַתּוּן : Attūn : from Bab. utuuu, atinu, hearth, fireplace, furnace.

(3) בִּלּוֹ : Belo : Bab. biltu, tribute, tax, from Abālu, to carry. The suggested derivation from the Persian root *bar-*, to bear, carry, is not possible, for Old Persian in neither dialect possessed the letter *l*. If, as Meyer states, there is a Persian word *bara*, in Bab., this is an additional example of the fact that even Cuneiform Babylonian was not quite inaccessible to the influence of Persian.

(4) הַיְכָל : Heykāl, temple, palace ; Bab. (H)ēkālu, from Sumerian *E*, house, and *gal*, great.

(5) זִיּוּ : Bab. zimu, features, face ; appearance, splendour.

(6) כְּנֹתָן : Bab. kinatu, servants ; associates, companions.

(7) כַּרְבֻּלָא : Bab. karballatu, name of some article of clothing, according to Andreas and Meissner a cap ; Oppert compares *κῦρβασις*, a helmet (Herod. vii, 64).

(8) מַלְצָר : Bab. maššaru for mašaru, from root našāru, to guard, watch (the inf. of verb used in last element of name Nebuchadnezzar (Nabiu-kudurri-ušur). The change of *n* to *l* is quite common in such circumstances in Aram.

(9) נֹרָו : Bab. nawālu, namālu (Jensen), ruins ; (Muss-Arn.) reeds ; property, gain ; power ; perhaps the phrase in Dan. means to confiscate to the Royal treasury. The root in latter sense is amālu, to be strong ; in the other, to work (Arab. عمل).

(10) נֹזֵק : Bab. nazāqu, to suffer injury.

(11) נֹטַל : Bab. naṭālu, to look, look up.

(12) סגן : Bab. sagnu, Ass. Shaknu, deputy, prefect. governor ; root shakānu, to put, place, set ; do, make.

(13) עדן : Bab. adannu, fixed, appointed ; stated time.

(14) עפי : perhaps from Bab. upu, cloud ; apu, reed ; foliage in Dan. iv, 9, 11, 18.

(15) פחה : Bab. pakhātu, prefecture ; pikhātu, satrap ; root pikhū, to control, command.

(16) פחר : Bab. pakhkharu, a potter.

(17) שגל : not from Ass. Shigrēti, "harem-women" (Haupt), but from Sumerian ushum-gallu (so in Ass. form), ushē-gal, from *ush*, serpent, and *gal*, great (cf. Egyptian uræus, placed in effigy on Pharaoh's head*) : [or from *esh*, house, and *gal*, great house, palace, hence monarch (cf. Pharaoh (*per* and 'aā, great double house, monarch).] Whichever the etymology, in Ass.-Bab. ushum-gallu means "vehement, sovereign, serpent, dragon" (Hommel, † Jensen, Pinches, Muss-Arnolt). Hence the etymology seems clear. The word *shēgāl*, introduced into Heb. and Aram. assumed the meaning of "Feminine monarch," hence "Queen consort." So in modern Persian the word *khānum* (in Turkish literally "my lord") has come to mean "lady."

(18) שיזב : from Bab. *Shūzubu*, to deliver, save, Shaphel of *Ezēbu*, to leave, forsake, cease.

(19) שיצא : from Bab. *shūsu*, Shaphel of *ašū*, to come out, go out, Heb. יצא : hence *shēysey* means to complete, end, finish.

These are the principal Babylonian (Assyrian) words used in Daniel. There are also a few words of unknown origin and meaning, to wit :—Petish, Dakhawān, and the proper name Ashpenaz. (We omit the Greek words *συμφωνία*, *ψαλτήριον* and *κίθαρς*.) Taking these in the above order, we have (with suffix of 3rd pl.) in the Kthib both *paṭtishēyhōn* and *pṭishēyhōn* ; in the Qrī *pṭshēyhōn*, which is used in some MSS. in both Kthib and Qrī. The LXX render (perhaps) by *tiaras*, Theodotion by *leggings*. Evidently the meaning was unknown to both, as it still is. The etymology is not known. Nor is this surprising,

* Dr. Pinches doubts this etymology because of the accent falling on the first syllable of *ushum gallu*.

† The word שגל occurs several times in Cooke's *Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions*. Vide Hommel's *Sumerische Lesestücke*, p. 127.

as doubtless words were adopted from Elamitic and other tongues then spoken, but of which we possess only a very few words (Dan. iii, 21). The term evidently means some kind of garment. Possibly the LXX conjectured its derivation from the Gk. *πέτασος*. *Dakhawān* (Dan. vi, 19) is not translated by the LXX, but Theodotion renders *ἐδέσματα*, possibly by conjecture, as the same verse says that Darius was fasting. Possibly it is from an unknown Persian word, as in Armenian we find a word in the pl., *dahamounk'h*, meaning meat offerings, oblations. The sing. would be *daham*, which corresponds with the Aram. word in the text, if we take the *W* for the *m*, as in Sumerian the two sounds were not distinguished from one another. If this conjecture be correct, the word must have been taken into Sumerian from Armenian and thence into Assyrio-Babylonian before being adopted into Aramaic. Or both Aramaic and Armenian may have taken it independently from Sumerian. But it may be genuine Armenian from the root which in Av. is *dag*, and from which in Av. comes *dakhma*, a burning-ground for dead bodies. The root means to burn, in Av., and in Skt. (*dah*), and hence *may* have meant to cook, in Armenian. Against this, however, it must be said that no root of the word has been detected in Armenian, so it is probably a word introduced into that tongue, possibly from the Persian. Jerome follows Theodotion's conjecture, rendering the term by *cibi*. The name *Ashpenaz* (Dan. i, 3) is apparently from some language now unknown. Nor is it strange that such should be the case. In the Aram. papyri there are many such names, most of them probably Egyptian, but it should be observed as negative evidence in favour of the authenticity of Daniel that no *Egyptian* name occurs in it. As *Ashpenaz* is called "chief of the eunuchs," the probability of his having a foreign name, unless (as in other cases) he had been given a Babylonian one, is not remote.

Turning now to the Egypto-Aramaic papyri, we find in them a considerable number of Egyptian, Persian, and Babylonian proper names, and a number of Babylonian words. Omitting the Egyptian element, we may mention the following as a few among those of Persian origin :—

Amudath, Bagafrana, Arshama, Napayan, Mithradath, Artaban, Bagabakhsha, and Ashyadath. Of Babylonian names are the following :—Nusku-idri, Ataidri, Mannu-ki, Nabukuduri-, Bel-bani-, Ishum-kuduri-. It will be noticed that several

of these are given in a contracted form, the final element being omitted. The same thing still occurs in colloquial Arabic, where we hear 'Abdul for 'Abdu'llāh, Bū-Maḥmad for Abū-Muḥammad, etc. This renders it possible to suspect the same system to be the explanation of something similar in the few Babylonian names in Daniel, as we shall soon point out.

Among common nouns derived from Babylonian we have the following, as well as others, in the papyri:—*Eru*, and *Erzu*, kinds of cedar-tree; *Tappu*, breadth, coping (of wood); *khinnu*, part of a ship; *kitinnu*, cotton; *khalluru*, a small part of a shekel; *bābu*, gate, door; *rubū*, interest on money; *appūnā-(ma)*, to the utmost; *She'u*, one one-hundred-and-eightieth part of a shekel; *dīnu u dabābu*, judgment and speech; etc. Others doubtless occur which are not recognizable through the fragmentary nature of the papyri; but the Babylonian element in the language of the papyri seems to be slighter than in Daniel. Were Daniel later than the papyri, one would expect the contrary to be the case, as the Babylonian words would tend to become fewer with the length of time that had elapsed since the departure of the Jews from Babylon.

If the Higher Critics are right in assigning a very late date to Daniel, then, remembering the free way in which the book admits the adoption of Persian official titles, it is astounding that we utterly fail to find in it a single *Greek* official title. The Assouan-Elephantine papyri, too, exhibit the same phenomenon. This is natural, because their dates show that they were composed long before the Macedonian conquest of Palestine and Egypt. Is the explanation of the omission of Greek titles in Daniel due to the fact that the book was written long before the same event? What other explanation can be offered? If the author, writing (according to the critics) about 167–165 B.C., was careless enough to betray himself by using *Persian* titles, is it not strange that he was so clever as to see that the employment of *Greek* titles must be avoided for fear of disclosing the fraud?

Some critics still venture to affirm that the occurrence of the word "Aramaic" in Dan. ii, 4, implies that the writer of the book was of opinion that Aramaic was then the vernacular of Babylon! This is obviously an impossible explanation of the word; for, even about 167–165 B.C., the supposed date of the book (according to the Higher Critical hypothesis), the Babylonian tongue was still spoken there, and the assumed Palestinian

forger cannot have been so ignorant as not to have known the fact. But, apart from this, the writer of Daniel represents *all* the persons mentioned in the book [with the obvious exceptions of Ashpenaz, Cyrus, Darius the Mede, and Xerxes (Ahashuerus)] as having in Babylon not Aramaic but *Babylonian* names conferred upon them. Thus the names there given to Daniel himself and his companions (Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego) are in no case Aramaic, though their original names were quite intelligible to an Aramaic-speaking people, such as some critics still imagine the author of the book to fancy the Babylonians to have been. It is worth while to study these Babylonian names bestowed on foreign captives, in accordance with what Hilprecht (*ut supra*, vol. ix, p. 28) remarks: "That captives and slaves, without regard to their former position and nationality, as a rule received a new name from their Babylonian masters is illustrated by the large number of slaves with pure Babylonian names in the Neo-Babylonian contracts."

Nebuchadnezzar, in Dan. iv, 8, speaks of Daniel's Babylonian name, Belteshazzar, as being "according to the name of" his "God." Dr. Driver (*Camb. Bible for Schools, etc.*, p. 48) kindly explains this by saying: "*Viz.* Bel.* The *Bel* in Belteshazzar is not really the name of the god but, as explained on I, 7, is part of the word *balâtsu*, his life; but it may be only an assonance which the king is represented as expressing," etc.

We are constantly struck with the gracious condescension with which our Higher Critics correct the "blunders" of the Biblical writers, as in this instance, and make allowances for their ignorance of their own and other tongues, which our critics, of course, know so much better! But here (and elsewhere) the ignorance is not that of the Biblical writer but that of the critic. The name Belteshazzar† (Mu)-ballit-shar-usur (*cf.*

* Though the LXX confound the names Belshazzar and Belteshazzar with one another, and write Βελσαζαρ for both, the former occurs in the inscriptions as Bel-shar-usur, "May Bel protect the King." In *this* name, though *not* in Belteshazzar, *Bel* is the first element.

† Dr. Pinches, however, says: "The form Mu-ballit-šar-ušur does not sound right." He suggests that *Belet-shazzar* (the Massoretic pointing) may "possibly be for [Nabu-] beletsh-aššar, or (perhaps better) [Bēl-]beletsh-aššar, *i.e.*, 'Nebo (or Bēl), protect thou his life.' This may have been still further shortened to *Balašsu* or *Balašū*, of which there are many examples in late Babylonian contracts."

Belshazzar, *i.e.* Bel-shar-uşur) means "May the Life-giver preserve the king." Mu-balliṭ (participle act. of the Piel of *balātu*, to live), is a frequently used title of Merodach (Maruduku), who was the god specially honoured by Nebuchadnezzar. This is clear from the names he gave his sons, Marduk-nadin-akhi, Marduk-shum-uşur, and Awel-Marduk (Evil-Merodach) (*vide* Dr. Pinches' paper, "Babylon in the Days of Nebuchadnezzar," *Journal of Vict. Inst.*, vol. lii, pp. 199-208). He speaks of Merodach with deep devotion, as, *e.g.*, in the following passage: "Merodach, all-knowing lord of the gods, glorious prince, thou hast created me and conferred upon me the sovereignty of multitudes of men." Merodach was the great patron-god of Babylon, the seat of his worship. The magnificent temple of E-Şag-ilā was dedicated to him. Even Cyrus represents Merodach as seating him on the throne of Babylon. The omission of the first syllable of the long name, Mu-balliṭ-shar-uşur, is in accordance with the custom of contracting such names, as already explained, and as illustrated in the contraction of *shar-uşur* into *shazzar* in *Belshazzar*. So Nebuchadnezzar was right in speaking of Daniel's Babylonian name as being in accordance with "the name of his god."

Shadrach* (Shudur-aku) means the "Command of Aku," the Moon-god; Meshach is Mē-sha-aku, = Who is what Aku is? (*cf.* examples of *mē*, who?, used in place of the usual *mannu*, in Muss-Arnolt, p. 503); and Abed-nego is either a purposely made Jewish corruption of the actually occurring Abdu-Nabu (*cf.* Ish-Bosheth for Ish-Baal in the Old Testament), or, less probably, a textual corruption of Abed-Nannā, Nannā being a well-known Babylonian goddess. In these names the Divine name of the Hebrew appellations of the captives is replaced by that of a Babylonian deity.

