

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

Associates: { E. C. HEGELER.
 { MARY CARUS.

VOL. XXII. (No. 4.) APRIL, 1908.

NO. 623

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CHICAGO

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THE MONIST

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Philosophy of Science

DR. PAUL CARUS
EDITOR



ASSOCIATES { E. C. HEGELER
MARY CARUS

"The Monist" also Discusses the Fundamental Problems of Philosophy in their Relations to all the Practical Religious, Ethical, and Sociological Questions of the day.

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PROFESSOR MILLS AT HOME.

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THE SAMARITAN PASSOVER.

BY WILLIAM E. BARTON, D. D.

SOME of the characteristic institutions and customs of the Jewish people are now best to be observed in that small and once despised sect, the Samaritans. Wonderful as is the phenomenon of the persistence of the Jewish people, preserving many of their



MT. GERIZIM FROM EBAL.

time-honored traditions in their ages-long dispersal among the nations, that dispersion has not been without its modifying influence. The Jews as we know them are far from being a homogeneous and unchanged people. Time and travel and lack of national bond and

of temple service have wrought their influence on race and rite. But the Samaritans cling to their ancient mountain, and there worship God according to primitive custom. By studying the customs of these people we may discover in contemporary processes the means of transmission of sacred books from before the time when printers destroyed one art that they might preserve all others: for the Samaritans have no printing presses, and their manuscripts are copied with the same utensils and with the same methods that have been employed for ages. We may speculate concerning textual transmission, but the identical and contemporary processes are available for our present study. In like manner we may find, only a day's



ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH (CRUSADERS')—NABLOUS.

journey from Jerusalem, (which is a city that is a dozen cities each builded on the ruins of its predecessors) another city and a sacred shrine, older than Jerusalem, and continuously inhabited from the times of the patriarchs, where the Passover is observed every year in conformity to the requirements of the Law of Moses.

Now, the Passover of the Jews had been extensively modified even in the time of Jesus. Our Lord and his disciples did not eat with shoes bound on their feet, nor standing, nor with staves in their hands. They did not hastily depart when supper was over, nor burn what was left from the paschal feast. They ate reclining, and

at leisure: their shoes were removed, and their feet were washed, as at the ending, not the beginning of a journey. They sat for a long time after the meal was ended, and had bread left with which to celebrate the Lord's Supper. In short, the details provided for in Exodus xii. 11 were ignored. This doubtless was because the customs of the time had altered, and Jesus was quite indifferent to form.

But on that same midnight when Jesus and his disciples assembled in the upper room the Samaritans were celebrating the Passover. And their shoes were bound on, and their staves were in their hands. And the customs as then observed are observed to-



VIEW OF NABLOUS LOOKING TOWARD MOUNT EBAL.

day. I have before me letters descriptive of the Passover as observed on Mount Gerizim in the years 1906 and 1907, involving so much of interest that I am glad to share it with others.

The Samaritan community lives in Nablous, at the foot of Mount Gerizim. Their number in 1901 was 152, of which number 97 were males and only 55 females. Only the men participate in public worship. The women have some authority in domestic affairs, as I have myself witnessed; but they are not permitted an actual share in the public life of the congregation. There is a synagogue in Nablous, opening out of the court of the High Priest's house: but their great festivals are celebrated on Gerizim.

The Passover of 1907 was celebrated on Friday, April 26. In that year Easter, as celebrated by Christians, fell on March 31. The regular day for the Samaritan Passover would have been Saturday, April 27; but they do not celebrate on the Sabbath. For this reason, as I suppose, the service was held in daylight; though in other years it is celebrated at midnight.

I am much indebted to Dr. Gaskoin Wright, Surgeon in charge of the Church Missionary Hospital in Nablous, for a description of this service. Though I have visited Nablous, and count the High Priest among my friends, I have not been able to be with them at Passover time; and Dr. Wright, who has been for some years



HOSPITAL AT NABLOUS.

resident in Nablous, and who has written me many valuable letters concerning the Samaritans, kindly offered to attend this Passover, and let me see it through his eyes and camera. He carried with him to the top of Gerizim the proofs of a previous article of mine in *The Open Court*, which he read on the mountain to the High Priest, together with letters in which were conveyed to him on that day the greetings of American friends.

On that morning, Friday, April 26, the whole Samaritan community was encamped on the top of Mount Gerizim in tents much like the circular tents familiar to tourists in Palestine. The camp-

ing place was not on the very top of Gerizim, but a plot about ten minutes below the summit, purchased for them from the Muslims about 1750 by a benevolent member of the community. There they celebrate not only the Passover, but Pentecost and the Feast of Booths.

Gerizim is declared by the Samaritans to be the highest mountain in the world. It would be useless to oppose this tenet with the assertion that the barometer shows Gerizim to be but 2848 feet above the sea, while despised Ebal, directly opposite, is 3076. It is the oldest of mountains, too; and the Eternal Mountain. For it the



VIEW OF NABLOUS SHOWING SAMARITAN QUARTER BEHIND THE
MINARET AND MT. GERIZIM.

Samaritans have twice seven holy names,* and with it they connect the sacrifice of Isaac, the erection of the Altar and the Law, and almost every sacred rite from the beginning of Hebrew history to the present time. Jerusalem is to them a modern innovation, and

* The names are: 1. The Ancient Mountain. 2. Beth-El = The House of the Almighty. 3. Beth-Elohim = The House of Angels. 4. The Gate of Heaven (Gen. xxviii. 17). 5. Luzah = "To God is this place" (Gen. xxviii. 19). 6. Sanctuary. 7. The Mount of Blessing. 8. Beth-YHWH (Ex. xxiii. 19). 9. The Beautiful Mountain (Deut. iii. 25). 10. The Chosen Place. 11. The Highest in the World. 12. The First of Mountains. 13. God is seen (Gen. xxii. 14). 14. The Mountain of the Inheritance of the Shekinah. See article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1907.

even Shiloh a schismatic and dishonest shrine. As for Bethel, Gerizim is Bethel, the place of Jacob's vision, and the true House of God.

Upon each tent is smeared the blood of the sacrifice, that the death-angel's passage over the homes of the true Israel may be fittingly commemorated.

It was a stormy day, and the air was chill on the mountain; but a large company of Muslim spectators had assembled, and were



NABLOUS, SITE OF ANCIENT SHECHEM, AND THE SLOPE OF MT.
GERIZIM.

finding places to view the celebration. Not always do they permit the service to proceed without interruption; but this year there was no disorder.

The High Priest received Dr. Wright, whom he was expecting, and talked over with him in advance the ceremonies as they were to be conducted. About noon the men and boys assembled in an open space surrounded by a rough stone wall. The men sat in rows, and

the priests, of whom there are several, sat among the people. At times the High Priest faced the congregation, and at other times faced with them toward the summit of the mountain, in a direction about East by South East from the place of meeting. All the men wore white garments except the High Priest whose robe was a golden yellow. In the photograph it appears black, but he never wears black.

The service began with a hymn in praise of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Then followed a prayer of thanksgiving to Almighty God, Maker of heaven and earth. These prayers, and most of the remainder of the service, were in Hebrew; but these were followed



THE HIGH PRIEST AT PRAYER (PASSOVER OF 1907).
The white figures are Samaritans in their Passover dress.

by a prayer in Arabic, for the Sultan; this was offered for the benefit of the Muslim spectators. These opening prayers occupied about a half hour. Then the four chapters Exodus xii-xv were read by the High Priest.

At the conclusion of this service seven lambs were brought. They were all males of the first year. All were carefully examined by two men, one a priest and one a layman. One lamb was found to have a torn ear, and was rejected. Then at a given signal the six lambs were killed by having their throats cut, the people shout in unison, "There is but one God!" One priest and one layman did the killing, and a third man caught the blood in a vessel, and

hastened to the camp, where each of the forty tents was smeared with the blood. The photograph shows the blood on the door posts; it was smeared also on the lintel. A bunch of hyssop was used in this service, and the whole proceeding was as commanded in Exodus xii. 22: "And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the bason, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with the blood that is in the bason."

A pathetic curiosity held the spectator's attention as the lambs were killed. Not one of them made a sound. They were led as lambs to the slaughter, and they opened not their mouth. The

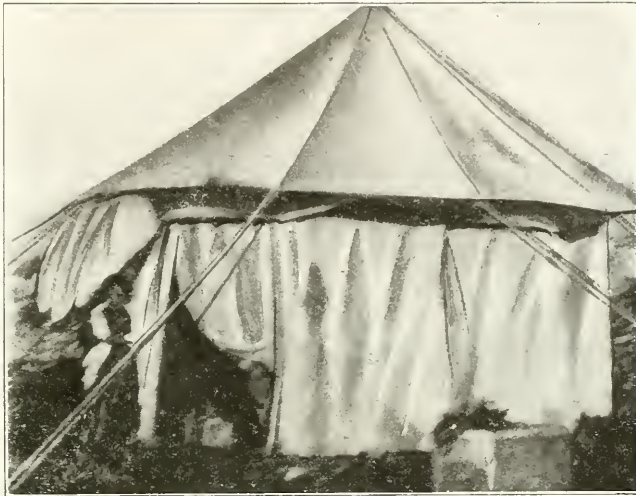


HIGH PRIEST RECITING HISTORY OF THE FIRST PASSOVER (1906).