The names given to these men in Babylon are so distinctly *not* Aramaic that it is quite evident that the writer did not fancy or seek to imply that the latter tongue was then the ordinary language of the country. His use of Babylonian, on the contrary, proves that he knew and was convinced that Aramaic was recognised by his readers as *not* being the language of Babylon. Why, therefore, is this part of the book composed in Aramaic?

* Dr. Pinches says: "Shadrach and Meshach remain for me puzzles, as their names do not occur in the inscriptions, and theorising about them is unsafe."

It is hardly possible to answer this question with any certainty, nor is it necessary. The theories on the subject are many. Paul Haupt, while saying, "I cannot believe that the author regarded Biblical Aramaic as the language of Babylonia," assumes that the book was originally written all in Hebrew, and that a certain part being afterwards lost was replaced from an Aramaic version *made by the author soon after writing the original*.* (Polychrome Bible, *sub loco*.) That the Aramaic part was by the author is not at all a strange supposition, for it was customary, at least in Darius' time, to publish versions in several languages, all with the same authority, as the different versions of Darius' inscriptions at Besitūn show. Not a few modern commentators agree in Paul Haupt's suggestion, so we need not say anything more on the point. He may be right, too, in holding that the word "Aramaic" in Dan. ii, 4, is a "later addition to mark the beginning of the Aramaic sections."

It may be well to call attention, in connexion with Babylonian proper names, to a casual remark of Dr. Driver's about Nebuchadnezzar's name as given in Daniel. He writes: "Daniel himself, also, it is probable, would not (unlike both Jeremiah and Ezekiel) have uniformly written the name Nebuchadnezzar incorrectly." (*Daniel*, Introd., p. lxii.) A slight degree of care in examining the text of Daniel would have prevented Dr. Driver from using this argument against the genuineness of the book, for Ginsburg's edition of the Hebrew Bible in I, 1, and in several other places, gives various readings of the king's name, and shows that some MSS. have Nebuchadrezzar, as in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But the objection has not much weight in any case, for a modern English writer could not be condemned for writing of the Kaiser as "William," though called in Berlin "Wilhelm."†

* Such things still occur. For instance, after writing my book entitled *Yanābī' w'l Islām* in Persian, I not long afterwards translated it into English (with modifications), and published it in both languages. I mention this to show that Haupt's suggestion is not an unlikely one.

† Or again a Latin writer about a certain important period of Spanish history could not be accused of ignorance if he used the form *Boabdilus* for the monarch whom Arabic writers entitle Abū 'Abdi-'llāh (أبو عبد الله). In all such cases the popular form would be used in any language but the monarch's own.

We can hardly consider the expression "the Great Sea" (Dan. vii, 2) as a proper name, though the Mediterranean is so called in Joshua i, 4, etc. But in any case the expression is in Babylonian applied to both the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean. The former is more fully described as "the great sea of the going forth of the sun" (*Tiāmtum rabitum sha sit shanshi*, Sennacherib, Taylor Cylinder, IV, 24, and Sch. K.A.T., p. 140, *bis*, also called *tāmtim shapṭiti sha šet shamshi*, the Lower Sea of the sun's going forth), and the latter as "the Upper Sea of the setting of the Sun" (*Tamtim ēlēnitu sha shalam shamshi*), and "the Great Sea of the Amorite land" (K.A.T., pp. 91, 157, 140).

There are various other Babylonianisms in Daniel, apart from Babylonian words already dealt with. For instance, "im lēlyā" (Dan. vii, 2), *with the night, i.e., at night, during the night*, is like the Assyrio-Babylonian *itti balli*, *with (i.e., during) life* (Muss-Arnolt, p. 127). This is accounted for by what we contend was the place of the composition of the book.

II.

We now proceed to deal with the Grammar of Biblical Aramaic as compared with that of the Aramaic papyri. Referring to this subject in general, Eduard Sachau says: "The language in which they" (*i.e.* the Egyptian Aramaic papyri) "are written is in all essential parts identical with that of the Aramaic chapters in the books of Ezra and Daniel, and their phraseology affords close points of contact with that of the official documents in the Book of Ezra."*

This testimony is true, as every student of the subject will admit.

There is only one point in which a slight exception has been detected, *viz.*, that the relative pronoun in Daniel and Ezra (in fact, in all Biblical Aramaic) is uniformly *DĪ*, whereas in the papyri it is usually *ZĪ*, as is the case also in the short Aramaic inscriptions found in Nineveh and Babylon, as well as in Cilicia,

* "Die Sprache, in der sie geschrieben sind, ist in allen wesentlichen Stücken identisch mit derjenigen der aramäischen Kapitel in den Büchern Esra und Daniel, und ihre Phraseologie bietet nahe Berührungen mit derjenigen der amtlichen Urkunden im Esrabuch" (*Drei aramäische Pap.*, p. 3).

Tema, Egypt, and some other places. Dr. Driver, however, makes far too much of this matter when he styles it "A particularly clear indication that the Aramaic of Daniel was not that spoken in Babylon in the fifth century B.C." (*Dan.*, Introduction, p. lx). The fact is that, though (as we have said) ZI is *generally* used in these papyri, it is not *always* employed. The same may be said with reference to the demonstrative pronoun, which in Daniel and Biblical Aramaic in general is *dēk*, *dikkēn*, *m.*; *dāk*, *f.*; *dēnāh*, *com.*, *dā*, *f.*; but in Egyptian and Cappadocian Aramaic *zēk*, *m.*; *dēkā*, *dēkī*, *f.*; *zēnāh*, *zēnāk*, *com.* Dr. Driver holds that the difference is distinctive as shewing that (1) the forms with a Z are *older* than those in D, and (2) that they are Palestinian, whereas those with Z are Babylonian. Hence he thinks the Book of Daniel *cannot* have been composed anywhere but in Palestine, nor can it belong to an early date. But the papyri, when carefully studied, seem to me to refute the second conclusion and seriously to modify the first. *For we find forms in D here and there in the papyri*, as:—In P. 13478, line 9, and in P. 13491, line 23, we have *dēnāh*; and in P. 27198, lines 7, 11, 16 (dated 10th of the month Mesere, = 3rd of Chisleu, in the nineteenth year of King Artaxerxes, *i.e.*, 446 B.C.) *dīlakī* is used, not *zīlakī* (Cowley and Sayce, *Aramaic Papyri from Assouan*, pp. 40, 41). In a papyrus dated thirteenth of Ab, in the twenty-fifth year of Artaxerxes (440 B.C.), fragments 6 and 9 respectively, *dēkā* and *dēkī* occur. The B.D.B. Hebrew Lexicon itself admits this. Hence it follows that at the time of the writing of these papyri, which were *not* written in Palestine, nor in the Macedonian period, both the forms in Z and those in D were in use. But the difference between the two forms was this, that the Z form represents the older way of writing such words, and was generally retained in writing long after the D form had taken its place in ordinary speech. The tendency was for the latter gradually to win its way into writing also. But we are dealing not with two *dialects*, but merely with the older and the later way of writing. There can be no doubt at all as to the relative antiquity of the Z and D forms, as in the Assyrian and Babylonian docketts in Aramaic affixed to Cuneiform documents the D never occurs, only the Z form. Hence we may grant that, if genuine, the Book of Daniel must have originally had the Z, not as at present the D forms. But it would be a natural thing to adopt the D forms throughout the book, instead of the older method of spelling, when the older

had gone completely out of use. That a later, but unsuccessful, attempt to bring the spelling up to date was made with reference to other words also is clear from the fact that the Qrī is much nearer to the spelling of the *Targums* than the Kthīb. Not a page of Ginsburg's edition of the text is destitute of examples of this. But in this later revision the text was not altered, only the pronunciation. The change of the Z forms into those in D must have been made much earlier.

To shew the error of Driver's contention that the use of the D forms in Daniel proves its composition to be late, it is enough to urge two other considerations. One is that the D forms are in the present text used throughout *all* Biblical Aramaic, and yet it is admitted fairly generally that the historical documents in Ezra-Nehemiah are genuine. If the D *versus* Z argument fails here, and is admitted to be of no validity, the same applies to Daniel too. The other matter of importance is to note Eduard Sachau's change of mind as to the time when the alteration in the pronunciation of Aramaic introduced the D forms into the spelling. He writes: "The transition in Aramaic from the oldest to the younger sound-duration is thus prepared for, not in the age of Alexander, as I formerly assumed, . . . but, on the contrary, as early as the middle of the time of the Achæmenides" (*op. cit.*, p. 35). It is right that such a distinguished German Orientalist should thus frankly admit that he was mistaken in fancying that it was in the Alexandrian period that the D forms gradually took the place of those in Z, whereas it is now evident that the change occurred much earlier. But his admission confutes Dr. Driver's contention that Daniel could not have been written in Babylon or in a period earlier than the Alexandrian.

We may remark that it was not only in certain pronouns that the change of Z into D gradually took place in Aramaic but in many nouns too. It is well known that one of the characteristic features in that language is its use of D where in Hebrew Z occurs.* But these Egyptian Aramaic papyri introduce us to a period at which, though the D had come into the pronunciation very commonly, it had not yet been generally accepted in place of Z in writing. Sachau quotes the following

* So, too, the change of *sh* into *t* or *th* is characteristic of Aramaic. In P. 13491, line 5, dated 457 B.C., 𐤃𐤍 occurs for the usual 𐤃𐤍 . Cf. Dan. v, 25.

instances of the change in nouns, giving the reference to his edition of three papyri, viz., מִדְּבַחַי in II, line 24 ; and III, line 3 ; also דְּבַחַן in I, line 28. In P. 13491, line 9, the later form דְּרַב, gold, occurs for the earlier דְּרַב, so too elsewhere.

Anyone acquainted with the Near East and the Semitic words used in the dialects of modern Arabic and adopted into modern Persian, Urdū, and Turkish, will find no difficulty in understanding the change from Z into D in Aramaic. For instance, in the modern Arabic vernacular dialects of Syria and Palestine, while in one village the word for "male" is pronounced *Zeker*, in another one hears the pronunciation *Deker*, while the literary form of the word is *Dhakar*, which is still recognised as the correct way of pronouncing it. Again, the classical Arabic word Dhū, Dhī, is in some places pronounced Dzū, Dzī, in others Zū, Zī. So the Classical Hā-dhīhi (this, *f.*) is commonly changed in the vernacular of Syria into Dī, placed after instead of before its noun. The Arabic letter *Dh* (ذ : in form a dotted D) represents the transition between the older Z sound and the later D sound in Aramaic. Thus the earlier Z was often doubtless pronounced Dhi, before it finally became D. In the Semitic languages the change is quite an easy and gradual one even to the present day.

Here we should call attention to the degree in which the grammar of the Aramaic (of both Biblical Aramaic and the language of the Aramaic papyri) has been affected by the influence of the Babylonian language ; or at least how the Aramaic of the fifth century B.C., Biblical or otherwise, while differing from later Aramaic, both Western and Eastern, agrees in certain respects with the Babylonian language. Assyrio-Babylonian tablets show that it was quite a usual thing to use the *masculine* instead of the *feminine* form of a verb when coupled with a feminine noun ; and also that the affixed pronoun often remained *masculine*, though referring to a preceding feminine noun. A few examples will suffice to prove this fact, which is well known to all Assyrian scholars. For instance, in the Creation Tablets we read : "Tiamat annita ina shemishā mahhutash *itēmi*, *ushanni* tēnshā" ; on her hearing this Tiamat *spoke* (masc. form) distractedly, she (lit. *he*) changed her mind. (Tablet IV, 87, 88.) So too : "Ipush-mā sapara shulma qirbish Tiāmat ; irbitti shāri ushtišbita, ana lā ašie mimmēshā : shāra shūta, shāra ishtāna, shāra shadu, shāra amurra" ; And he

made the net safe (?) around Tiāmat, he seized the four winds that she might not in any wise escape, the south wind, the north wind, the east wind, the west wind. (Tablet IV, 41, 43.) Of Ishtar it is said: "Ana shamami ētēlā"; She (lit. *he*) went up to the skies. (Nimrod-Epos, 45, 81.) Again: "Teumman kiam iqbi, sha Ishtar *ushannu* milik tēmēshu": So spoke Teumman, the course of whose plan Ishtar *had deranged* (masc. form). (Smith's *Assurbanipal*, 119, 23.) In Daniel the same construction frequently occurs, though it is contrary to the grammar of later Western and Eastern Aramaic alike. Examples will be found in Dan. vii, 8, 19, etc., where in the Kthib the *masc.* form of the verb is used, just as in these Assyrio-Babylonian examples with *fem.* nouns. In the Qrī, on the contrary, the grammar is changed and the verb used in the *fem.*, according to later usage. So masculine pronominal suffixes are constantly employed instead of feminine; as, e.g., in Dan. vii, 8, 12, 19, and in many other places. *All such are corrected in the Qrī.* They are not, however, mistakes of the transcriber, but proofs of antiquity; for *the same thing is found in the papyri.* For instance, in P. 13495, lines 18, and 20, 24, 27, the *masc.* occurs for the *fem.*,* but no attempt has been made at correction, the idiom being then admitted as in Daniel. Here again the papyri prove the fact that Daniel was not the composition of the late period to which the Higher Critics in general attribute it.