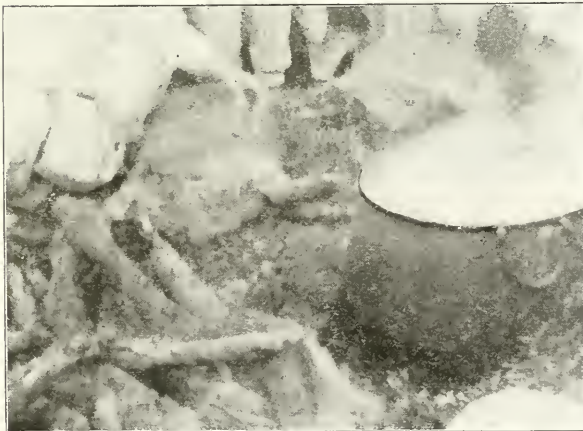
Samaritans do not recognize the Hebrew prophets, but the visitor was forcibly reminded of Isaiah liii. 7: "He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth."

A great fire was already blazing under caldrons of water. The water was now poured over the sheep, and the wool was pulled off, and the entrails were removed and salted. It was about half past two when the lambs were ready for the roasting. They were cleaned

of all their wool, but the skin was left on ; and great care had been taken to break no bone. The fire had been burning in a pit, and had burned down to a bed of coals. Into this furnace of hot coals the



SAMARITAN TENT SHOWING BLOOD ON SIDE-POSTS.



SAMARITANS REMOVING THE WOOL FROM THE PASSOVER LAMB BY CALDRONS OF BOILING WATER.

lamb was thrust on a pole ; and the pit was sealed with earth and grass. The right foreleg of each sheep was removed and placed

on a separate pole, as the priests' portion. During this whole time the shouting continued, "There is but one God."

About an hour before sunset the men and boys assembled again, with shoes on their feet, and staves in their hands. Their loins were girded, and their preparations for the ceremonial journey were complete. There were 87 men and boys at this service. In the earlier service Dr. Wright was able to count only 70. All the boys over 4 years of age were present, and apparently every man



MEN'S WARD IN THE NABLOUS HOSPITAL.

except Shafek, the eldest son of the High Priest, who was ill, and who remained in his tent, where Dr. Wright gave him medicine.*

* A letter from the High Priest, dated Dec. 12, 1907, confirmed the news which had already come to me of the death of this son, whom I knew personally through purchases made from him in his home, and by manuscripts in his handwriting. The father is in deep sorrow. He had hoped that this son would succeed him in the priesthood; though the office does not descend by primogeniture, the High Priest is elected from the sons of the priest-family. The letter says in part:

"My esteemed brother and friend, Dr. William Barton: (May God preserve you): Anxious for tidings concerning you, I would inform you about what probably has reached you already, namely the death of my oldest son, Shafek, after lingering as a prisoner in his bed for a period of nine whole months, I suffering in the meantime no less than he. How much I have re-

Kneeling on mats, the men went through a long form of prayer, removing their shoes for the prayer. The prayer was offered in a sing-song tone. From time to time the men bent forward in their prayer, following the High Priest, and with hands stretched out, touched the ground with their foreheads, after the custom of the Muslims.



SAMARITANS PROSTRATING THEMSELVES IN PRAYER (1906).

Just before sunset they all shouted, "Jehovah passed over the Children of Israel and smote the Egyptians!" Then they bowed their heads and worshiped as the sun went down.

Unleavened bread and bitter herbs were now distributed, a few
ceived from the kindness of men that I might spend it on him! How many physicians have I called, and how often have they disappointed me! Great is my sorrow. In fine, my son died after a most painful suffering, leaving me, as you know, a very sad old man."

Later in response to a letter of sympathy he wrote, "The letter has arrived in which you express your sorrow at the death of my son. Your sympathy is much appreciated. I bow my head, and say, Thanks be to God for this trial; it must be best, for He does only what is right. Of my ten sons, I now have only one left."

morsels being given to friends of the priest, among the others to Dr. Wright; but all the while the meat was jealously guarded, as it lay in seven baskets, and no stranger was permitted to touch a shred or bone of it.

Ten minutes after sunset they all stood up, with shoes on feet and staves in hand, and began to eat the meat, watching lest some Muslim steal a bone, and throwing every bone into the fire without breaking it. Portions were put aside for the wives of the men; and in time all adjourned to their tents to finish the meal with their



A GROUP OF NABLOUS MOSLEM WOMEN.

families. A very few of the men sat down during the latter part of the meal, but most stood up throughout.

Ten of the women were menstruous, and were not permitted to eat the Passover. One woman was suffering much pain, and Dr. Wright was asked to prescribe for her. The ten women were in one tent and were very unhappy. They had all been crying, and the eyes of one of them were much inflamed with weeping. The whole burden of the Law was upon them; and they were distressed because of their unhappy condition.

It would be good to believe that this little community was

united and happy; but small as it is there are factional disputes within it: and Dr. Wright on this day went from tent to tent meeting now and then old patients, and gathering sad evidence that complete harmony among the Samaritans was lacking, even on that great day. But of this, perhaps it is not well that I write very much, although it is a matter which has come to me in many ways.

Dr. Wright's careful and scholarly observation is the best and most accurate description I have read of the Passover celebration, and I am glad to supplement it by some notes from the journal of my friend, Prof. George L. Robinson, of McCormick Theological



A STREET IN NABLOUS.

Seminary of Chicago, who witnessed the latter part of the ceremony on the same day, April 26, 1907, and who has kindly copied the narrative for my use in this article.

"We reached Nablous too late to see the slaughter of the seven lambs; hence the first portion of the following description is from hearsay, partly from Prof. D. G. Lyon of Harvard, who witnessed the whole ceremony.

"About noon the colony of Samaritans who had pitched their tents near the top of Gerizim began to observe their Passover feast.

Only the men and boys participated. The women remained in the tents with their girl children. There were thirty-five tents.

"The men and boys assembled about noon in the court or sanctuary of the consecrated area. They were about eighty in number, and for an hour they chanted their Passover ritual in Samaritan, kneeling, standing and sitting. The fires were kindled in the trench at the north end of the enclosure and in the circular oven near by. The wind was blowing cold and strong. At length about one p. m., three men with New Jerusalem knives parted the wool on the throats of the seven lambs (an eighth lamb was standing by in case



SAMARITAN CAMP ON MT. GERIZIM (PASSOVER OF 1907).

any physical defect had been overlooked in the other seven), which had been thrown on their sides, and presently the lambs' throats were cut transversely to the bone. One man killed five, the other two men one each. The lambs were yearlings and males. The blood of the first and second killed was caught in a tin cup about ten inches deep and smeared on the tent doors. The rest of the blood was allowed to flow out upon the ground. As soon as the victims were dead, they began to pull off the wool, leaving the skin intact. To do so with greater ease, three caldrons of boiling water over the fire in the trench near by were used. They poured

the water, little by little, upon the carcasses of the lambs, patting down the wool. The wool that was taken off was thrown near the fire and burned later on. All this time a roaring fire was burning in the oven or circular pit near by. When the entrails were removed, a gambrel-stick was inserted in the hind legs and the victims were each lifted upon the shoulders of two men, who held them aloft until the process of dressing was finished. The intestines were also thrown near the fire in the trench, the contents of the largest intestines being removed out of the camp before burning. The heart, liver, etc., were carefully placed inside the carcasses, and their heads and legs were left on. The carcasses were each carefully salted also. Then great wooden sticks were brought and the lambs were thrust



PULLING THE WOOL FROM THE LAMBS.

upon them and held firm by means of a circular board which rested on a cross pin in the stick. These kept the lambs from falling into the fire. All being ready, they were taken to the oven to be roasted. The right shoulders were intended for the priest. The coals that remained from the fire which had been burning so furiously in the oven cavity were smothered over with earth, and then the poles with their sacrificial flesh upon them were lowered (the big end down) until they rested on the coals, all parallel to each other. Then quickly nine little round sticks were laid across the mouth of the oven and upon these nine others transversely, and these in turn were covered with grass and straw and on top of all wet earth or mud to prevent a draft which would produce a flame. The pit or oven being lined with stone, and now being very hot from the

fire which had been raging all noon for about two hours, the heat together with the coals at the bottom of the pit were enough to roast the lambs quite sufficiently. Indeed in three hours' time they came out quite charred. From 2:30 p. m. till 5:30 the lambs were in the oven; the people having returned to their tents.

"At 5:30 p. m. we arrived and were received by the second priest and shown into his tent. While sitting there we overheard him say to a visiting Samaritan that only fifteen minutes remained



HEATING THE OVEN TO ROAST THE PASSOVER LAMBS.

before the supper. Considering it wise to leave and not wishing to interfere with their sacrificial meal, we excused ourselves, intending to visit the tent of Professor Lyon. The priest showed us the altar of burnt offering, the oven, and Dr. Lyon's tent, whereupon we bade him adieu. Presently I saw a crowd gathering about the oven mound. Men and boys were there, also English women, one with a camera, and other spectators, all intently looking at what was going on in the center of the group. I approached, and looking

over the heads of certain bystanders, saw the Samaritans with gloved and bare hands removing the wet earth in the most savage way with pickaxes and sticks. Not knowing that the lambs were beneath, I asked what they were attempting to do and was informed that the sacrifices had been roasted beneath. Presently the mud was removed sufficiently so that the entire covering, including the straw, grass and sticks, was lifted up and thrown back. Then seven strong men seized the seven sticks and drew up the carcasses from the oven, each removing his lamb and putting it into a large basket. The sticks were thrown to one side. The baskets containing the lambs were then carried to the center of the sanctuary and set down in different places amidst more or less confusion. Upon each bitter



HIGH PRIEST OFFICIATING AT THE SAMARITAN PASSOVER.

herbs were thrown. Then the High Priest took his place by the column or pillar in the south-eastern corner of the court and sat down, a little boy sitting on one side of him and a man assistant at his other side. Soon the whole male population numbering about 80 or 82, removed their shoes and sat down, beginning to recite their ritual service in Samaritan most energetically. The wind blew cold and penetrating. Nevertheless they were able to make their monotonous voices heard above the breezes; sometimes loud, sometimes suppressed, sometimes here, sometimes there. Once they broke forth into a song. Sometimes they stood, sometimes they kneeled. More than once they stretched out their hands to heaven, their palms

lifted up towards the sky. Occasionally one would rise from his place and go over to the other side of the court, apparently for no necessary or ritual purpose. Towards the close of the long service, several volunteered to bring in the unleavened bread which was rolled up and contained within it bitter herbs.