A glance at the various readings in the Massoretic text of Daniel, published by Ginsburg, will convince the reader that the Jews in later, but still early, times found that in a large number of details the spelling and the grammar of Daniel (and in somewhat slighter measure that of the Aramaic of Ezra-Nehemiah) differed from that finally recognized as correct. That is to say, the Biblical Aramaic is in these respects archaic in comparison with what ultimately came to be recognised as the proper literary standard for composition in the language. For example, in Daniel and Biblical Aramaic generally the definite pl. of *masc.* nouns ending in *-ay* in the sing. is *-āyē*,

* As another instance of the same idiom from Assyrian we give the following: "Issuk mulmula, ikhtepi karash-sha (var. -shu)"; He placed the spear, he rent her (var. *his*, though referring to Tiamat) belly (Creation Tablets, IV, 101). So in Contract Tablets, *-ka* (thy, *masc.*) is often used for *-ki* (thy, *fem.*), especially, perhaps, in Nabu-nahid's time. *Vide* Tallquist, "Die Sprache der Contracte Nabu-na'id's," and Muss-Arn., p. 362.

(𐤒𐤓) and so too in the papyri; but in the later Aramaic it becomes *-āēy* (𐤒𐤓). Hence in Dan. iii, 2, the Kthīb has *Tiptāyē* (𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕), as in line 4 of Section B of the Strassburg Papyrus (there written 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕), while the Qrī has *tiphtāēy*, in accordance with later idiom. Instances of this kind are very numerous. In Daniel the termination 𐤕 is often used where later usage prefers the easier sound 𐤒. So, too, the shin is preferred to samech in the word 𐤑𐤒, though in later works the samech always takes the place of the rougher *shin*:—*sīn* (𐤑), being put into the older books to represent the transition stage in this word. In Daniel the 2nd pl. masc. suffixed pers. pronoun assumes in the Kthīb the form *-āyk*; and so too in the papyri; but in the Qrī we find, as in the Targums and later Aramaic, the form *-āk* (𐤕). The 2nd sing. masc. pronoun, *thou*, is in the ordinary language *ant*, and is so written in the papyri, but in Daniel the longer and older form *antāh* (𐤒𐤕𐤕) occurs, which must be an earlier form, judging by the form of the word in Arabic. The verb in Biblical Aramaic has long been admitted to preserve conjugations* which became either entirely obsolete or at least very rare in later Aramaic, both Eastern and Western. Thus we find the causative Haphel instead of Aphel, forming a connecting link between the latter and the older Shaphel, common in Babylonian, and in Daniel represented by two verbs. 𐤑𐤒𐤕 𐤑𐤒𐤕, borrowed directly from the Babylonian. So, too, Daniel often uses Hithpeal and Hithpaal instead of the later Ithpeal and Ithpaal respectively; Hophal occurs some ten or eleven times, though very rarely in what might be called classical Aramaic. However, it is occasionally found in Nabathæan inscriptions. All this is true of the verbal forms in use in the papyri also. Perhaps the only construction found in Daniel and not (with two possible exceptions)† in the papyri is the future with preformative *l*. But this is doubtless due to the use of the prefix *lu* used in Babylonian. In the later Aramaic this *l*, except in “the language of legal style, in some ancient proverbs, and in all standing expressions” (Levias, *Aramaic Grammar*, p. 68), more commonly

* In Daniel and in the papyri, for instance, we find the conjugation *Hanphel* with verbs commencing with 𐤕, such as 𐤕𐤒. Vide Dan. ii, 21; iv, 3.

† Vide 𐤒𐤕𐤕 in P. 13495, line 7, and P. 13467, line 6.

n, forms the preformative of the future ; but in Biblical Aramaic the old preformative *y* is employed, as in the papyri. The *l* had originally an optative or jussive meaning, as it usually has in Daniel, though sometimes it has the meaning of the future. In Daniel it occurs only in the verb "to be."

The personal pronouns of the 3rd pers. pl. in Biblical Aramaic are not those used in classical Aramaic, but agree with those found in the papyri.

It is remarkable that, while the papyri generally spell the Persian regal name Darius somewhat differently from that adopted in Biblical Aramaic, the only place in which the spelling of this word is precisely the same as in the Bible is in P. 13489, which is in all probability the oldest in the whole collection from Assouan and Elephantine, being dated second of the month Epiphi, year thirty-seven of Darius (I), *i.e.* 494 B.C. In this MS. the king's name is written דריוש, as in Dan. vi, 1 (Aram.); while in other and later papyri the spellings are דריווש, etc.* Strangely enough, on the other hand, in the next oldest papyrus, P. 13493, dated the twenty-eighth of Paophi, second (?) year of Xerxes, *i.e.* 482 B.C., that king's name is *not* spelled quite as in the Biblical Aramaic, but in a manner which is nearer to the original Persian. Yet here, too, we find that there is a reason, for the Biblical spelling of the name is taken from the *Babylonian* Akhshiwارش, represented exactly in the form used in Dan. ix, 1. This serves to shew a close connexion between Babylon and the composition of Daniel. The Biblical form of each name is thus proved not to be late, but very early, and to have good authority to support it.

It would expand this Paper too much were we to mention in detail all the various matters in which a careful study of the papyri supports the antiquity of Daniel. But we cannot conclude without a brief mention of one other fact of no slight importance. There are in Daniel not a few words regarding the meaning of which the LXX translators were in considerable perplexity, and this perplexity expressed itself in later translations also. Sometimes the translators made a guess at the meaning of such words, guided by the context, at other times they contented themselves with merely transliterating what they could not translate. Examples are not far to seek. For in Dan. i, 11, 16, the LXX cannot translate דמלצר, but

* The form in Dan. is that used in Bab., the other the Persian.

substitute (it is hard to say why) the name 'Αβισδρί. In Dan. v, 2, 23, they omit the words that mean "thy queens and thy concubines," being unable to interpret them. So in Dan. vi, 19, the word דָּחַן, which we have shewn probably denotes food, is either rendered *λυπούμενος* or omitted. In Dan. i, 5, a mistake of much less importance, but still an error, occurs, when פִּתְיֹבֵג, meaning royal delicacies, is represented by *τράπεζα*. In Dan. iii, 2, 3, in one MS. Dr. Swete gives *θαβθαιους* as representative of the term תַּפְתִּינָא, rather a bad attempt at transliteration. In Dan. i, 20, אֲשַׁפִּים (the enchanters) is rendered *φιλόσοφοι*. In Dan. ii, 5, 8, אֲזִנָּה, which means "certain, fixed; information," is represented by *ἀπέστη*, which is evidently a bad guess founded on the context. In Dan. ii, 27, the word גִּזְרִין is merely transliterated, no attempt being made to translate it. The explanation of this is clear. Dr. Swete* well says, "In the majority of instances transliteration may be taken for a frank confession of ignorance or doubt." But, if we for a moment assume the Higher Critics' theory that Daniel was composed about 167-5 B.C. in Palestine it is impossible to give a satisfactory explanation of such ignorance. We do not know who the translators of the Book of Daniel into Greek were, though for convenience' sake we speak of the LXX version of Daniel in contradistinction to Theodotion's version. At any rate they did their work very badly and carelessly. But at latest it would be rash to date the translation later than about 100 B.C. In fact it is probably a score or so of years earlier. If, then, the Critics' theory be correct, in the course of some three score years a number of Aramaicised words used in Daniel had become so completely forgotten in Egypt (where the LXX version is supposed to have been made) that they had become unintelligible, and had either to be (erroneously) guessed at or merely transliterated. That some of these very words were used in the papyri and intended to be understood both in Egypt and Palestine not long before makes the matter still more strange. But all difficulty is removed if we are right in concluding that Daniel was composed in Babylonia, or by one who had long lived there, not long after the Persian acquisition of that country, who knew Babylonian and at least the Persian words most likely to be in use in Babylon late in the sixth

* *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 324.

century B.C., and who, both in Hebrew and Aramaic, wrote in almost colloquial style and, being an honest, God-fearing man himself, wrote for the information of men like minded in his own and future generations, leaving the issue to his God.

Οὐκ ἄρα πάνυ ἡμῖν οὕτω φροντιστέον, τί ἔρουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ὁ ἐπαίων περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων, ὁ εἶς, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια.

(Socrates.)

APPENDIX.

KINGS OF THE NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE.

Nabopalassar	..	..	..	625-604 B.C.
Nebuchadrezzar II.	..	..	..	604-561.
Evil-Merodach	..	..	..	561-560.
Nergal-sharezar	..	..	..	559-556.
(Labosoarchad)	..	..	..	556.
Nabo-nidus (Nabu-nahid)	..	..	..	555-539.

PERSIAN KINGS.

Cyrus..	..	..	..	538-529 B.C.
Cambyses	..	..	..	529-522.
Bardiya. (Nidinta-Bel).				
Darius I	..	..	..	521-486.
Xerxes I	..	..	..	485-466.
Artaxerxes I	..	..	..	466-425.
Xerxes II	..	..	..	424-424.
Darius II	..	..	..	424-405.
Artaxerxes II	..	..	..	405-358.
Artaxerxes III	..	..	..	358-338.
Arses	..	..	..	338-335.
Darius III	..	..	..	335-332.

Alexander the Great overthrew Darius III and made himself master of the Persian Empire, including Palestine and Egypt, in 332 B.C.

DISCUSSION.

After reading the paper Professor PINCHES then said : The paper is now open for discussion. I have already, when reading it, spoken of a few points which occurred to me, and these I will now repeat with any others which may seem desirable.

We all know that it is utterly impossible for two nations to be in close connexion without borrowing from each other, and Dr. Tisdall has rightly included in his paper all the philological arguments which could possibly be brought forward. In opening the discussion, I feel bound not only to refer to the arguments in favour of his views, but also those against—absolute correctness is essential in such a case as this, the date of the Book of Daniel. For this reason the argument from the Sumerian *ukkin*, compared with the Greek *ἠκεανός* is inadmissible. On the other hand, in the matter of the date of the word for “elephant” in Assyrio-Babylonian, the point is greatly strengthened when the real history of the word *pīru* is stated. This word does not occur spelled out in the wedge-written characters of the Assyrian historical inscriptions, but is there always given ideographically, expressed by the characters AM-SI. It is from the bilingual lists that we get the Semitic Babylonian pronunciation of *pīru*. Now, the date of the drawing-up of these lists is doubtful, but a moderate estimate would fix their compilation somewhere between 1500 and 2000 B.C. If the word came from Persia, this would give an example of the introduction of a Persian word at a much earlier date than the author indicates. The question remains, however, whether the non-existence of *l* in old Persian would argue against this. [The occurrence of *l* is common enough in modern Persian, and it seems, therefore, exceedingly unlikely that the ancient Persians were unable to pronounce that sound.]

It is needless to say that the wealth of philological material which the author has collected to prove his argument is of the highest importance, and forms in itself an exceedingly strong series of arguments in favour of an early date for the composition of the Book. To my mind, however, the strongest argument which he brings forward is that to which I have already referred, namely, the ignorance of the Septuagint translator of the meanings of certain doubtful words in the Book of Daniel. [Among these may be mentioned the

author's reference to the Heb. *hammelsar*, reproduced in the Gk. by *Abiesdri*—Bagster's Septuagint, however, has the bad transcription *Amelsad*, for *Amelsar*; the rendering of *ashshaphim*, "necromancers" as *philosophoi*; the transliteration of *gazrin*, "fate-determiners," etc.] These alone necessitate a much earlier date for Daniel than 167 B.C. With regard to the interchange in the Aramaic dialects of *d* and *z*, it is to be noted that the latter is the natural outcome of the former. In English the soft *th*, in the mouth of a foreigner easily becomes *z*, and this is also the case in the Semitic languages, [It was the case likewise in Assyrian, where *ihthi*, with the sound of sharp *th*, became, in the provinces, *issi*.] I hope that sufficient of this important paper has been read to enable it to be discussed—probably members of the audience have been able to read some of the omitted portions in the intervals of waiting.

Lieut.-Col. MACKINLAY said: I have the greatest pleasure in seconding this vote of thanks to our learned author, and I join with our Chairman in sincere wishes for his speedy recovery.

Our Chairman has piloted us skilfully through this somewhat formidable but very valuable paper. I cannot pretend to any knowledge of the linguistic questions involved, but, thanks to the clearness of expression of our author, the main outline of his paper seems to be simple.

It appears that the Higher Critics have given an illustration of the old saying that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." Misled by some acquaintance with the ancient languages, they falsely assumed that the inclusion of foreign words in the records of a nation indicates that it has been conquered by that foreign country to which the words belonged. A moment's consideration should have assured the critics of the rashness of their assumption. As well might it be assumed that because we adopt, for instance, the words *bazaar* and *hookah* we have been conquered by the natives of India.

But Egypt contained, as our author has pointed out, plain evidences which have thoroughly upset the confident assertion of more than a quarter of a century that "no Old Testament scholar of any repute now maintains that the book was written by Daniel."

The evidences now produced by Dr. St. Clair Tisdall could have

been examined by Dr. Peake when he wrote his recent commentary, but he was not apparently up to date, and he failed to find out what our author has recognised, that the language of the book of Daniel corresponds in linguistic details with the comparatively recently discovered Assouan and Elephantine papyri which are so elaborately dated during the period 500 B.C. to 400 B.C.

This is not the first time that the confident assertions of Higher Critics have been negatived by the records preserved in the dry climate of Egypt. Some twenty years ago it was their habit confidently to say that Luke was in error in saying that people went to be enrolled at their own homes, because no such record outside the New Testament was known. A confident argument based on negative evidence is always dangerous, and after this rash denial of St. Luke's accuracy was made, the actual Roman enrolment documents were discovered in Egyptian rubbish heaps, some being of the first century, ordering all to go for enrolment to their own homes.

Thus in two instances documents have been found in the dry sands of Egypt which contradict the deduction of critics who denied the truth of Scripture. Having proved the Higher Critics false guides in these two instances, is it not wise to decline to follow them in others ?

We owe a debt of gratitude to our author for proving so conclusively the early date of Daniel, and we trust his paper may be widely circulated and studied.

The Rev. A. H. FINN said : It would be an impertinence for me to attempt to criticise a paper the greater part of which deals with matters outside the range of my own studies. I can only sit humbly at the feet of so erudite a scholar as the writer. Yet there are two little points on which I can offer remarks which may be of some little use.

(1) Interchange of D and Z (pp. 237-239) :

Familiar from my childhood with colloquial Arabic, I can testify to the fact that in Palestinian Arabic the letter *Dhal* is frequently pronounced as Z. Is it not possible that this may be a survival of the Western Aramaic pronunciation ? That would account for the Z found in the Aramaic of the Egyptian papyri. In that case, it

would be the more improbable that the Aramaic of "Daniel," showing the D form, was composed or written in Palestine.

(2) LXX rendering of דְּהַמְלִיצַר in Dan. i, 11, 16 (p. 243):

What MS. authority there may be for the substitution of *Αβιεσδρι*, I do not know, but Carpzov's edition gives *'Αμελσαδ* as the reading of the Vatican Codex, and *'Αμερσαρ* as that of the Alexandrian. Both these seem to be derivable from an original *'Αμελσαρ* which would be the ordinary Greek transliteration of the Hebrew letters, treating however the definite article as though it were part of a proper name, an error found in other parts of the LXX.

Allusion was made by the last speaker to the transliterations and mistranslations in the LXX version of the Psalms, especially in the superscriptions. Precisely similar evidences of ignorance are to be found even in the Pentateuch, and these seem to me to be clear indications that the translators were dealing with documents that were already of great antiquity.

Mr. W. E. LESLIE said: On p. 239 Dr. Tisdall suggests that there has been an alteration of the Kthīb (the Z-D change). On p. 241 a change is found in the Qrī only. If some changes were made while the text was fluid and others after it had solidified, should not this fact furnish additional material for the determination of the date?

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS referred to Dr. Tisdall's point on p. 233, that no Greek titles occurred in the Book of Daniel, which could hardly have been avoided by one writing long after the conquest of Palestine by the Greeks, as the Critics held was the case, while the use of Persian titles by Daniel was quite likely, seeing he no doubt wrote in his old age some years after the Persian conquest of Babylon.

The fact that foreign words did not appear in inscriptions and legal instruments about the date of Daniel, while he made use of them, proved nothing, as was seen to-day by the fact that French terms occurred in the present-day literature while they were not found either in the inscriptions or legal contracts of to-day which were usually framed in purer English of a somewhat archaic type. He had recently noticed in reading some parts of Scott which he had

not perused before certain words which he had hitherto regarded as quite modern, at least in the way they were now used. His acquaintance with literature of the age of Scott, though small, embraced more, comparatively speaking, than all that had come down to us of the age of Daniel, which shewed how unsafe it was to argue that a word appearing in Daniel could not have been in use in his lifetime merely because it was not found in the small fraction of literature of his age which had reached us.

Dr. Tisdall's argument at the close of his paper, based on the Septuagint transliteration of some words, that they must have been sufficiently archaic to have become unintelligible to the translators was paralleled in the case of the titles of many of the Psalms. Both these incidents showed that the respective works in which the words occurred must have existed for a sufficient time before the translation was made for the meaning of these words to have been lost, which proved that the Higher Critics were wrong in dating the Psalms for the period of the Exile, and Daniel for the reign of Antiochus the Great, as those dates were too near that of the Septuagint to allow of the meaning of the words to have been lost—a longer time being necessarily required in the case of Psalms in daily use than that of literary remains like Daniel.

He thought we might congratulate ourselves on the fact that two such learned men as Dr. Tisdall and our Chairman, Dr. Pinches, were satisfied that there was nothing in the Book of Daniel inconsistent with his having written it, and he pointed out the importance of this in consequence of the prophecy (in the ninth chapter) of the Seventy weeks, which fixed the time when the Messiah was to come, over four hundred years before He came, a thing impossible without divine revelation.

When a Higher Critic like Professor Peake writes that no Old Testament scholar of any repute now maintains that the Book was written by Daniel he appears like the fabled ostrich which when pursued by its enemies hid its head in the sand in order to imagine that its pursuers did not exist.

The Rev. J. E. H. THOMSON, M.A., D.D., writes : I was particularly glad when I saw in the syllabus of this session of the Victoria Institute Lectures that one was to be on the date of Daniel, and by so competent a scholar as Dr. Tisdall. It is approximately

thirty years ago since I contributed a series of articles to a theological magazine, since defunct, on the Aramaic of Daniel. As at that time the papyri of Assouan and Elephantine were as yet undiscovered, my efforts were directed to prove that the Aramaic of Daniel was older than that of Ezra and very much older than that of the *Targums*. Shortly after I was employed by the editor of the *Pulpit Commentary* to write that on Daniel, which was published some four and twenty years ago. All these things gave me a very special interest in Dr. Tisdall's paper.

The paper itself has more than justified my expectation. The numerous illustrations from Persian and from the cuneiform inscriptions were decidedly refreshing and make me regret that Dr. Tisdall's lecture had not been published twenty-five or thirty years, so that I might have benefited by it in my commentary on Daniel. Dr. Tisdall will, I am sure, pardon me when I venture a few criticisms. I understand Dr. Tisdall to hold that in Babylon it was only the foreign and trading population (p. 220, l. 10 from the bottom) who spoke Aramaic. I am under the belief that Babylonian—the language of the inscriptions—had long ceased to be spoken, and it seems to me that the fact that, while the contract tables are in the Babylonian language and in cuneiform character, the doquets are usually in Aramaic proves this. A parallel case may be found in Scotland. Certain deeds in connexion with the transference of land were, about two hundred years ago, usually written in Latin and in black letter, but the doquets were always in English. The natural interpretation of this, it seems to me, is that Aramaic was the language spoken by everybody, but that documents of importance were written in Babylonian. This is the decision of Dr. Hugo Winckler in his *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (p. 179), writing of the reign of Asshur-nazir-pal—“Aramaic soon became the language of social intercourse in nearly the whole of Mesopotamia and expelled the Assyrio-Babylonian, which continued only as a literary tongue.” It is possible that Dr. Tisdall does not mean to restrict the speaking of Aramaic merely to “the foreign and trading community” of Babylon; if so, I crave pardon for misunderstanding him. There is another point I wish Dr. Tisdall had taken into consideration, *i.e.* the fact that the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra is Western, not Eastern, Chaldee—

to use the older name, not Syriac. My own idea is that it resulted from the copyists. As the ancient scribes wrote to dictation the reader of the MS. would be prone to assimilate the language he read to that he was accustomed to use. A parallel instance is the Anglicization a Scottish song undergoes when it is printed in London. While Dr. Tisdall notes the fact that זי (*zi*) of the monuments is replaced by די (*di*) he does not notice the use of נִצְרָן instead of the older נִצְרָתָא found on the monuments and in Jeremiah x, 11. I would suggest that the pronunciation of the cognate Arabic letters in Palestine affords a parallel. The letter *qoph*, so difficult for an Occidental to pronounce, is softened, into *ain* or even further to *hunza* or little *ain*. The change in regard to *zi* is the converse; many Palestinians pronounce dotted *dal* as if it were *zeel*. A scribe who knew Western Aramaic would be prone to assimilate the Eastern Aramaic to the dialect to which he was accustomed. The question of the Greek names of musical instruments assumes a slightly different aspect when the result of scribal variation is taken into account. In regard to *symphonia*: its position in the text is by no means certain, as it seems to me, though certainly as a piece of controversial tactics it was perhaps well to give the opponents all the advantage they can claim. We have to do with five texts: the Massoretic Kthib and Qri—the LXX—Theodotion and the Peshitta—and there are four successive times in which the list of instruments occur in each of these. In the Massoretic in the second list, III 7, *sumphonia* does not occur at all; in the third the Kthib gives *siphonia*, although according to the Qri it is to be read *sumphonia*; in the LXX it occurs in the first and last lists; in Theodotion only in the last; while in the Peshitta the place of *sumphonia* is occupied by *tyiphonia*, which appears to be the same word as *siphonia* according to the Kthib in the third list. These phenomena would be explicable if *sumphonia* was added as an explanation. It must be observed that *sumphonia* does not in passages in Polybius necessarily mean a musical instrument; it may mean a chorus of singers. It is assumed the *pesanterin* must be *psalterion*; but another possible derivation is from the Egyptian *pe sautore*, "the chorus." I do not say it is a true etymology, but it might be one which would suggest itself to a Greek-speaking Egyptian and he would add as explanatory of *sumphonia* on the margin. The frequent intercourse

between the Jewish communities in Egypt and Palestine might lead to the same explanatory note being added to the margin. Perhaps it is better to assume the claim to be correct, but call upon the Critics to recognise that musical terms pass easily from country to country.

I have a somewhat higher estimate of the Chisian Daniel than has Dr. Tisdall. There has certainly been some carelessness in translation, but in some cases I am under the impression that the LXX translator had another Hebrew before him and that this explains some of its differences from the Massoretic text and also from Theodotion. I think there is another thing to be considered. Is it not probable that the several chapters of the Book of Daniel were issued as separate tracts and that they continued separate for some time and sustained separate treatment—the separate tracts—both in Egypt and in Palestine? We must remember that the text of Daniel was not protected as was the Law and the Megilloth by being read in the synagogue. May I remark I am puzzled by a statement Dr. Tisdall makes in regard to *Sarbal* (p. 216): “The LXX render it by *anaxurides*,” adding in a note “In some MSS.” I understand that the *Codex Chisianus* was the sole exemplar of the Hexaplaric text of Daniel. Schleusner quotes Symmachus as having this rendering.

I have already given too long an excursus on Dr. Tisdall’s paper. At the same time let me express a hope that he will give us further results of his study of Daniel. Perhaps the Critics will listen to him. Usually they ignore opponents. Mr. Sonnenschein, who wrote a guide to readers in Dr. Williams’ Library, condemns indiscriminately all who defend the traditional date of Daniel and commends with equal lack of discrimination all who assail it. He even commends that blundering book of the late Dean Farrar, a book that blunders even in arithmetic and founds arguments on these blunders. The Critics are afraid of their opponents, they endeavour to hinder publication of books or articles, and if published try to keep people from reading them. It seems to me that the main obstacle to the critical acceptance of the authenticity of Daniel is the presence in it of the miraculous. But a Christianity without miracle would have no salvation for man. Again let me thank Dr. Tisdall.