"At length, after about 45 minutes, or possibly an hour, during which we shivered with cold, they arose, were handed the unleavened bread, which was passed about, arranged themselves in groups about the six baskets, according to their families probably (one basket seems to have disappeared for some reason, perhaps it was assigned

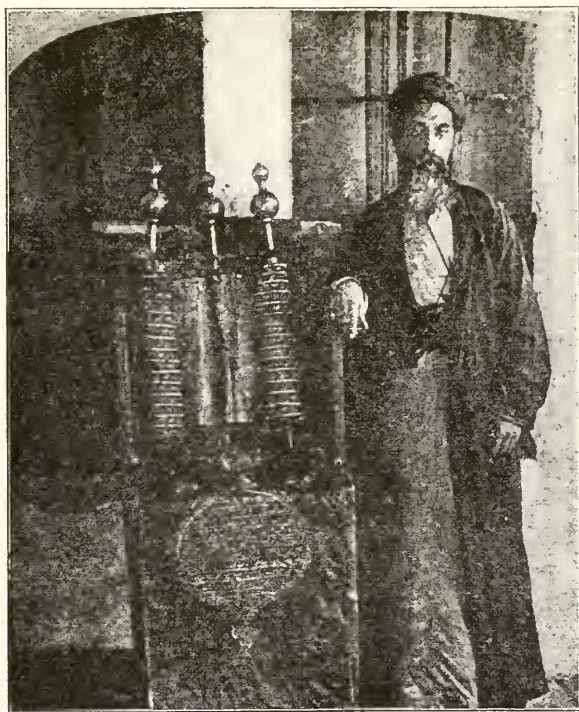


THE SAMARITANS AT PRAYER ON MT. GERIZIM (PASSOVER OF 1907).

to the priest), and those whose work it was reached into the baskets, took out flesh of the lambs and divided it on different dishes. Then, one after another, they disappeared to their tents to eat the Passover with their families and friends. As we came out through the compound on our way home, I met a well-dressed Samaritan and approaching him began to ask him for a little piece of the unleavened bread, but he ran from me as from an enemy, their belief being that contact with a foreigner would have vitiated the spiritual value of the entire ceremony. The women had no public part in any of the service.

"The priests and Samaritans generally seemed to be very avaricious, ever wishing, even up to the time of the evening supper, to sell their books and other treasures. The priceless Samaritan Codex was brought up from the city for safe keeping to one of the tents and was there guarded. This was the first time, I was told, that they had ever killed the Passover at noon.

"Dr. Lyon was at first forbidden to take pictures of the noon ceremony, but afterwards they relented as they were desirous that



HIGH PRIEST WITH SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

he should buy certain of their prayer books. The next morning we returned to Jerusalem."

In the preceding year a company of American people visited Nablous, and furnished me descriptions of the event. There has come to me, also, a manuscript written by a young lady, Miss Naseef, prepared as an essay for the "Middle Sized Bears' Club" of Jerusalem, concerning the Passover of 1905, and read before that body of young people on July 10, 1905.

On this occasion the lambs were killed just at sunset, and the supper was eaten at midnight. She tells the story in these words:

"All the men and boys of the community were assembled dressed in white, waiting for sunset. The ceremony commenced about half an hour before the sun went down. They all began shouting a loud prayer, each one shouting with all his might, and quite independent of the rest. The priest then took his stand on a fallen pillar from the ruins of the ancient Herodian temple, and read aloud the twelfth chapter of Exodus, which gives the narrative of the first Passover.



RUIN OF TEMPLE ON THE TOP OF MT. GERIZIM.

At his feet stood six sheep, all of them males of the first year and without blemish. They were very particular that the sheep should not be killed a minute before or after the sun went down. Just as the sun dipped into the Mediterranean the sheep were killed, the people shouting all the time. The sheep were plunged into caldrons of boiling water to enable them to remove the wool easily. The wool and entrails were thrown into the fire. The hearts, too, were thrown into the fire. When the sheep were prepared they were put upon long wooden spikes. They were then carried to a cemented pit, where they had built a large furnace, where a hot bed of coals

was ready. Into this the stakes were thrust, and the top was covered with a mat of grass. The lambs were left to roast, because they must not eat the Passover raw nor sodden with water, but roasted with fire. The pit was left in charge of the younger men. The rest went to their tents to wait for midnight. Before dispersing they all embraced and wished each other a happy feast.

"The midnight hour was announced by a herald; and they all rose in haste, put on their sandals, girded up their loins, and took their staves in their hands. The pit was uncovered, and the lambs



MT. GERIZIM FROM SYCHAR, PALESTINE.

were placed on white cloths. Each family ate by itself; or if a family was too small, two families ate together. They ate in haste; and they gathered close around the lambs to prevent the Mohammedans, who come up to torment them, from snatching any pieces of meat or bone. As each bone was picked, it was thrown right into the furnace. The fire and the full moon lit up the scene. Everything left over was burned. When all had been burned or eaten, they congratulated one another and dispersed for the night."

Dean Stanley gives in the supplement of the first volume of his *Jewish Church* a description of the Samaritan Passover as it was

witnessed in 1854 by Mr. Rogers, English Consul at Damascus, an account of which was afterwards published in *Domestic Life in Palestine*, page 281. Dean Stanley himself later witnessed the Passover, and in the same article gives interesting recollections of it. Dr. Daud Katibali, in 1900, gave to Rev. Dr. Samuel Ives Curtiss



MOSQUE IN NABLOUS

an interesting account of the Passover as he had seen it, which Dr. Curtiss published in the supplement to his *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, p. 264.

It is very interesting to read this leaf torn out of the life of the

Old Testament as it comes fluttering down to us from the slope of Gerizim, and to feel the dead past warm with life as it is lived over in the ceremonies of this ancient congregation.

Although the day was unpropitious, Dr. Wright's camera caught a number of interesting snap-shots of scenes on the mountain. These reveal to us the events in all their interesting reality, and with a few secured for me on the previous anniversary, bring most of the details well within our vision. It is nothing more nor less than a contemporary bit of Old Testament life, solemn and instructive, which antiquity has saved for us out of the wreck and erosion of the ages; and we are fortunate in securing it with pen and camera before it loses itself with much that time has effaced and left for conjecture.

GOD AND THE WORLD PHYSICAL.

BY LAWRENCE H. MILLS.

I N closing an article printed in the September number of this periodical, I mentioned that the differentiation of the Ideal Supreme Deity from this universe of matter was a pressing necessity in the course of our endeavor to build up a proper concept of a spiritual God, but before we advance to such an undertaking, we had better consider a little more closely what each of the two things may be which we desire to put into antithesis. And, as implied or said above, we should not allow any fatuous and effeminate hesitation in the way of morbid sensibilities to check our progress, throwing us into a state of incipient mental cataleptic inanimation at the mere introduction of such a theme, for it is one which should long ago have been a subject taught at all our infant school-desks.

At least we should not balk this point, but advance upon the principle that the commonest of all structural mechanical facts should not be blinked, for ignorance cannot much longer continue to be the source of undeviating satisfaction. We have then nature's universe on the one side (with mathematics) and on the other our Supreme Ideal Faith-God with His cognate ideal system.

These then are our theme for analytical discrimination. What then is this our mechanic world—all which we should meet with line and plummet, compass and lens, theodolite, etc.?—that is to say, if we are to examine it with anything approaching to sincerity. For, first of all, it seems actually to be necessary to mention such an item as that such a physical world as ours is not "infinite." One would have thought that most people who believe that there is anything physical anywhere were convinced that it could be limited at least as regards dimensions. For the physical universe, in the name of "measure," is generally supposed to be at least in space, while its place there is a more serious problem. Space is in itself, as we generally understand it, simple unoccupied "nothing" for objects

to stand or move in, which objects in their relative distance from one another, or approximation to each other, alone fix its limits, those of space. In these spacial particulars it, the universe, is therefore, like most other things in a conceivable material world-system, not at all mysterious, any more so than a pebble or a microbe. It is simply, as said, an object rolling in nothing, not imaginably related by measure to others similarly situated, and no more unlimited than any architectural structure. The mental universe we might add,—so, imperfectly, to speak of it for a moment without too much precision,—may, on the other hand, and in one sense of it, be indeed said to be not “bounded” as to space, for, as in the case of number, the mind can never stop; it goes on irrecoverably beyond to a figure still more remote, after having already reached what seemed at first to be things unimaginable,—so, as to space, the mind goes ever out beyond an almost ultimate conception of nothing, ever on to a still further emptiness.