Professor W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE writes from the British School of Archæology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account, University

College, Gower Street, London: "The question about Greek words in Daniel hardly needs any notice in your paper. The intercourse of Jew and Greek must have been incessant at the frontier garrison Tahpanhes from 660 B.C. onward. The refugees of Johanan's party (who left behind the name of 'The palace of the Jew's daughter') were preceded doubtless by others flying from the sieges and invasions of Jerusalem in 607, 603 and 599, as well as in 588 B.C. As I wrote (thirty-three years ago): 'Numbers of the upper and more cultivated classes were continually thrown into the company of Greeks; all who could afford to flee, had to become more or less acquainted with Greek language and ideas,' there was 'a continual ebb and flow of alternate dwelling in the Greek settlement and of return to their own land. . . . The bearing of this on the employment of Greek names for musical instruments . . . is too obvious to need mention in detail' (*Tanis II, Nebeshek, and Defenneh*, pp. 49, 50; 1888). 'For three generations before the end of the monarchy the Greeks must have been familiar to the more enterprising of the Jews; and probably many a *kaithros*, *psanteria* and *sumphonyah* . . . had been traded over to Jerusalem to the Greek colony' (*Egypt and Israel*, pp. 87, 88; 1911). You will find the matter in detail in these two books. I congratulate Dr. Tisdall on his paper."

The PRESIDENT then said: It is exceedingly regrettable that the author has been unable to attend and comment upon the points raised by those who have kindly joined in the discussion. The Rev. A. H. Finn's remarks were especially interesting, and I am glad to know his opinion concerning the interchange of *d* and *z*—as he has lived in the nearer East, he can naturally speak with authority on this point. The change between *d* (*dh*) and *z* is common in the Semitic languages—it is the distinguishing mark between the Aramaic and the Hebrew branches.

With regard to the other points touched upon, in the absence of the author, and at this late hour, I think it best to leave them unanswered—we do not know what the author's reply would be if he were here. I will only ask you, therefore, to join in a vote of condolence with him and his family in the illness from which he is suffering.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

I am very grateful to those Members of the Victoria Institute who have so kindly criticised my paper, and specially so to Dr. Pinches, who has communicated to me certain suggestions in writing. These I have incorporated in the revised edition of the paper. To this fact I owe the excision of my suggested derivation of *ἠκεανός*, referred to in Dr. Pinches' remarks on p. 246. Of course, the ancient Persians may have been able to pronounce the letter *l*, which occurs so frequently in modern Persian; but neither the Achæmenian nor the Avestic alphabet contains any sign for that letter. I am glad to find that my arguments as to the antiquity of the Book of Daniel are confirmed by such scholars as Dr. Pinches and Prof. Flinders Petrie.

I should perhaps add that my references to the Septuagint are to Dr. Swete's edition of the LXX, as published at the Cambridge University Press in 1912 (Vol. III). The Editor informs us that in this edition "The Septuagint text has been derived from Cozza's transcript of the Chigi MS., but it has been thought desirable to follow Tischendorf's example and to give at the foot of the page the readings of the Syro-hexaplaric version, our only other authority." But in Dan. i, 3, 11, 16, Swete does not note any reading but *Ἀβιεσδρί*. Hence, though aware that other editions have *Ἀμελσάδ* and *Ἀμερσάρ*, I did not mention them. Dr. Thomson has not noticed my reference to Jer. x, 11, in p. 229, No. 32. I take this opportunity of thanking all the scholars who have dealt so kindly with my paper.

633RD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, JUNE 6TH, 1921,

AT 4.30 P.M.

WILLIAM DALE, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the Hon. Secretary announced the Election of Dr. Frank B. Rostro as an Associate.

The CHAIRMAN then, after some opening remarks, called on the Rev. Prebendary H. E. Fox, M.A., to read his paper on "The Roman Wall in North Britain," which was illustrated by lantern slides.

THE ROMAN WALL IN NORTH BRITAIN. By the
REV. PREBENDARY H. E. FOX, M.A.

IMPERIAL Rome has left many traces of her occupation of England, besides the great roads and local names which still record her presence and power. But few are so interesting, both in character and fullness, as that which is still popularly known as "The Roman Wall," stretching across the two northern counties from sea to sea. It has been examined and described by a long succession of antiquarians, and probably nowhere else in the British Isles have been found so many and so varied remains illustrating the military, religious and social conditions of the foreign garrison which held this country for at least two hundred years.

A brief mention of a few historic names and their dates may help to fix our mental perspective. Julius Cæsar landed with troops on the south coast of Britain in 55 B.C., and again in the following year; but on both occasions his stay was short. About one hundred years passed before the next invasion, when the Emperor Claudius came with larger forces. It was one of these which was cut to pieces by the warriors of the British Queen, whom we call Boadicea. But it was not long before she was defeated and died in despair. Romans pressed northwards, and in later years

invaded Caledonia, which, however, they never subdued. For some time we have little evidence of Roman occupation of England. In A.D. 199 the Emperor Hadrian, in consequence of a revolt by the British, came with a strong military force, and it is probable that at this time the building of the Wall across Northumbria was commenced. So far as we can gather from the inscriptions, coins and other relics which have been found in the proximity of the Wall, its Roman occupation continued practically for two centuries.

Before we come to details, it may be well to take a general view of this great fortification, first as to its extent and then as to its construction. It began, not strictly on the eastern shore, but at a point near to and north of the Tyne, a few miles to the west. Few, probably, who order from their coal merchants the best "Wallsend" realize why it has that name. There is no doubt, however, that the whole estuary of the Tyne was strongly fortified. There was certainly an important camp near South Shields, among the remains of which two interesting tombstones have been found. One is to a lady, and the inscription is bilingual. The first part, in Latin, may be translated, "To the Divine Shades, To Regina, freedwoman and wife. Barates a Palmyrean (places this). She was by nation a Catuallaunian (and lived) thirty years." Then follows a line in Palmyrean, "Regina, freedwoman of Barate, alas!" The other tomb is of a man by name Victor. He is described as a Moor, twenty years of age, a freedman of Numerianus, who was a soldier of the first wing of the Asturian cavalry, and affectionately followed him to the grave.

The westward course of the Wall passes through Byker, where are old quarries, from which stones were taken for the building, and then it continues through what we now call Newcastle, and where fragments of the old castellum have been found below the Norman fortifications of William Rufus. Near this place there was dredged some years ago from the river an interesting relic. It is a stone altar dedicated to Neptune, the sea god, and was probably erected by some legion in grateful memory of a prosperous voyage. At Benwell, a few miles further west, the first traces of the Wall that remain above ground may be seen. About fifteen miles further it crosses the old Watling Way, and soon after it reaches the North Tyne, a few miles above Hexham. An interesting carved stone was found some years ago at this place, and is now preserved in the Abbey. It records the death of a

Roman soldier by the spear of a Briton whom he had ridden down. Across the North Tyne was the important camp of Cilurnum, which retains the old term in the modern name of Chesters. Here may be seen the remains of officers' quarters, and the present bridge over the river rests on Roman foundations of remarkable strength.

The late Mr. John Clayton, owner of the land, was an enthusiastic archæologist, and has preserved a large number of most interesting remains, which have been found both at Cilurnum, and other stations on the Wall. These have been admirably arranged in a museum adjoining his house. Before referring to some of these, it may be well to explain the structure of the military work and take a brief survey of its course westwards. Strictly described, it is more than a wall. It has three or four ramparts and a fosse, which are all earthworks, besides a trench, which is sometimes found north of the Wall. The southern fosse is usually about 24 feet from the Wall, but further west, where the country becomes more hilly, the road keeps to the level ground, carrying with it the earthworks, while the stone Wall goes straight over the moors, regardless of hill or valley, till it reaches the Solway, near Bowness. Along the Wall, at regular intervals, were built military stations, mile castles and turrets. The former provided quarters for troops, but were constructed chiefly for security, and show no traces of the luxury or display which may be seen in Roman remains elsewhere. Very little of these buildings can now be seen above ground, for generations of British and Anglo-Saxon have found the well-cut materials too valuable for building their own dwellings to be left for the curiosity of their descendants. But as we tramp across the moorland in the line of the Wall, still visible, our feet may sometimes strike a stone that plainly was once cut by human hands, sometimes lying by itself, sometimes as part of a building or pavement. In one case at least which was pointed out to the writer, there was plain evidence that the stones formed part of a castle gateway; and between the bases of the upright posts the flat stones were lined with ruts, which had evidently been made by the frequent passing of heavy wheels. It is an interesting fact that the gauge of these vehicles corresponds with that of the chariots which have left similar marks in the streets of Pompeii.

But it is among the antiquarian treasures collected in the Chesters Museum that we shall learn most about the builders of

the Wall, and the occupants of its fortified posts, their religious life, their racial, social and military conditions. It is impossible, however, in this short paper, to give any adequate description of the numerous objects which fill several hundred pages in the official account of the museum. A brief notice of the most prominent must suffice.

Among the legions drawn from different races in the Roman Empire there were naturally "lords many and gods many." For example, there is a fine altar dedicated by Germans to Mars Thingsus and two female deities, Beda and Fimmilena.

A well-carved but now headless figure of Cybele, the great world-mother, standing on a bullock, the emblem of tillage, is suggestive of Greek origin.

The statue of Mithras was probably put up by soldiers from lands still further east.

Huntsmen have built an altar to some local god of the woods.

An officer in command of the fourth cohort of Gauls has made one to the Genius of the Prætorium.

Venusus, a German, has dedicated another to Fortuna Conservatrix.

Besides foreign deities, one, believed to be the presiding genius of a neighbouring spring, and by name Coventina, is honoured on a sculptured stone, where she is represented as floating on the leaf of a water-lily.

The name of each reigning Emperor had its place. Two examples may suffice. "In honour of the Emperor Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus the second legion (styled) the August (has placed this by the command of) Aulus Platonius Nepos legate, and proprætor.

A mural slab, placed by a regiment of the 20th legion, is dedicated to another Emperor known to us as Antoninus Pius; beneath the inscription is the figure of a wild boar, the emblem of the legion.

A stele, showing a soldier on sentry duty and another with a stag and fawns, represent two sides of a soldier's life, and the milestone may suggest days of weary march.

With all the serious aspects of the busy camp, the Roman boy appears to have been very much like the British boy of to-day. Two stones on which he has cut his caricatures have survived far beyond all the dreams of the young artist.

Two other treasures of Cilurnum must be mentioned as of special interest. One is a case of coins—gold, silver, and brass—

bearing the names of nearly a hundred rulers. Most of them were found in the well of Coventina, with rings, brooches and jewels, all probably representing the votive offerings of successive generations for at least two hundred years. The other, a diploma of citizenship, is not now at Chesters, as it was transferred by Mr. Clayton to the British Museum. It is too long and too technical to be given fully in this paper. It begins with a laboured recital of the names, ancestors, titles and honours of the Emperor Antoninus Pius; and then gives the names of over twenty regiments (as perhaps we might call them), and confers on all the men who had obtained honourable discharge after twenty-five campaigns "the Roman citizenship and the right of lawful marriage with the wives they had when the citizenship was given, or with those they may afterwards take, provided one at a time."

So far no trace has occurred in connection with the Wall of any other than pagan religions, during the centuries of its occupation by Roman forces. To what extent Christianity had spread in England during those years is very uncertain. Contemporary writers, such as Clement of Rome, Tertullian and Origen, speak in somewhat rhetorical language of Britain possessing the Gospel; but the extent could have been very local and limited. Only one bit of evidence, and that not more than probable, comes from the Northumbrian Wall. This is in the form of a rude inscription on a stone beside the military road. It contains but three words, which translated are, "Brigowaglos lies here." The name is certainly British, and the other two words, common on Christian tombs, are hardly ever used by heathen. It is not unreasonable to think that they mark a Christian grave.

As to other evidence of Northumbrian Christianity, I can only come to such a conclusion as that which old Thomas Fuller gives at the close of his chapter on the third century in his great book of Church History. "This is all I have to say of this century, and must now confess myself as unable to go on, as ashamed to break off, since having had, of a full hundred years, so many words of solid History. But as I find little, so I will feign nothing; time being better spent in silence than in lying. . . . If any hereafter shall light on more History of these times, let them not condemn my Negligence, whilst I shall admire their Happiness."