The material All-world, however, while neat-cut as a diamond as to “space,” must yet be, as a whole, entirely unmeasured and immeasurable as regards “time”; though its particularly teeming life in its everlasting change-motion is of course all that makes up “time” itself. Causal thought demands seeming fresh origination every instant for each such myriad-phase of passing matter-form, but common sight soon shows us that the substance itself of the particles, of which the almost immeasurable minute and multitudinous passing facts are the fleeting shapes, cannot itself be moved;—the atomic electron-particles simply change position; see above and below. Not fire, flood, nor earthquake diminish its weight by a kilogram; do ashes, smoke and gas weigh heavier than the ignited wood, consumed coal, or spirit? See the oxygen and hydrogen separated by electricity in our experimenting machines,—they combine again to equal weight. Let me not be misunderstood: I block no causes nor beginnings; beginnings there are, as said, and by the myriad at every instant. “All is flow” with Hegel’s originals, as with himself; and precious are all things just in proportion as that flow is strong and rapid.

Life is firmer, for it is the flow that makes it; see the pulse or rather feel it. Yes, there are changes, as beginnings rushing on at every fraction of a second, but the everlasting substance in which the change takes place is itself in its elements unalterable. How can a change take place without something which changes, and which only changes so far as the changes noted are concerned? If there were no solid basis, the motion could not exist, nor be maintained—

the elemental substratum is—inadequately—like the deep sea, “motionless.” Change, which is its manifestation, is the splendid surge. The water particles rest still, or move but vertically;—it is the wave-form that rushes on the sea or wheat-field. So also thought-form itself, the life-spark of sentient nature;—it cannot stop. Mind-organism on organism reaches mature status and cerebral action at once inevitably sets in. It is the mere motion of thought faculties; thought-particles;—the thought-muscles alone rest in sleep, if then. The brain cerebrates, whether normally or not, at advancing stages. Take our common human puberty as a sample,—a seed-thought time it is for most of us. See it at the soul’s awaking;—“conversion,” we used to call it,—blessed crisis that it was. We then broke forth into reason’s consciousness,—we were veritably “born again.” Right was our deity; the strident will seemed fiercely free, to have it out with our highest yearnings,—this, passionately. Negation seemed cowardice; to do some noble thing, or many, was our point. We took our lives lightly in our hands; we gripped to do or die; we would even violently force idlers to take part. But what were we here again, but the fine poise of nature’s sentient forces, her better ones? Injustice seemed the kernel of all woe (all hell) to us,—its center;—but behold truth was everywhere, half-consciously.

If the bird be fragile, she can yet rise on wing and be in a moment safe; if the farm laborer bends to toil, he still smells the sweet earth and breathes the life-giving air; if the tigress is long starving, she yet enjoys her fierce spring the more, and the satisfaction of a fuller meal; if the inventor wrestles with hell’s influences in the frightful fights of jealousy, he has yet at times the thrill of victory; if Dives is his life-long assailed by a million demons tugging for his all, he has still at moments the satisfaction of his wishes. There is (imperfect) balance everywhere,—the essence of what we so fondly try to call the “truth.” Equity means evenness (see gravitation, which is analogous to stability, compactness). It is however never perfect, but attempted everywhere—sometimes in terrific forms. Two monsters meet in duel;—the horn of one snaps like a pipe-stem;—each battles, so he thinks, and thinks rightly, for some vital interest. Two stags struggle on a precipice;—antlers are interlocked;—the does look on. The youth knows that he feels conscience, as much as this;—nay more. And so of that active right-form, the affections, with their obedience;—he, our youth, longs on principle, as on passion, to follow them,—but the very doves do too, dying if parted, of their sorrow. See the wild-fowl’s mother-

hood;—she will draw the gunner off, feigning herself wounded, drooping her bedraggled wings, on ever further from her nest, saving her half-hatched brood. Look at the common poultry of the barn-door;—they even attracted the attention of our Lord. See too a keen bitch with her litter; she shows her sharp teeth at once;—devotion is a part of nature;—“attraction as the square of the distance”;¹ see above.

And what is order² but a something akin to chemical distribution; like crystallization; see above. The chief bull leads the herd;—look at the ants again. Order is everywhere (attempted), and so is genius. The very mould of the world seems to out-fold itself of itself;—see the chrysalis;—the butterfly’s cast is there. Look at the physical perfection of a new-born human being;—every little nail is in its place. In fact all sentient and all non-sentient being is there in motion toward an ideal, infernal or sublime. Even in the fused condition this was so;—change-phenomenon lived on in the electron in spite of flames;—forms predestined and pre-existing, appeared everywhere, as globe on globe grew cool. All the poles first chilled slowly,—then half-way down they grew more temperate till at last the equators themselves became possible, just as the globes themselves contracted from their still prior fire-mists,—and everywhere, as of dire necessity, as the heat went off, life swarmed, and with it consciousness, terrific or benign. So our self-life; all was struggling right, love, order and motion everywhere, with intermittent defeat or victory through murder, sneak, etc. But where did it all come from?—this all-creative motion—for none of us who have left our cradles interpose a preternatural creative interference precisely here;—we, all of us, insert that miracle at a long distance, indefinitely further back. All is as yet “sequence,” with us, in the common causal-chain; it is shape-form, ever changing in the everlasting unchanging substance—substratum. But suddenly, in these our well-fed meanderings on facts so patent, a keen thought shoots through us like a pang;—why in such an hypothetically conceived-of *almost* perfect physical system, balanced so symmetrically,—why do we need any quasi-natural creative interference ever, anywhere, or at all? “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth” is an absolute mystery which we must accept in childlike ignorance and faith. We have no right at all to exercise our intellectual faculties upon it, but we have likewise no right to stop our mental existence for this or any other cause. God has given us our sanity,

¹ Vohumanah. See “God and His Immortals.” *The Open Court*, Jan., 1906.

² Khshathra. See *ibid.*

and we must use it. We proceed to trace the facts and check a quasi-creationism.

Caloric does not imperatively call for it. All nature's things once flamed, so far as we can dream of it,—once, at least, so on this our sidereal ball,—with its planet-mates. It surely once passed through fire, as now all clearly see. All was included in that mass of burnt nature which once was this rolling sphere. Out of these seething substances, once vapor, then fluid, then fiery sands and stones and metals, came all things here terrestrial,—as few now doubt,—for all were already there without exception. The evolving and revolving masses became slowly dense; vapor thickened to liquid, liquid to solid, till the well-formed continents appeared between the oceans, with hot rivers rushing in their own midsts themselves. And out of this all came the great souls of earth as well as the villains, counterfeits and knaves;—and with them the now forever forgotten millions upon millions of other sentient beings who have emerged from the same elements, came also to their apex, some of them, and perished, having vibrated to some partial measure at least, all of them, with the same yearnings, emotions, fears and hopes in the long æons of a past formative eternity; and this in endless iterations, catenations. Oh, no! we raise no voice to deny that thing “beginning”—far from it; God forbid;—see everywhere above. Beginnings rushed on, are rushing now, and will forever fly at more than electric speed;—it is only the affixed particle to the great word with which we quarrel. “Beginnings” there are, as we cannot too frequently accede, and by the million,—myriads at every instant pressing on,—so ever throughout all,—but they are but the rushings-on of *eternal form-change*—not one single one of the vast finitude was ever for a moment *absolute as an ultimate*, or primal, original in any sense at all,—not for an instant. Like the chants to God in the Gãthic faith they “had no first”;—all was fleeting “form-change” of an abiding substratum, eternal in its sequence, forth and back. So only or, rather, so really,—for there is nothing greater than a form-change, we must not snub it,—substance's eternally proceeding externals it is—mighty indeed. So they are with crashing cataclysms in smiles of beauty, or frowns of horror. Differences there are in them, somewhat great;—slime and a solar system are not so close alike;—see a fetish and a Phidias. The ever furious fresh form-changes glide, or crash, on with standing speed (sic), and in that motion all sentient life-forces have their being,—but from the first ever imagined slightest jar, not to say “recorded,” to those awful motions now passing at this present instant, not one

solitary one has been without conditions, so not one ever for an instant absolute or preternatural;—incessant is the change. No, elemental absolute beginning is not thinkable. For how, as said, can a thing begin out of nothing? *Beginning phenomenal* has of itself reference to time, *beginning absolute* belongs to eternity, and not to nature-motion, nor to its measure;—least of all could a sidereal member of our solar group begin—in nature; that is to say, not absolutely. It is not dreamable; that is, not without miracle; and miracle is not our subject here: see on below. Creation-miracle would indeed be *beginning elemental*,—but it would be, like accident, *out of nature*; a break in the unbreakable chain-circle of all phenomena, while a missing link is here fatuity. Intellection deals alone with nature in its unbroken chain;—miracle, creation, accident lie in an entirely different category,—in the same ideal system with the Ideal God, not in nature, but in supernature, and there they are quite as possible, ideally, as He is. They are faith-objects, but our languages can ill express the idea here, for language is objective. These then are the two things to differentiate, if we wish to render an account for the use of our supposed full sanity. Conscience here should interpose one twinge at least for an honest “plumb” for once, and it is a very bad sacrilege indeed for us to fatuate our faculties. The nature-universe is simply permanent (Herakleitos):—things are and always were,—and after every effort to bring a thing to nothing, we find that we can only change its phase.

It has become at the present time a vital necessity to defend all cherished opinions upon subjects of prominent religious importance, and with the utmost regard to truth and reason. To assert a great spiritual principle and then to refuse altogether to discuss it, is no longer to be regarded as being either safe or honest. I have myself lately endeavored to advance here upon these better lines, and with little hesitation, for I have even applied scrutiny to the very doctrine of creation itself. The miraculous element in this representation as recorded in the first chapter of Genesis is sentimentally dear to every one of us, but the only way to preserve it is to face its difficulties without recoil. And, first of all, it is obviously vital to separate the ideal of creation as a miracle from the never ceasing activities of nature in its continuous chain of cause and effect.

My explanation is that the creation of the world, in perhaps a certain rhetorical sense of it, is now still progressing and at every divisible moment of time. As the course of history is the “day of judgment,” so that course is its hours of divine origination. My inconsistency is of course obvious. It was once thought by earnest

men that a natural creation in the ordinary sense of the word was needed in the light of pure reason. How could the physical world, it was asked, have originated of itself, and devout men simply welcomed the first chapter of Genesis, and that almost as a scientific explanation.

It was a miraculous act of creation of the world out of nothing, so they thought. Or, granted an eternity of the raw matter, it was at least the miraculous interference of an artificer (there wasn't much difference)—to this of course I adhere, so far as we must accept a supernatural world-maker. Of course there was fallacy in the truism of the supposed pious rationalist, when he asserted that something could not come out of nothing,—a fact which no one ever denied. Indeed in the light of mere logic he was right, for God Himself is as much an entity, or a "thing" as any other object, if He be an object. How then did He Himself arise, was only a fair question, to which the pious disputant of course answered that He did not arise at all. To this the sceptic might have rejoined, "If you say that God did not arise at all, why could you not also say that nature had no arising, either as regards its matter or its laws?" There would be nothing whatsoever profane in such a remark, for it merely concerns time. It is not profane to say that nature now exists; why should it be wrong to say that it existed for untold millions of ages gone by, as all now agree? Why then should it not have existed forever, and where is the blasphemy? Obviously this would rob God of the glory of a mechanical achievement,—but would that be so gross a deprivation? To say that the physical world, not the universe, is the production of God's natural creative function might in some lights of it be hardly regarded as a *compliment*. See on the Zoroastrian Dualism. At all events I venture to propose as above, that God is in the world, physically, supernaturally, as eternally and miraculously active in it at every instant, and this is and was the "creation." But why, asks the worshiper, was it so written in Genesis I, if there were really no beginning? The answer is obvious. Such a statement is misleading. There was ever so much of a beginning, that is to say, as regards our human race. The ideal God, in His omniscient wisdom, foresaw all the future as He remembered all the past; or rather, at every moment He was conscious of both. If "not a sparrow falls to the ground without Him," surely the incipience of the human race, however degraded it was destined to be and to continue, was no matter of indifference to Him, for it (the human race) has its good points as well as its evil ones. So that the "creation" of Genesis I was in-

deed an epoch in God's eternity, but it had simply reference *to us*. See above. Otherwise it was but a mere dot in His unlimited experience.

My only explanation of my suggestion that God is now creating the world is that this is all "ideal"; but as to what "ideal" really means, I am not at present prepared to say. See Kant's doctrine of the ideas. Certainly ideas are actually things, as much so as the mountain ranges, but I will not now discriminate. I only say that to be serious we must separate all natural process from all miracle, and above all from creative miracle, which indeed the doctrine of miracle demands of itself. I do not think it can do harm to dwell on this for a moment. The course of the physical world must be traced back to eternity, if that be possible, just as it must be traced back to the last fifty years or anticipated for the next future half-century, and to say the contrary is either fatuity or fraud.

PROF. LAWRENCE H. MILLS ON "THE LOGOS."

BY THE EDITOR.

WE have repeatedly called attention to the great importance of Mazdaism, the religion of ancient Persia, founded by the great prophet Zarathushtra. It was perhaps the earliest clearly defined monotheism that was ever formulated as a definite faith with its sacred books, hymns and rituals, and it has exerted a greater influence upon our own religious development than was suspected, until the facts became known of late through scholarly research.

Prof. Lawrence H. Mills is one of the first and foremost students of the Zend and Pahlavi languages in which the sacred literature of Mazdaism has been written, and he has made accessible many important new facts that throw light on this ancient belief in Ahura Mazda, the Lord Omniscient, and the beneficent influence it exercised first on Judaism and later on Christianity.

There has been a controversy concerning the prevalence of Persian ideas in both Judaism and Christianity, and somehow the controversy has been raging concerning the origin of the term "Word" or *Logos* as used in the introductory verses of the Fourth Gospel. It is very peculiar that the same term *A'huna-Vairya*, or as it is more generally known in an abbreviation, *honover*, the divine word, is in the Zendavesta an omnipotent being that permeates the world, and is frequently spoken of as possessed of personality.

The well-known Orientalist Oppert was the first to declare that the *honover* was the prototype of the *Logos* idea of St. John, and this seems very plausible if we consider the mighty influence that the Persian religion had exercised on Judaism and Christianity. Now Professor Mills comes out with a vigorous protest in which he claims that the *Logos*-conception can not have been derived from Persian sources. This is the more noteworthy since Professor Mills is fearless enough to state what he deems to be true. He is not

influenced by any conservative, let alone ultra-conservative, tendency, and the arguments which he uses are plain enough.

Professor Mills sums them up as follows:

"I firmly refuse to accede to the view that Persian or Babylonian associations necessarily gave the first originating impulse to the new spiritual religious life of the Jewish tribes, holding, as I do, that it arose from the disciplinary effects of the afflictions of the people under their captivity, for this re-awakened and re-doubled their enthusiastic zeal for the cultivation of such of their ancient Scriptures as then still survived to them, and the more so as they were cut off from the more external consolations of their Temple service; but I have endeavored fully to recognize the immense *supervening influence* of the Medo-Persian creeds as corroborating the original Jewish thoughts in the chief all-important particulars, which were no less than Immortality itself with Resurrection, Forensic Judgment, Chiliasm, Paradise (by the way, a Persian word) Heaven and Hell; and to that opinion, as I need hardly say, I still adhere. Yet corroboration, firm support, co-operative coadjutation, vivication, expansion, wider promulgation, vitally influential as indeed these particulars are each and all severally supposed to be as elements of energetic force for the instilling of organic life into an incipient system, they are yet still not one of them *origination!*"

"In the same way I hold, as regards the *Hōnōver* containing, as it does, integral elements, in the imposing Medo-Persian scheme; for these elements, which are, however, not so very incisively expressed in this *Hōnōver*, may, indeed—nay, they must—have exerted more or less directly the same *supervening influence* in the progressive developments of the Exilic doctrine which the other ideal forces in the Avesta exerted upon it. And this is, of course, a matter of the gravest moment; but the proposal that the *Hōnōver* had anything directly to do with the point of the *Logos* in St. John's Gospel brings up an entirely separate question in the detail of the investigation, and one of a very marked and incisive character.

"If the *Hōnōver* materially and directly influenced that "Word which was in the beginning with God," then indeed we have a point of considerable magnitude in the history of the Christian religious philosophy, and many schools would become affected. But my argument to the contrary is of the shortest possible description. I will not urge that *Yasna XIX.* may have been written so late as a century or more after St. John's Introduction, as it is commentary matter, and may naturally be assigned to a later date; for we must

¹ Save as regards "Chiliasm" and "Paradise," which were wholly Persian.

also here postulate predecessors to both the Hōnōver and the *in principio*, as in regard to all similar compositions we are forced to do. And these forerunners of the Hōnōver may—if, indeed, they must not inevitably—have contained analogous expressions bearing also some likeness, through parallel development, to the *Logos* of Philo and St. John; but what I do emphatically urge as an absolute refutation of any direct influence of the Hōnōver upon the Philonian-Johanian *Logos*, as expressed in the Fourth Gospel, is the notorious fact that Philo's *Logos* was, in its scientific aspects, *entirely Greek*.

"Zeller, indeed, remarks that his—Philo's—*Logos* doctrine, that of the *in principio*, was "Jewish in a Greek dress," but perhaps that expression might be modified, though emanating from such an illustrious source. He—Philo—undoubtedly often reverted to such expressions as that "the heavens were made by the *Word of the Lord*, and all the hosts of them by the *breath of His mouth*;" but he endeavored to represent this "Word" as being analogous to the *Logos*, so that it seems difficult to see that his elaborately worked-up Greek *Logos* was a mere form of "foreign dress." Philo was always, of course, at heart passionately a Jew, and he wished to bring in all his literary results to bear upon the glory of his race in their inspired Scriptures,² and beyond all question fragments of the Persian lore reached him in his Greek Egypt through the Persian-Babylonian Talmuds as well as in the Exilic canonical Scriptures, which two were, each of them, doubtless much fuller in extent of literary matter then, at the time of Philo, than the masses of them which have till now survived to us of the present day. And these fragments doubtless contained many elements which appeared or reappeared in the Hōnōver, or in documents now lost, which were of similar description; and these must certainly have exercised a *supervening influence* upon Philo's mind, as well as upon that of every other individual present in Egypt or Jerusalem at the time, who at all concerned himself practically with such reflections.

"And to corroborate this we have only to turn to our Exilic Bibles, flooded as they are everywhere with Iranian ideas, and where we are especially arrested at the remarks about the "anointed Cyrus" and his Biblical successors; but that this Persian lore penetrated to him—Philo—in such force as to affect his *Logos* seems to me to be impossible. That anything Persian could have penetrated to the *Academia* to such a degree as to pointedly influence Plato's *Logos*

² Though Siegfried has approximately proved that he was rusty upon his Hebrew, having lived in an atmosphere of Greek (see *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alten Testaments*, 1875.

or *nous* is, of course, absurd,³ and that these analogous Iranian concepts came in upon Philo with such an effect as to mould his view of this, his Greek ideal, seems to me to be equally ridiculous. The man was not only attracted, but actually taken possession of, by his Athenian master. He could not even *think* Judaism without thinking Plato too, though we cannot bar the *vice versa*; and this was so notorious that it was common talk among the Greek Platonics for a century or more; they said (*Phot. Biblioth.*, lxxxvi, b. 26): Πλάτων φιλονίξει, ἢ Φίλων πλάτωνιζει."