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said the subject before us was one of great interest. The Roman occupation of Britain was, at the first, military. The Roman roads, we can still trace, were made for the transport of soldiers in the first instance, and it was not until the third and fourth centuries, when the native tribes were largely brought under subjection, that peaceful occupation began. The early days of the Roman period in Britain were cœval with the birth of the Christian Church. The first invasion was made by the Emperor, who commanded all Jews to depart from Rome, and thus brought Aquila and Paul together. An ingot of lead from the mines of Mendip was found near Winchester, which bore the stamp of Nero, before whom the apostle himself was brought, and so the interesting question arose as to whether the gospel of Christ reached our shores thus early. The evidence in the affirmative is of the slenderest character. It is true there were saints in Nero's household, but it seemed fairly certain that most of the legions which came to our country were drawn from the more outlying portions of the Empire and did not come from Rome. If facts are thus wanting, there is still room for the imagination. Above all we are thankful that the great apostle of the Gentiles was brought into contact with the military power of the Empire, and that chained to a soldier he was able to give us, from looking at soldiers, such as we should hear of to-day, the immortal description of a Christian clothed in the whole armour of God—his loins girt about with truth, having on the breastplate of righteousness, his feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. Over all taking the shield of faith to quench the fiery darts of the wicked one, and taking the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God. It was this armour that appealed to John Bunyan, who clothes Christian therewith and gives him the victory in his fight with the foul fiend in the Valley of Humiliation.

One more association may be mentioned. There is a well-known passage in Pliny referring to the early Christians in Rome. It is, he says, "Their habit on a fixed day to assemble before daylight and sing by turns a hymn to Christ as God and to bind themselves with an oath, not for any wickedness, but not to commit theft robbery or adultery, nor to break their word, nor to deny a deposit when claimed." The word "sacramentum" here used cannot

bear its familiar modern sense. It means the military oath by which soldiers vowed obedience to their general. The Christian was Christ's soldier and in all his worship he solemnly acknowledged Christ as the Captain of his salvation.

The Rev. JAMES THOMAS stated that when talking with the late Chancellor Edmonds (of Exeter) on the introduction of Christianity into Britain, the Chancellor said that the tomb of the wife of a Roman soldier had been found at the great Roman Wall on which it was recorded that the deceased was a Christian. Mr. Thomas understood that Chancellor Edmonds obtained his information from Dr. Bruce, and he inquired if Prebendary Fox was able to corroborate this. If such an inscription were found it would be clear evidence of the existence of Christianity in the Roman Army of Occupation.

Dr. A. WITHERS GREEN said : Some of us, who have not traced the Northern Roman Wall, are familiar with the London Wall and wonder whether the two are comparable in any details. The London Stone, in Cannon Street, from which distances used to be measured, is squarish and not round and pillar shaped like the sample the Prebendary has shown to us.

I suppose the "Old Watling Way," seen on the screen, is the northern end of our London Watling Street, which practically starts from the London Stone, "Watling" meaning a descendant of a man called "Wætla."

One of the turrets the lecturer has spoken about can be seen at the back of the General Post Office, carefully preserved underground, at the north-west corner of the London Wall.

The other prominent instance of Roman remains, besides the London Wall and London Stone, is the Roman Well in the Strand. The Roman soldiers coming from the Tower in full attire used to pass along Knightrider Street, jingling their shining spurs in Giltspur Street, till they reached Smoothfield (now Smithfield) to find open ground for the tilting encounters. At the end of the conflicts they would retire to the Roman well or bath to wash away their dust and dirt. I wonder whether the well of Coventina had any such use besides being strangely a depository for coins and jewels.

Dr. SCHOFIELD said : That he desired heartily to thank Prebendary Fox for his most interesting paper, which was far too short.

On p. 257 his allusion to a stone altar to Neptune, erected by some legion in grateful memory of a prosperous voyage, reminded him of one of the latest instances of the same showing unchangeable custom. The last time I crossed the Atlantic on the newest Allan liner we were all assembled in the saloon to give thanks (not to Neptune) for a prosperous voyage.

On p. 258 I see the Prebendary mentions British as contrasted with Anglo-Saxons. The two, Celts and Saxons, are strongly contrasted, and this indeed forms one of the difficulties of three-fourths of Ireland to-day, compared to the peace of the remainder when Celts are few. The lecturer might have added in this district the Danes—distinct from either, with black hair and quick temperaments, whose descendants abound to-day in Carlisle and the neighbourhood.

At the foot of the page the rut of the chariot wheels worn in the pavement irresistibly reminds me of the similar ruts in the old Roman tessellated pavement, 12 feet below the road under the arch of "Ecce Homo" at Jerusalem.

On p. 260 Coventina, the local deity of a spring, seems to have been worshipped for two hundred years.

There is now a distinct recrudescence of the same class of worship.

The citizenship of Rome is mentioned on the same page, recalling St. Paul, and like him the man may lawfully take wives, "*provided one at a time.*"

It is not surprising that only one touch of Christianity is observed. For a Roman military structure is the last place one would look for it. Northumbria's early Christianity must be looked for elsewhere, and it should even be remembered that England is the only country it conquered without bloodshed.

Mr. G. WILSON said: Being a north countryman, and having lived for some years almost within sight of the Roman Wall, I should like to supplement what our lecturer has already told us.

Among the greatest authorities on the history of the "Wall" was the late Dr. Bruce of Newcastle-on-Tyne, a most interesting man, and well known, I imagine, to Prebendary Fox, although he has not mentioned his name.

There are still some remains of the old Wall to be seen in the City of Newcastle, not far from some of the leading thoroughfares, but requiring to be looked for.

I think it is generally admitted that the site of the important Roman station of "Pons Ælii" lies between the Cathedral and Central Station, and may now be covered by the buildings of the General Post Office.

If this is so then the present "Old Castle" and "Black Gate" were very close thereto.

Dr. Bruce, Mr. Longstaff and other antiquarians, were instrumental in saving the Black Gate from demolition, and it now contains an interesting museum of Roman antiquities.

From Newcastle the Wall runs west up the hill, in much the same direction as the present "Westgate Road"; and about three miles from the town we reach what was known as "Condercum." This was a cavalry station, and is believed to have been occupied by Spanish troops. The modern name of the locality is Benwell.

The Wall then passes on to "Throckley and Heddon-on-the-wall." Then we come to Harlow Hill and Whittle Dene, where the city's water supply originates.

Further on we reach Stagshawbank, familiar to all in the district for its annual horse fair.

To the south of Stagshaw lies the small town of Corbridge, where the Tyne is crossed by a stone bridge.

A few years ago extensive explorations were undertaken in this place, and a most interesting site of an "Old Roman Market-town" was discovered, and a large number of relics, coins, etc., were found.

As you are already informed, the Wall crosses the Tyne, a little west of Hexham, at Chollerford. Here the river is crossed by a fine stone bridge, and in the clear water of the stream the outlines of the foundations of the old Roman bridge can be clearly traced. The Chesters Museum is well worth a visit. We cannot stay to refer to the many interesting stations on the Wall which may be seen in this neighbourhood, but as we pass further west we begin to see what the Wall must really have been.

As it goes west it rises to higher ground, and a more thinly populated country, and consequently it has not been so much used for building material. There are miles of the Wall standing visible above the ground, in many places three to six feet high and four feet wide.

Any active and venturesome person can walk for long distances on the top of the Wall without having to descend on the ground.

About six miles west of Hexham we come to Haydon Bridge, which I believe gets its name from the bridge, which here crosses the South Tyne and originally was supposed to have been built by Hadrian.

Starting either from here or Bardon-Mill, the next railway station, we have the most convenient points for visiting what is undoubtedly the most perfect and interesting parts of the Wall.

The Wall is on high ground, sometimes running along the edge of precipitous cliffs, and affording magnificent views of the surrounding country. Just beyond the Wall to the North lie the Northumberland lakes of Broomlee, Grindon and Craig Lough and Greenlee.

Lying on the slope to the south of the Wall is the extensive camp known as "Borcovicus," which has already been referred to by the lecturer, and is I think, without doubt, the most perfect example of the stations which still remain in connection with the Wall.

From this neighbourhood on a clear day the views are simply magnificent, and probably unequalled in any other part of this country.

Looking away beyond the Wall we see the Cheviot Hills; to the right we see Simonside and the hills around Rothbury.

Looking to the South we see "Langley Castle," celebrated in our history in connection with the ill-fated Earls of Derwentwater.

It was purchased from "Greenwich Hospital" (?) by the late Mr. Cadwalader Bates, a well-known north country antiquarian, who undertook its restoration, but did not live to see it completed. His body now lies buried in the castle grounds. Beyond the castle, in the far distance, we may see Crossfell and Skiddaw.

The Wall proceeds west across very undulating country, passing several interesting "Stations," which I have not time to allude to, until it reaches Winshields, and attains its greatest elevation, passing over ground which is 1230 feet above sea level.

Several of the stations in this district bear suggestive names, such as Milking Gap, Cats Stairs, Bloody Gap, etc.

Further west it passes over the "Nine-nicks of Thirlwell," being then not far from Gilsland, where it passes over the border into Cumberland.

After this it quickly loses its bold outline and can often only be traced by mounds covered with grass, and broken piles of stones.

Those who are interested in the subject will be well repaid by reading Dr. Bruce's book on the Roman Wall, or a small book, written about 1913 by Miss Jean Terry, entitled "Northumberland : Yesterday and To-day."

MR. PETER F. WOOD writes : This paper on the Roman Wall is a very interesting one and on a most fascinating subject, but it is all *too short* ; it is an introduction, and after the manner of the old divines, should be followed by firstly, secondly, thirdly and then ended up with a summary or application ! The lecturer might then follow it up with an addendum in the shape of a paper on the " Wall of Antoninus in Scotland," also of surpassing interest to antiquarians.

The lecturer (p. 257) puts down the wall as being commenced in A.D. 199 ; but was it all built at the same time ? Is it not possible that some parts were built much earlier, especially the camps. Taking the Wall Vallum Fosse, etc., as a whole, I think some have thought it may have embraced a period of some 80 years. The Roman rule lasted altogether some 350 years, it is said their final retreat was in A.D. 436.

Its probable cost is an interesting thing ; probably now the cost would be millions. Major Ruch, R.E., estimated it at over 1½ millions sterling, but that, I think, was many years ago.

How many men would it take to man it ? I believe this has been estimated at 10,000 or more. The Wall was about 73 miles long with some 23 stations on it, about four miles apart, without counting mile castles, etc.

The lecturer puts the southern fosse as usually about 24 feet from the Wall. Many think that the Murus and Vallum were some 130 yards to half a mile apart. If this be so, would not 24 feet be too little ?

We are told that this wall, etc., constitutes one of the greatest works of its kind made by the Romans in their whole Empire. This Wall was taken for the most part straight along, uphill and downhill, and some of the excavations for the ditch were through solid rock.

The Romans never failed at a difficulty : some of their roads have lasted for two millenniums. They built for eternity. This

Wall was splendidly constructed. Their cement was probably equal to, if not much better than, any our engineers could make.

The lecturer on p. 256 calls the Queen of the Iceni Boadicea, but is not the form Boudicca (from a root meaning victory) to be preferred ?

At the bottom of p. 257, Old Watling Way is mentioned as crossing the Wall, and there was also another principal road crossing it, much more to the west, viz., the Maiden Way (= Mai-dun the great ridge); this with its continuations connected with London in the south and Scotland in the north, probably crossing the Wall about the Station Magna. This is a road about which I have long sought for information; it came up apparently through Lancashire to the Roman Camp of Alauna in Westmoreland. This camp commanded the defiles near Low Borrow Bridge, a few miles south of Tebay, and went on north past Black Dub on Shap Fells, through the Wall and on to or near Bewcastle in Cumberland, and on (perhaps called here The Wheal Causeway) to Roxburghshire, north of Deadwater, and on (roughly) as far as Wolflee, thence lost. This road over Shap Fells was evidently at one time one of the great routes from Scotland to London, and was used by King Charles' army before the Battle of Naseby. This is recorded on the obelisk at Black Dub.

The lecturer speaks of the splendid remains at Cilurnum. I have had the privilege of seeing them and also those at Amboglanna (Birdoswald) and at Borcovicus (Housesteads) and the many extensive remains uncovered in recent years at Corbridge, South of Hexham. The paper mentions (p. 258) the Museum at Chesters; this is beautifully arranged and well worth a visit; the one at Newcastle also should not be missed on any account.

We are told in the first three centuries there were some thirty legions in Britain, and that during the third century the north front was the principal field of military activity in the Roman empire; perpetual military operations were going on between the Tyne and Solway, and the post of commander was of very great importance, as the names of the commanders show.

There are sermons in stones. Originally every Station and Mile Castle had a wide gateway opening northwards, but we are told, and it is very significant, that when the garrisons became weak and demoralized, they diminished the size of the gateways and some were

walled up altogether ! If the stones could speak what a wonderful tale they could tell. What victories, what endurance, what defeats, what despair !

There is much to be learned from this hoary relic of antiquity, and we are much obliged to the lecturer for calling our attention to this subject.

In a paper written in 1887 by a Bishop of Carlisle, he estimates the complete armament of the Wall at probably 12,000 men, not Romans chiefly, but Batavians, Gauls, Tungrians, Spaniards, Thracians, Dalmatians, and others, and notes that the following plants found at the Wall—*Corydalis lutea*, *Erinus Hispanicus*, *Geranium lucidum*, were probably brought originally by the Asturians.