The argument of Professor Mills is convincing. We can trace so plainly the Logos-conception of Philo to Platonism, that we are inclined to assume that we have here an independent parallelism which is perhaps more natural if we consider that a similar use of the term has been made among other nations, for instance in India. In China the word *tao*, which in so far as it also means "reason" (or the logical principle) is similar to the word "Logos," was also used by the Taoists in a quite analogous way to the term "Logos," and translators of the New Testament have accordingly translated the term "Logos" by "Tao."

Professor Mills's argument may be welcome as an orthodox interpretation of the New Testament, but we would suggest that the hyperorthodox position has become untenable under all circumstances, for what Professor Mills calls the "supervening influence" gave to Judaism its last touches and made it truly monotheistic, and if we need no longer trace the derivation of the term Logos from a so-called pagan people like the Persians, how is orthodoxy better off if instead of a Persian source we have a Greek source which is also pagan? The fact remains that Christianity is the product of a development, and that the early Christians have assimilated all those truths that powerfully appealed to their imagination. We have gradually learned not to be afraid of evolution, for evolution is the characteristic of life, and we understand more and more that evolution itself is a religious idea.

Professor Mills is a theologian, but he is a fearless investigator. He is neither a dogmatist nor is he a radical who would reject religion because it is a product of evolution. He is prominent as a scholar but he has also devoted much time and attention to philosophical and religious problems. We publish in the present number an article of his, entitled "God and the World Physical," in which he

³ For a detailed discussion of the entire question, see my book *Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achæmenids, and Israel*, Vol. I. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago.

harmonizes the problem of a conception of God with the rigidity of natural law. It will be noticed that his sympathetic study of the Zendavesta enables him to think his philosophical terms in two different religious terminologies, which is an advantage not to be underrated because it liberates the theologian from the dogmatic on-sidedness which seems to be a natural inheritance of every pious man.

WAS JESUS ONLY A MAN?

BY HOWARD CRAWLEY.

I TAKE it to be evident that the measure of human greatness, using this term in its broadest sense, is the influence which its possessors exert upon mankind. It can then hardly be denied that Jesus was the greatest of all men. Paraphrasing a common saying, some men are great through their own inherent qualities, while others are great through circumstance. There are many kings whose names are known to us merely because they were born kings.

To which of these categories does Jesus belong?

He was born A. U. C. 749, in an obscure village in a remote province of the Roman Empire. In A. D. 27 he began his public ministry, which lasted three years, and was terminated by his death on the cross at Jerusalem. His wanderings were included within a territory perhaps one hundred miles long by fifty broad. His immediate and constant following consisted of twelve men, the Apostles, but he was frequently the center of multitudes, and there is no doubt but that his addresses were heard by a large number of the inhabitants of Palestine.

His teaching, while set forth in a novel and very striking manner, and well calculated to appeal to the heterogeneous gatherings he addressed, contains little or nothing which could have impressed his educated hearers as particularly original. Perhaps every thought he expressed may be found in Hebrew or heathen literature. To his Jewish hearers, the only new doctrine he taught was that of the worthlessness of their ceremonial observances, considered merely as such.

At least in the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus is much as another man might have been. He cast out "demons" and cured disease. His abilities in this respect are not unusual, and are not even claimed to be by the Evangelists. He has compassion for the weakling and for the repentant sinner, but his addresses to the scribes and Phari-

sees are bitter polemics. He rebukes the too impetuous Peter, and (Luke xiii. 32) applies a contemptuous epithet to Herod Antipas. He suffers from physical and mental weariness, he is unable at times to perform cures, he endures great mental suffering at Gethsemane, and the words, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*, seem to be an expression of despair.

When Jesus was arrested by the authorities, the Apostles deserted him, and all four accounts of the last scenes show very plainly that his hold on the populace was of the slightest. Pilate yielded to the unanimous demand of the Jerusalem mob. The Jews, as a race, no more believed him to be the Messiah then than they do now.

What the Apostles did and thought between Friday and Sunday we do not know. Their conduct on Thursday night was not such as to arouse admiration. Peter's cowardice is related in some detail, but he was probably no worse than the others. With the probable exception of John, there is no evidence that any of them were present at the Crucifixion, although the Galilean women are said to have witnessed the tragedy from a distance. It was also a man hitherto unmentioned, Joseph of Arimathæa, who asked permission to care for the body. This same reluctance to come out from under cover was manifested on Easter Sunday, for it was only the women who came to the tomb.

We have here the history of a man who displayed no qualities which could differentiate him from other men in any unusual degree. His meagre following was recruited almost entirely from the lower classes. It is reasonable to suppose that along with the Twelve, a small number of others considered him to be the Christ. But he was not so considered by the educated Jews. Nor was their hostility to him the result of mere blind prejudice. It is absurd to suppose that the Jews would not have rejoiced at the coming of their Messiah. But Jesus did not fulfil their expectations, and the history of his ministry shows that while at first in doubt, they finally came to regard him as an imposter. On the day he died, Israel was almost a unit in rejecting him, and his few adherents were probably trembling for their lives.

It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that Jesus's greatness is not the result of any remarkable qualities which he displayed during his life. The alternative is that it was due to circumstance, and necessarily in his case to circumstance taking origin after his death. Let us examine this hypothesis.

At sunset, on Good Friday, 30 A. D., there was not the slightest reason to suppose that the name of Jesus would ever again be

brought to public attention. To all appearances, his ministry had been a complete failure. Like many men before and after, he had failed in his chosen task, and the penalty of his failure was death.

But fifty days later, his followers appeared in public, and started the movement afresh. Peter, who was not a brave man before Pentecost, now dared everything for the sake of the cause. But more than this, many of those very Jews who had sought Jesus's death now accepted him as the Messiah. During Passion week, the people followed the chief priests, and the disciples of the Nazarene feared to open their mouths. After Pentecost, these same disciples preached to, and won, these same people, and the chief priests and the Council were defied. Within the short period of seven weeks there was a very remarkable change of front on the part of considerable numbers of a race notable among all the races of mankind for the tenacity with which they cling to their opinions. That the Council had not experienced this same change of opinion, but deemed it politic to yield to the storm, is indicated by Acts iv. 21-22.

From this point on, the history of Christianity presents no unique problems. Jesus was accepted as the Saviour, and his worship followed naturally enough. The spark may have been ever so little, but it sufficed to kindle a great fire. The problem which is unique, however, is to determine how the spark itself was kindled, for it seems clear that it was dead on the day of the Crucifixion. That is, on the hypothesis that the "greatness" of Jesus was due to circumstance, to his being credited (falsely) with having risen from the dead, and thereby demonstrating that he was the Son of God, what happened between the Crucifixion and Pentecost to give rise to this impression?

It is generally accepted as historical that when the women came to the tomb, they found the body of Jesus gone. This is the fact which is supposed to have given rise to the "myth" that he rose from the dead. But the disappearance of the body introduced no new element into the situation, and according to both Luke and John was not in itself regarded by the women as evidence of anything strange. Following the accounts, neither they nor the Apostles believed until they had seen the Risen Christ, and we are to remember that the weight of evidence is in favor of the view that the Resurrection had not been anticipated. Indeed, it is improbable that the empty tomb would ever have been brought forward as a basis for the Resurrection "myth" but for the fact that there was no other event to serve.

Yet the "myth" did arise, and there must have been something

to give it birth. Nothing else in the world's history has given rise to so much discussion. Doubtless every conceivable argument, pro and con, has been advanced times without number. Yet no conclusion satisfactory to all has ever been reached. On the one side we have the Resurrection, an event without parallel in human history, and supposedly thrown out of court by science. On the other is a wholly causeless but abrupt and complete change of opinion on the part of a large number of Hebrews. Yet on all other occasions the Hebrews have clung to their ways and beliefs with a stubborn fortitude which cannot but arouse both wonder and admiration. Each man is entitled to choose the one of these two alternatives he deems the more reasonable. But that the one choice indicates a critical, the other a credulous mind, is a proposition which I believe would be difficult to demonstrate.

But the entire problem as to whether Jesus was human or divine may be considered from another point of view. As all history shows, the profession of a prophet is one dear to the human soul. While few are chosen, it is beyond question that many are called. Jesus, having been accepted by mankind as the Christ, is the central figure of a vast literature. But had he not been so accepted, the modern world would not have known his name. He is not mentioned by any contemporary Gentile writer. Philo seems never to have heard of him, and the references in Josephus are not beyond cavil. It therefore seems a warrantable conjecture that there appeared in the ancient world a number of "Christs" whose names have not come down to us. It is further wholly credible that any one of these might have presented a history not unlike that of the "historical" Jesus.

Thus such men as Apollonius of Tyana are to be looked upon rather as examples of a class than as isolated cases. Apollonius is said to have lived from 4 B. C. to 97 A. D., and his travels included such distant places as Rome and India. He performed many miracles, was accepted as divine, and was worshiped for several hundred years. We have also Bar-Cocheba. This man was considered by many Jews to be the Messiah, was crowned king, and maintained an armed insurrection against Rome from 132-135. His downfall evidently convinced his compatriots that he was not the Messiah, for while his name was originally interpreted to mean "Son of a Star," this was afterward altered to "Son of Lies." Yet his advent appears to have been foretold in Numbers xxiv. 17.