Col. MOLONY, O.B.E., writes : The devoutness of the Romans should shame us, for I counted over eighty altars in the Chesters Museum he mentions. The foundations of the Roman station in the park there are almost complete. Can anyone say whether the making of ladders was beyond the skill of the Picts and Scots ? Or was the Wall's top more than thirty feet above the bottom of the ditch, making escalade difficult ; or was it garrisoned by thirty thousand men, the necessary number, if the barbarians had ladders ?

634TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, JUNE 20TH, 1921,

AT 4.30 P.M.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, ESQ., M.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the Election of the Rev. Anwyll Emrys C. Morgan, M.A., as an Associate.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Very Reverend the Dean of Canterbury to give the Annual Address on "The Old Testament and the present State of Criticism."

*THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE PRESENT STATE
OF CRITICISM.* By the VERY REV. H. WACE, D.D.,
Dean of Canterbury.

AMONG the objects of this Society, there is none more important than the investigation of the bearings of scientific discoveries on the Holy Scriptures. Those Scriptures are the shrine and source of the Christian Revelation, and the authority of that Revelation must stand or fall with their truth and authority. I thought, therefore, it would not be inappropriate to devote this Annual Address to a review, such as I offered the Society eight years ago, of the present position of the scientific criticism of the Old Testament, and especially of the Pentateuch. Notwithstanding the distractions of the war, that criticism has maintained its activity during the last few years. The veteran and indefatigable Dr. König, Professor of the Semitic languages in Bonn University, has published two very important volumes: one on the history of the religion of the Old Testament, the other an elaborate commentary on Genesis, besides other valuable controversial tracts. The late Dr. Orr's great Standard International Cyclopædia has placed within the reach of English readers a comprehensive review of all questions relating to the Scriptures, with a fulness and impartiality which no other Bible Cyclopædia has attained. Mr. Wiener, in that Cyclopædia and in the invaluable pages of the American *Bibliotheca Sacra*, has carried forward his searching cross-examination of the position of the German and English critics. Their representatives in England, both in universities and in popular handbooks, have been busy in maintaining that such views as those of the late

Dr. Driver are the "assured results" of scientific criticism, and in treating as insignificant obscurantists all English scholars who oppose them. At the same time a new and influential opposition to them has been gaining strength among historical scholars in Switzerland and France, under the influence of the eminent Archæologist and Egyptian scholar, Professor Naville of Geneva. Meanwhile "the Law and the Prophets" continue to tell their own plain tale, and the Jewish religion, which rests absolutely on the truth of that plain tale, continues its historic witness to it; and the New Testament, alike in the Gospels and the Epistles, assumes its historical veracity. The position of the "Word of God," as Jews and Christians regard it, amidst all this controversy, recalls the Psalmist's description of the Divine throne: "Clouds and darkness are round about it:" "truth and judgment are the habitation of its seat."

A vivid light has, however, been thrown on the present situation by a literary duel which has been in progress during the last two years in Germany, between Dr. König and a brilliant representative of the extreme critical school, Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, who initiated the notorious Babel-Bibel controversy some twenty years ago. That controversy, as Dr. Delitzsch says, is over, and the Bible has not succumbed to Babel. But the recent revival of the Jewish question in Germany induced him to publish, last year, a tract which was ready for publication at Easter, 1914, but which he withheld during the war. It is defiantly entitled *Die Grosse Täuschung*, or *The Great Deception*; and it may be briefly described as a vehement and passionate attempt to show that the Jewish and Christian Faith is proved by modern criticism to be based on a gross deception embodied in the Hebrew Scriptures. His account, in a brief preface, of the origination of his argument is peculiarly interesting and instructive. "Every man," he says, "has his special experiences in life. As a young student I attended the lectures of a celebrated liberal theologian on *Old Testament Introduction*, and there I learned one day that the so-called Fifth Book of Moses, Deuteronomy, was not composed by Moses at all, notwithstanding that it asserts of itself that it was not only spoken by Moses, but actually written down by him; but that, in fact, it was first composed some seven hundred years later for a certain specific purpose. I came of an orthodox Lutheran family, and was deeply moved by this statement, especially as it convinced me; and

on the same day I sought an interview with my teacher, in the course of which the word escaped me: 'Then is the Fifth Book of Moses what is commonly called a forgery?' The answer was: 'For God's sake (*Um Gottes willen*). That is no doubt about the truth; but one must not quite say so (*Das wird wohl wahr sein, aber so etwas darf man nicht sagen*).' This saying, and especially his 'For God's sake,' rings in my ears to the present day, and is therefore, though with a deeper meaning, prefixed as a motto to this treatise. For I have never comprehended why, in such serious matters, what is true should not be spoken out." Accordingly he has spoken out, in this vigorous treatise, what he was taught by his old teacher—an eminent liberal theologian—was the practical result of German criticism of the Pentateuch, and that result is that the traditional account of Jewish history is "a great deception." The treatise was published in 1920, and in the course of that year ten thousand copies of it had been printed. Its full title is "Critical Considerations on the Old Testament Accounts of Israel's Invasion of Canaan, the Divine Revelation of Sinai and the Work of the Prophets." It will be seen that it is the work of a man who wishes to look facts in the face. He accepts the conclusions of German criticism respecting the Pentateuch, and he feels that the practical result of them is that the narratives in the Pentateuch are fictitious—in fact forgeries; that they attribute to Moses what Moses neither said nor did, and that consequently the whole story of the entry of Israel into Canaan is untrustworthy; and he proceeds to expose, without scruple, what he regards as its impossibilities and fictions. Starting from his point of view, it is a very powerful indictment, and must be felt, I think, to be a not unnatural result of the criticism he accepts. Conservative critics in England, who have said that this is the practical issue of such criticism, have been treated as unintelligent and brutal. But we now have an eminent German critic proclaiming loudly that this is the real outcome of it all, and denouncing the accepted traditions of Jewish history, "for God's sake," as a great delusion.

But this "outspoken" declaration has had one good result. It has, of course, compelled an acceptance of the challenge by one of the representatives of criticism, and happily this representative has been found in Dr. König of Bonn. This eminent scholar's answer is already in its third edition, and it amounts,

on the whole, to a plea that criticism must now admit the substantial historical truth of the narratives of the Pentateuch. The first question raised, he says, is that of the trustworthiness of the narratives of the ancient history of Israel. He begins by quoting a striking statement by Professor Edward Meyer, "the leading representative of ancient history at Berlin." This authority, who has no religious prejudice in favour of the Scriptures, says, in his *History of Antiquity* (vol. i, 1, § 131: ed. 1913): "True historical literature exists in full independence only among the Israelites and the Greeks. Among the Israelites, who in this respect occupy a peculiar position among the civilized races of the East, such literature arose at an astonishingly early date, and commences with compositions of the highest importance, namely, the purely historical narratives in the books of Judges and Samuel." The narratives respecting David are regarded by him as indisputably due to contemporaries, "who must have been well informed respecting the characters and motives of the actors, and they cannot have been written later than the reign of Solomon." Looking backwards, he reckons as "genuinely historical" the narratives respecting Gideon and Abimelech. We are thus on the sure ground of contemporary history in the time of the Judges, and we may proceed with König to enquire whether we can go back farther without losing trustworthy historical evidence.

But if, as is generally admitted, even by such rationalistic writers as Nöldeke, Wellhausen, and Edward Meyer, the song of Deborah is to be regarded as "a direct echo of an historical event," it would be strange if the immediately antecedent narratives were not similarly historical. We can hardly be passing straight from myth or fiction to vivid history. König lays great stress on the broad fact that, notwithstanding the supremacy of the figure of Moses in the history of Israel, the vivid recognition of the period before Moses remained in the national consciousness and literature. That alone, as he urges, affords striking evidence of the historical sense of the Jewish people. Delitzsch, of course, in attacking the trustworthiness of the accounts of that early period, rests on the assumption, which König allows, of the four constituent elements of the Pentateuch, the Jehovistic, the Elohist, the Deuteronomic, and the Priest Code. But König urges that this "current derivation" of the oldest of these elements from the ninth or

eighth century before Christ requires justification. He himself regards the Elohist element as the oldest, and assigns it to the later part of the time of the Judges. But a more important point is that, in his opinion, both the Elohist and Jehovistic portions are shown, alike by indirect and direct quotations, to rest upon still older materials. Even if those materials were handed down by memory only, they would still, in view of what the well-known capacity of memory was in ancient times, be of great historical value. But since the discovery of Hammurabi's Code of Laws, the supposition which was once maintained, and which even Delitzsch still mentions, that the Israelites at the time of Moses were an illiterate people, "has lost the last gleam of probability." Abraham himself came from a land in which writing was in general use, and was so generally understood, that marriage laws in the Code presumed the use of written marriage contracts. Consequently it is both possible and probable that, even in the period before Moses, records were made of important experiences; at least brief notices of genealogies or acquisitions, such as of the Cave of Macpelah. It is evident, from such points as the mention of the former names of places, that the people had a keen sense for ancient reminiscences; they quote old records like "the book of the Wars of the Lord" (Num. xxi, 14), or "the book of Jasher." The trustworthiness of the records is still further shown by statements which correspond in a remarkable and independent manner to facts which have only lately become known. Thus in the table of the nations, in Gen. x, 8-12, two races are distinguished in Babylon, and recent discoveries have shown that this corresponds to the facts. It is another curious point that the Chaldæans are not mentioned. "It did not escape the observant eye of the Israelites that it was only later that the Chaldæans played an important part in Babylonia." It is thus, says König, a false "dogma of many modern writers, as of Delitzsch himself, that the Hebrew historical books are of no value except when they are confirmed by other sources. Every other tradition is to be treated as having authority; but not the Hebrew. What gross injustice!" It will thus be seen that, while adhering to the current hypothesis of the four strata of the Pentateuch, König urges confidently the antiquity and historic value of the materials which are embodied in them. He repudiates, for instance, Delitzsch's assumption that the account

of the Tabernacle is "a pure fiction," and asks "what are the grounds for this customary contention of the Wellhausenians?" There are, he says, no reliable evidences against the existence of the Tabernacle as described in Exodus xxv to xxvii. Delitzsch's attack has thus served to bring out the fact that the most learned German criticism, as represented in a veteran scholar like Dr. König, has been forced to retreat very far indeed behind what may be described as the Wellhausen and Driver lines.

It is inexcusable in these circumstances that handbooks should be published, and encouraged by high authorities in our Church, which teach the pupils in our schools and colleges that the positions occupied by the critics of a generation ago are still strongholds of critical truth, and that the early narratives of the Bible are pious fictions, without historical value. On the contrary, one of the most learned—perhaps the most learned—of German scholars maintains with conviction the substantial historical truth of those early narratives; and even the hypothesis of the composite character of the Pentateuch is no longer incompatible with a belief in the reality of the revelations made to Abraham, and of the divine education of the Patriarchs, as narrated in the Book of Genesis. It is an immense gain in this long and obstinate controversy that these points should have been recovered. It cannot be too widely known, or too strongly asserted, that although the actual composition of the Pentateuch is still the subject of acute differences of opinion, there is no longer any critical agreement, even in Germany, that its narratives are unhistorical. Assertions that this is one of the "assured results of criticism" must be charitably stigmatised as due to ignorance of the state of critical investigation.

But the question is being carried to important further stages by two eminent scholars. Dr. Kyle, in America, has not only adduced indisputable evidence of the correspondence of the Pentateuchal history with archæological discoveries, but has proposed a new, and very interesting, explanation of those varying characteristics of the several sections of the Pentateuch on which the critics rely for its composite character. His book has so lately been published that it is premature to estimate the extent of his success. But his theory appears to be that the peculiar features of language and treatment, on which the critics

rely for distinguishing the sources, are simply due to the peculiar character of the various subjects which are being treated. In the investigation of these varying features of style, on independent grounds, he was surprised to find that he had unconsciously distinguished very nearly the precise sections which the critics assign to their several "Sources," and that the characteristics of these sections are thus accounted for without any supposition of distinct authorship. Dr. König, in a recent review of Dr. Kyle's former book, in the chief German critical journal, though differing from him, treated his work with much respect, and it will be of great interest to follow the discussion which must ensue on this hypothesis.

Meanwhile an entirely new element has been brought into the problem by the original and vigorous investigations of Professor Naville of Geneva. M. Naville is famous for his admirable work as an Egyptian archæologist, and his discoveries in Egypt had already thrown much light on the narratives of the Scriptures. He has been engaged in this work for at least forty years, and has of course become exceptionally familiar with the circumstances of ancient life in Egypt and in the Eastern countries connected with it. We owe to him, among other things, the discovery of the Store City of Pithom, and the singularly interesting illustration of the discovery of the Law, or of Deuteronomy, under King Josiah, in the deposition in an Egyptian temple of the law of that temple. But since about the year 1913 he has addressed himself especially to the problem of Genesis and the Text of the Old Testament, and on the latter subject he delivered the Schweich Lectures in 1915.

The war, of course, distracted notice from such subjects, but M. Naville's work is now receiving considerable attention in France. In the April number, for instance, of the well-known periodical *Foi et Vie*, an article appears from the pen of the eminent French historian M. Camille Jullian, of the Institute, the author of the famous *History of Gaul*, headed "The historical method, *à propos* of *Moses and Genesis* and the labours of M. Edouard Naville"; and a few quotations from this Review will afford a vivid and independent account of the nature of M. Naville's treatment of the subject. He commences by explaining that he is in no way concerned with any religious controversy. He is dealing with the subject as a pure question of science, and addresses himself solely to the learned world. The questions involved apply to

other subjects, such as the Homeric poems, the French *Chansons de Geste*, the Salic Law, the interpretation of Livy, or the story of Lancelot du Lac. M. Naville, he says, "in asserting his views, in constructing his theories, has not only been doing the work of a biblical exegete, according to his right and his duty, but he has also, with a skilful and bold movement, replaced the study of the Old Testament in the true path of the historical method." The criticism of the last century, he observes, consisted in taking ancient documents very much by themselves, in a sort of isolation, without investigating their relation to the contemporary conditions in which they were written; it dwelt on the contradictions in these documents, their improbabilities, their anachronisms, their historical or geographical inaccuracies, "and thereupon they were condemned; that is, they were declared not to belong to the date to which tradition assigned them, they were denied to the author whose name they bore, and attributed to some later author, or to various writers who had conspired to fabricate them." This method was applied to the Homeric poems, to the Song of Roland, the early works of Livy, and the Salic law. "From one end of history to the other, from the Genesis of Moses to the romances of ancient France, contemporary documents entered on a process of decomposition." But, he says, a new method commenced about 1880, under the impulse of the eminent historian Fustel de Coulanges, who urged historians not to criticise ancient texts according to their apparent literary structure, "but subject to an examination of the events and the places to which they were related." The consequence, he says, has been that the *Odyssey* has been shown by M. Victor Bérard to exhibit a marvellous accuracy in its description of the scenes of the voyage of Ulysses, and to be in conformity with the political condition of the Mediterranean nine or ten centuries before the Christian era. A like result has followed this historical treatment of the Song of Roland. "After the unique author of the *Odyssey*, behold the unique author of our national poem," and so on.

"This, then," says M. Jullian, "is what M. Naville has done for Moses and Genesis. I state again that this is no matter of orthodoxy, or revelation, or faith; it is simply a work of pure and noble science, before which we must bow our heads." M. Naville, he says, has in the first place had regard to the memorials of antiquity which are contemporary with Moses, in

accordance with the true archæological method. It is found that these memorials exhibit tablets, or small plates of baked clay, covered with cuneiform writing, in the Babylonian language. These are the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna, in Egypt, which are letters written to Pharaoh by Governors of Palestine, later than Abraham but previous to Moses, documents from Boghaz Keni in Asia Minor, relating to Egypt, Rameses II, and the Hittites, contemporaries of Moses; and contracts of the seventh century B.C. "What is the result? It is that the Babylonian Cuneiform was the official, learned, literary language, the written language of Western Asia, and that Moses was able to compose the book of Genesis in this manner, tablet by tablet. This is the explanation of the duplicate statements and repetitions of the book. That which brought a chapter to a close was not the natural termination of a narrative, but the end of the tablet; and at the commencement of the next tablet it was necessary to recur to the preceding text, to resume and recommence." M. Jullian then gives various illustrations of the correspondence of M. Naville's work with the archæological, geographical, sociological, and historical methods of modern science, and concludes by repeating that in all this there is no question of religion or dogma or tradition or belief. "There is no question of anything but of recovering the truth, and of doing so for love of the truth itself. M. Edouard Naville has succeeded. His work marks a new era in the criticism of the books of the Bible; it is that of a master workman, devoted to science, formed on the best methods, which are also French methods."

I have quoted this account of M. Naville's work, instead of describing it myself, that it may be recognized that the German treatment of the Old Testament is now challenged, not by mere criticism in detail, but by a general and comprehensive movement of thought, supported by the principles of a great school of history in France. It is no longer a matter for Hebrew scholars only. M. Jullian says: "I shall no doubt be reproached as not being a Hebrew scholar, and as a neophyte or unskilled in Biblical studies. I am the first to acknowledge it. But I think I know the civilizations of the Bronze Age, and of the middle of the second thousand years before the Christian era, the civilizations in the midst of which Moses lived and in which the books of the Pentateuch would have been formed, and I observe that all that we know of these ancient civilizations

illustrates exactly the first pages of the Old Testament." This, in fact, constitutes the main characteristic of M. Naville's argument. He insists that a book like Genesis should be considered first of all in relation to its main purport, its occasion, the persons for whom it was intended, and the influence it was calculated to have upon them. In this point of view, consider the broad effect of the Book of Genesis. It commences by a revelation of the God whose actions it proposes to relate, and describes Him as the one supreme and sole Creator of heaven and earth. It proceeds to give a brief sketch of the history of mankind up to the time of Abraham, and then devotes itself entirely to an account of how Abraham was called by that one God to a special relationship with Himself. He called on Abraham to walk before Him and to be perfect, and promised that He would multiply him exceedingly, that all nations of the earth should be blessed in him, and that the land of Canaan should be given to him and his seed. The narrative then confines itself to the history of Abraham's descendants, down to their settlement in Egypt, until the moment comes when Moses is called upon to lead them out of Egypt and to conduct them to the Promised Land. Now this was the very moment when the information in the Book of Genesis was of supreme value for them. It proved to be a task of extreme difficulty to induce them to follow their leader, on this expedition through a wilderness, to a land as yet unknown to them. It was imperative to assure them of the nature of the authority under which Moses was acting, and to bring home to them the truth that they were invited to a special place and function by that Divine authority. It was of the first importance to revive in them at that moment a recognition of their inheritance from their great ancestor, and of the destiny which had been promised to them as his descendants. In that covenant between God and their fathers lay the whole future of the nation, and, by solemnly recording it, Moses laid the indispensable foundation of their whole history. Their office was to maintain in the world a witness to the one God of heaven and earth, and to the laws which He had revealed to their fathers, and proclaimed in thunder and lightnings through Moses. The Book of Genesis, from this point of view, is the Magna Charta of the Jewish nation, and the time when that nation commenced an independent life under Moses was the unique moment for its composition.

At what other period of Jewish history would the preparation of such a record have been opportune? As M. Naville puts the matter in a lecture he lately delivered in Paris: "Listen for a moment to what the critics tell us of the author who has transmitted these words to us. He is a writer of the Kingdom of Judah, who lived in the ninth century before Christ. The Jewish Kingdom was then divided: ten tribes were separated; and a worship was established among them which was not that of Jehovah. Both kingdoms were hard pressed to defend their independence against powerful neighbours. Moreover, it is not from this writer himself that we learn these words. It is from another, who incorporated them in a book of pieces and patchwork, the so-called 'redactor' of Genesis, who is supposed to have lived in the fourth century, at a time when Canaan was in the hands of the successors of Alexander, and the Maccabees were making vain efforts to save the independence of their country. It must be asked, was that the moment to announce to the Israelites such words as these: 'Arise! walk through the land in the length of it and the breadth of it; for unto thee will I give it'? or would not the promises of Jehovah to Abraham have seemed to the people like a mockery?" But the whole argument of M. Naville has been summarized by M. Doumergue, the Dean of the Free Faculty of Protestant Theology at Montauban, in a tract of which M. Naville has read the proofs, published at the office of *Foi et Vie*, and this tract contains a most instructive account of the present position of the controversy.*

From this review of current criticism I would urge again one broad conclusion which cannot be too urgently pressed upon the thoughtful public. The critics and their echoes in the press are continually speaking in the style of *Roma locuta est; causa finita est*. German criticism has pronounced that Genesis and the Pentateuch are a late compilation; let the world and the Church accommodate themselves to the fact. What needs to be loudly asserted is that this claim of finality is palpably untrue. To take only the recent article of Professor König in the *Expositor* for February last, German critics are

* The title of the tract is *Moïse et La Genèse, D'après les Travaux de M. Le Professeur Édouard Naville, par E. Doumergue, Doyen Honoraire de la Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Montauban*. Paris. Editions de *Foi et Vie*, 1920.

themselves maintaining the historic truth of those narratives of the Patriarchs, which older critics, and their younger British echoes, denounced as mythical; and a distinguished school of French and Swiss historians are reasserting the substantial Mosaic authorship of Genesis and the traditional "Books of Moses." It is less than honest for persons in authority, Professors and Deans and even Bishops, to be treating the results of the German criticism of the Pentateuch, as presented, for instance, by the late Dr. Driver, as having been definitely established. On the contrary, scholars of the highest position, both at home, on the Continent, and in America, are not only maintaining a strenuous opposition to these complicated and artificial theories, but are urging, on broad historical grounds, the substantial truth of the traditional belief. It should also be borne in mind that the practical questions at issue depend on historical rather than on literary considerations. It is an unquestionable consequence of the views of the German school that the representation conveyed by tradition of the course of Jewish religious history is a radically erroneous one. Of this the fact that the Tabernacle, according to that school, is a later fiction, is a glaring illustration. At and after the Exile, according to the critical view, books and parts of books were written which presented a completely false conception of the development of the Jewish religion, and the authority of Moses was systematically invoked for ceremonies and for teaching which were not due to him. It has always seemed to me that this is incredible from an historical point of view; that the Scribes of the Exile could not have induced the Jews of their day to accept a complete misrepresentation of the history and religion of their ancestors; and that this proves that the critical system which involves such a consequence must be vitiated by some fatal mistake.

I must needs express one personal conviction in conclusion. In this Address I have treated the subject, like M. Jullian and like M. Naville himself, from a point of view which is independent of theological or religious considerations. But I must own I do not see how to repel Voltaire's question, "If a sacred book contains a falsehood, can that book be sacred?" In plain words, if the Pentateuch is of such a nature that the plain man cannot accept it at what we may call its "face value," if it states as realities, like the

Tabernacle, things which are elaborate fictions, if it describes the religion of the Jews at the time of Moses as being what it really became some centuries later, if, in a word, its history cannot be trusted, can it still be considered to possess the sacred and authoritative character to which our Lord and His Apostles appealed? Can it be accepted as that "Word of God" on which the whole life of the Christian Church has been founded? These are the momentous practical issues which are involved in modern critical contentions. I do not appeal to them to prejudice the decision; it is of the highest importance that that decision should be reached on the independent ground of true criticism and sound history. But it must be a matter of profound satisfaction to Christian men and women when a leading German critic like Dr. König, and great historical and archæological authorities like M. Naville and M. Jullian, give an independent support to the ancient traditions.

DISCUSSION.

A vote of thanks was then proposed to Dr. Wace by the CHAIRMAN.

The Rev. Prebendary FOX, M.A., in seconding the Chairman's proposal of a vote of thanks, said he desired to express the cordial appreciation of the meeting of the very able and convincing paper they had listened to that afternoon.

Prof. H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD, in supporting the vote of thanks, felt sure that he was voicing the unanimous sentiment of the audience.

They had been listening to a most valuable paper which, marked on every page by the well-known ability and scholarship of the learned author, set forth clearly and judicially the present state of Old Testament controversy between sceptical downgrade critics and their opponents.

The position of downgrade critics was pitiable.

Their frequent boast of having on their side all scholars, or at least all eminent scholars, was not likely (in view of pp. 274-275 of the Paper) to be quite so noisy; nor would their "assured results" be much longer permitted to masquerade as facts. It had been shown that scholarship was on the side of "The Traditional View," and

that all known facts agreed with the statements of Scripture. In controversy of this character, there were needed two qualifications :— (1) Investigation, for ascertaining facts, that dreamy guesses be not substituted for them ; (2) Logical reasoning, that facts be rightly interpreted. Could sceptical downgrade critics point to any instance where archæology had established their conclusions. What archæologist was on their side ? Nor had these gentlemen been happy in their arguments. Their arguments, intended to prove that Moses did not write the Pentateuch, and that history which has not been confirmed by known contemporary facts is untrustworthy, were both of them examples of false major premise.

The HON. SECRETARY added that if any non-Members present desired to join the Institute, that afternoon would be a favourable time for doing so, as all new Members or Associates became entitled to receive the New Volume of *Transactions* containing the twelve papers of the past session (and the discussions thereon), including the valuable address by Dean Wace to which they had just listened.