Both of these men were far more prominent among their contemporaries than Jesus. And with the historical would-be Christs

is an unknown but probably large number of lesser lights. All of these, from the historical standpoint, are on precisely the same footing as Jesus. If it may be so expressed, each had an opportunity at least equal to his of being chosen as the Messiah. For according to Isaiah xlv. 28; xlv. 1, the Messiah might even have been a Gentile.

We may here call to our aid the theory of probability. If the number of rivals which Jesus had were ten, then the *odds* against his being selected as the Messiah are nine to one. Any increase in the number of these rivals (and the estimate of ten is absurdly low) and any greater prominence on the part of any of them (and some were more prominent) seem but to render the odds against Jesus so much the greater.

Or, in non-mathematical language, with so wide a choice, it seems to be incumbent upon those who deny his divinity to point out why Jesus was chosen, given that there was little or nothing in his life to set him apart from other men.

PROBLEMS OF MODERN THEOLOGY.

BY THE EDITOR.

MODERN theology is confronted with several problems, the solution of which is no easy task, for they go to the very bottom of the religious question and seem to endanger the vitality of the churches, yet we may be sure that the churches will come out of the present crisis unharmed, and that religion will thereby be purified.

RELIGION BASED UPON ETERNAL TRUTH, NOT ON HISTORICAL FACTS.

Higher criticism is making rapid progress and its appearance has created an unrest among the people who are anxious to know its significance and the effect which it will have upon Christianity. The truth is that theologians so far have shown a tendency to hold back, and this is perhaps natural since it is often true that Christian clergymen themselves are in a state of confusion. Their confusion arises partly because they are not yet fully familiar with the changed situation and partly because they have not been able to make up their minds as to the attitude they ought to take.

To a great extent Christians are under the impression that their religion is based upon certain historical facts and perhaps also that it depends on the truth of certain dogmas. If now the historicity of these facts becomes questionable and the dogmas become evidently untenable, people feel the foundation of their faith slipping away from under their feet and fear that religion will cease to be. But that is not so. Whatever our Church authorities may claim, the churches of to-day exist not through some incident that happened in the distant past, but because there is a definite need for them to-day, and the need of to-day is more important than any event of the past or doctrines formulated in past ages, even if they were all unquestionably true.

Religion (so far as it deserves that name) is always ultimately

based on eternal truths and every church to be stable must be founded upon this rock. The churches may ignore the fact and supplant it by something else. Indeed they are apt to emphasize externalities and thereby substitute the accidental for the essential. For all that we insist that a religion is built on sand unless its foundation rest upon the rock of ages—upon eternity, i. e., upon truths which are true from the beginning, are true even now, and will remain so for ever and aye world without end.

Truth is not a product of development nor can its scope ever be exhausted. Though truth is distinguishable from error our comprehension of truth is always imperfect, incomplete, or onesided. But when we have solved a problem of importance we are so elated with the result that we believe we have reached the end of our task and there is no more to be learned. Thus it has come to pass that religious leaders have frequently insisted on those things which they were afraid would be dropped from the creed; they wanted to perpetuate the truth as they saw it, and so they gave more prominence to the symbols than to the truth contained therein.

Furthermore, the conviction that they possessed the truth made them uncritical. Looking for an unquestionable authority in the famous leaders of the past, they ascribed those books which best represented their own faith to some great prophet that had preceded them, and so it happens that religious books are rarely written by the authors whose names they bear.

A SUMMARY OF HIGHER CRITICISM.

Biblical research, i. e., an investigation of the Scriptures, consisting of the lower or textual criticism and a more general as well as historical research, the so-called higher criticism, have revealed much that is not true in the fabric of our traditional views, and the Christian world is beginning to be anxious to know something of the results. We learn that certain things are not as they have been commonly represented in our Sunday schools, and pious fraud (we must frankly confess it) has played not an inconsiderable part in the development of our religion. This is not only true with regard to the establishment of the Roman authority on the basis of the legend that Peter was the first bishop of Rome, but also of the establishment of a rigidly monotheistic worship at the temple of Jerusalem which was accomplished by the discovery of a law book, a priestly forgery which henceforth determined the course of the development of Judah and impressed upon that little nation the peculiar character which it has retained ever since.

Among the efforts to popularize the result of higher criticism we will mention a book which has appeared under the title *The Evolution of a Great Literature*,* and is written by Mr. Newton Mann, a Unitarian minister, who explains the situation as follows:

"The unsatisfactory situation has arisen in which a branch of knowledge confessedly of the first importance, with direct bearing on religion, is practically restricted to a few, to scholarly clergymen and lay students of theology. This knowledge is mostly lodged in ponderous and costly tomes and encumbered with an array of linguistic and other lore calculated to intimidate the unlearned inquirer, who yet desires to know something of what has been found out. It has seemed to me that there must be many hungry souls without the time or the equipment for extensive researches, who would welcome a frank effort to tell them, in outline, the results of recent biblical criticism—results well enough known to university professors, taught in many divinity schools, familiar to many preachers whose sermons are void of any least intimation of such a thing. He who boasts no Hebrew and no Greek has yet good right to know what scholars are thinking about the ancient textbook of our religion, and any curiosity he may have in that direction ought to be encouraged rather than repressed. All is well that helps to break down the tendency, already far advanced, to separate religious thinkers into the initiated and the uninitiated, and religious thought into esoteric and exoteric divisions."

Mr. Mann has done his best to meet the requirement in his book which is nothing short of a recapitulation of what has actually been established by a kind of common consent concerning the nature of our Biblical literature, the authorship of its books, the age in which they were written, and other important problems. He has wisely abstained from taking himself an active part in the work of higher criticism, and has taken upon himself the more modest but not less important task of a compiler who here condenses the work done by a great number of German, English, French, and some American savants into the comparatively small compass of four hundred pages.

A student of higher criticism could find no better introduction into this new science than is presented by Mr. Mann. Here he finds an abstract of the history of the religious literature of Israel and Judah, the historical conditions under which Israel developed, the rise of prophecy, the development of the law, the literary productions under the post-Exilic hierarchy, the wisdom literature and other

* Boston: James H. West Company. Pp. 409. Price, \$1.50 net, postage 15 cents extra.

books such as Malachi, Canticles, and also the Jewish Apocrypha. Mr. Mann points out that there is no gap between the Old and New Testaments, for the Old Testament contains a number of writings preparing for the views which blossom out in their fulness with the appearance of Jesus. He says:

"We therefore conclude that the culminating point of religious development for the long period covered by our scriptures is in the Gospel and the person of Jesus; that the after evolution registered in the New Testament, while having great historical, ethical and doctrinal significance, is not to be regarded as a higher form of Christianity, but as an adaptation to meet the exigencies of the time, a phase inferior to that set forth in the first Gospels. And this accords with the obvious desire of the best minds of our time to go back, from epistles and apocalypse and mystic Gospel written with a dogmatic purpose, to sit at the feet of the Master himself, the preacher whose words have the quality of provoking no protest."

We will not enter into a controversy with Mr. Mann on this point but we have reached the conclusion that a further investigation of the Jesus problem will force theology to abandon the idea that Jesus forms the starting-point of the new movement. The ultimate cause of Christianity will finally be found not in the human Jesus but in the belief in Christ as the eternal Logos made flesh, the God-man who comes to earth to proclaim the truth and to show the way of salvation.

With reference to the New Testament Mr. Mann familiarizes his readers with the several problems of the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline and Johannine literatures, and shows how both the Pauline and the Johannine conceptions combined to form the foundation of the doctrines of the Church.

Mr. Mann is pretty radical but he is no more so than his authorities who (though they are not quite so orthodox as he represents them in the preface) are professors of good standing in the most famous Protestant theological faculties of the world. They teach their views to theological students in Oxford, Cambridge, Berlin, Strassburg, Paris, Yale, etc. We truthfully can say that they all have started from orthodox traditions and though they can no longer be called orthodox in the old sense of the term they have not severed their affiliation with the churches to which they belong. In consideration of this fact, Mr. Mann makes the following statement:

"The open use of other men's ideas may, in conceivable situations, have its advantages. If ever this volume brings down upon me the charge of undue radicalism, of sowing the seeds of revolu-

tion, I can, if so disposed, drop under cover of illustrious names, and say: 'I have been sitting at the feet of the foremost scholars of the great Evangelical churches; their disclosures have filled me with light and joy. The substance of the book is what they have taught me.'

A Christian of the old stamp will be greatly disappointed in reading this book, and Mr. Mann anticipates this feeling when for instance he points out that the Pauline literature cannot be attributed to the Apostle but is only an expression of Pauline theology as developed in the second century. He says:

"The value of the epistles as religious writings does not depend on their authorship, any more than does the value of the book of Psalms. The inscriptions and salutations are indeed invalidated by criticism; but whatever in the epistles, under any construction put upon them, did us any good, remains to do it still."

He gives expression to the same sentiment concerning the whole Bible when he says:

"The old notion, if one has entertained it, that these writings were miraculously communicated to the Jews, becomes thoroughly undermined, and their dictatorial authority vanishes. By this change of view the Bible itself is not changed."

CHRISTIANITY A CHILD OF PAGANISM.

If in our opinion Mr. Mann's book has a shortcoming, it is one which the author shares with most of his authorities. Biblical scholars approach the subject as theologians in a theological way, taking for granted as a rule that the development of Christianity has shaped itself as represented in Christian tradition, but such is not the case. Christianity is not a product of Judaism. It is the product of a fusion of all the creeds of the world. The syncretic character of Christianity has been recognized, but the supremacy of the Gentile element has not yet been sufficiently appreciated.

When the barriers between Orient and Occident broke down through the conquest of Alexander the Great, the old naive faith in local gods was abandoned and people began to compare their own religious traditions with others. They no longer believed in Athene, Diana, Astarte, Adonis, Heracles, Osiris, etc. etc. They became infidels as to all particulars but they retained a kind of composite picture of all former beliefs. The ideas which all religions had in common were rather strengthened than weakened; they were unified and systematized under the aspect of monotheism which is already plainly set forth in Anaxagoras and Plato, as well as in his teacher

Socrates, and the result of this fusion was bound to change into such a religion as we find Christianity to be.

The religion that was preparing itself in the minds of the people led to the establishment of many religious sects which sought for a connection with the past and found it finally in Judaism. The main current of the new faith comes from Gentile sources, while Judaism was a tributary of great importance, yet after all merely a tributary. But Judaism happened to supply what the confused notions of the new Gentile faith were sorely lacking in, the claim of a definite revelation and an imposing literature supplying historical authority.

The development of Christianity may therefore be compared to a river like the Mississippi, the main bed of which should be traced up to the Missouri while the upper Mississippi is merely a tributary to the Missouri and yet claims to be the direct and legitimate source of the whole river. We shall not understand Christianity until we restore the Gentile influence to its full right and appreciate the development of its main dogmas from the débris of pre-Christian pagan religions.

These expositions will also show that the Christ-ideal is older than the story of Jesus. Jesus is not the founder of Christianity, but Christianity adopted Jesus as the Christ, and that was done when the doctrinal outlines of Christianity had already been established in their main outlines. It is possible that the Pauline epistles are a fabrication of the second century, but they are not for that reason necessarily later than the gospels. They do not represent a later phase, for the gospels are the result of a reiterated adaptation of certain reports of the life of Jesus to the views that were current concerning the Christ.

Pious Christians may doubt whether it is wise to let the light of Biblical research penetrate from the study of the scholar into the Sunday schools of our congregations, and we would say that it would certainly not be right for clergymen to parade ostentatiously the negative and radical results in their sermons and Bible classes, but it would be decidedly wrong to conceal the results of scientific inquiry. The truth will have to be faced sooner or later, and it is much better if it is proclaimed discreetly and with due consideration by the Church authorities themselves than to let religious progress be forced upon the churches from the outside and from their enemies.

DIVERSE ATTITUDES.

We have lately received several communications on the subject of modern theology, and have in our February number published two articles on the subject which come from the liberal camp, (one by the Rev. A. Kampmeier, the other by the Rev. H. W. Foote), while a third one, written by Mr. Crawley appears in the present number, and it may be regarded as representing the current orthodox view of Christianity.

Mr. Foote is a Unitarian and belongs to that class of Christians who discard the superhuman Christ and retain the human Jesus as an ideal man. We do not believe that this method of procedure is either tenable or commendable. Now Mr. Crawley, on the contrary, insists that the influence of Jesus upon the history of the world proves his divinity, thus giving predominance to the Christ-idea, and we grant that so long as Christianity exists the Christ-idea has always been a more potent factor in its development than the current views of the historical Jesus. Indeed we say that the latter has always been treated with astonishing indifference.

The Christ-idea has been productive of several ideals, different in different periods, and the story of Jesus has been interpreted differently at different times to suit the Christ-ideal of the age.

Mr. Foote claims that my preference of the Christ-ideal over the historic Jesus is merely a matter of personal opinion, but I beg to differ. I do not agree with him that the historic Jesus answers our present needs while the theological Christ does not. He is not aware that his conception of the historical Jesus is not the true historical Jesus. It is really a theological Christ who, however, according to his Unitarian philosophy has been deprived of all supernatural features so as to become thoroughly human, and so we may call it an idealized Jesus. If the true Jesus of history would reappear before his eyes Mr. Foote would scarcely recognize him as *his* Jesus, and I doubt whether he would tolerate him in his own pulpit.

Please bear in mind that I am not opposed to reconstructing the figure of Jesus on the basis of the Christ-ideal. This method—it is the traditional method unconsciously adhered to from the beginning of the Church,—is the only practical way of making the Gospel of Jesus educational and fruitful.

The same is true of religious art. Note for instance that all the Christ pictures by the old masters are ideals and only of late has there appeared a tendency to reproduce an idealized Jesus. I mean by the latter such representations of Christ's life as have been

given us by Munkacsy and Tissot, but even this phase of religious art is not as it appears to the orthodox, and as liberals fondly imagine, an attempt at abandoning the old principle of representing Jesus in the light of Christhood, and replacing him by a Jesus as he actually was; but it is still the Christ as the present generation needs him, only that according to our modern requirements we feel the necessity of making concessions to our familiarity with certain historical features which must be woven into our Christ-ideal. The Christ-ideal here is humanized in the spirit of Unitarianism.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. I do not blame liberal Christians of to-day for replacing the supernatural Christ by an idealized Jesus. On the contrary, they simply follow their natural inclination and are justified in their procedure. I only insist that their method is in principle the same as that practised by the orthodox churches, and that they are mistaken in thinking that they are now proclaiming the real historical Jesus.

We must remember that in accordance with their standpoint the orthodox need a God-man, and to them the God-man is as veritable as the ideal Jesus is to the Unitarians. The Unitarians naturally discard some metaphysical and perhaps also mythological notions of the God-man. They have made him first a divine man, and then merely an ideal man, thinking that this corresponds best to actual facts.

We agree with Mr. Foote and Mr. Kampmeier in rejecting the historicity of the superhuman features of Christ, but we agree with Mr. Crawley that the facts of the historical (or if you please "human") Jesus are insufficient to explain either the origin of Christianity or the influence which Jesus exercised upon the world, and as a matter of fact so long as Christianity exists the data of the historical Jesus as furnished in the Gospel story have always been subservient to the needs of the Church as they were interpreted in the light of the current Christ ideal.

At different times and in different countries, different features of the Christ ideal have been made prominent, and we may say that the several churches have their own typical Christ, in fact every Christian has his own conception, and it is the Christ-ideal that has made Christianity, not the historical Jesus.

The Christ-ideal was a living power even before the rise of Christianity, and it is active still. The Christ-ideal was foreshadowed in paganism with all the several myths of god-men, of saviours, of representatives of the deity on earth, such as Osiris in Egypt, Marduk in Babylonia, Mithras in Persia, Herakles and other heroes in

Greece, and wherever we dig down into folk-lore or mythology we find some unknown god treading the earth, working miracles or doing good in some form or another. Among the Teutons Thor walked abroad and no one knew of his divinity until he was gone, and the bliss of his presence was felt partly by a reward of the good, partly by a punishment of evil doers. Even the North American Indians had their Christ in the form of Hiawatha, who came to them as an apostle of peace and the prophet of a higher and nobler civilization.

The Christ ideal, or let us speak more broadly, the idea of a divine man who comes as a mediator between God and man, begins to assume a definite form at the beginning of the Roman Empire, and Augustus was actually hailed by many as the human god who was born to bring peace upon earth. How widely spread these ideas were in the time just preceding the Christian era is seen from a poem written by Virgil (Eclogue IV) who greets the birth of a Saviour-child in the language of a prophet, which greatly resembles the sentiment with which the nativity of Christ might have been hailed.

The better we become acquainted with the origin of Christianity the more we understand that its growth is not the result of a supernatural interference but the necessary product of historical conditions.

OTHER POSSIBILITIES.

A religion such as Christianity was in the days of Constantine, was bound to come in some form or another, and there were several competitors. There was mithraism, there was neoplatonism as represented by Porphyry and Plotinus, there was the perfected paganism of Hypatia, which the emperor Julian the Apostate tried later on to introduce as the state religion of the empire. There were some other pagan cults such as the worship of Hermes Trismegistus, of the Egyptian Set, mainly known in its mixture with Christianity which produced the famous *Spott-Crucifix* in the Palatine; the several gnostic sects, among them the Manichees and perhaps some other less known religious movements of which we have not enough information to form any opinion at all.

One thing is sure, the leading spirits of the age are remarkably akin in their philosophical conceptions. Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius might pass to-day for Christian philosophers; the story of Apollonius of Tyana, though written (as has been proved by critics) in perfect independence of the Gospels, contains many remarkable parallels to the life of Jesus; while the ritual of Mithraism has undoubtedly influenced the rituals of Christianity.

A historical consideration of all the facts indicates that certain ideas had taken a firm hold of mankind in the first century before and after Christ, and they would have developed into a religion such as Christianity now is, whoever might have been chosen as the type of the god-man, the saviour, the Christ. It would not have been impossible that some other center than Jesus would have been established in the competition of all these religious movements so much alike in their spirit and different only in unessential features of their makeup.

If some other religion than Christianity had gained the victory, the main outcome would have remained the same. A universal Church would have been formed and it would necessarily have become a Roman Church because Rome was at that time the center of the world. It would have laid claim to catholicity because the ideal of catholicity (viz., of a universal religion) was one of the most powerful factors of all these religious movements. The dogmas of the soul, of immortality, of sin and of salvation, of a last judgment and a restoration of the world to come, and especially of a rigid monotheism, yea even of trinitarianism, would have been the same under all circumstances. Even the most important sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, seem to be the necessary product of historical conditions, for we know that other religions, especially Mithraism, had quite similar rites.

If Mithras had been raised to the dignity of Christ the world would have worshiped him instead of Jesus. If Mithraism had conquered we would have had a change of front towards the past history of the world in so far as we would now read the Gathas and other sacred books of Mazdaism in place of the Hebrew Psalms and other books of the Old Testament. If some Oriental personality such as Buddha had taken the place of Jesus, we would study the Pali scriptures in place of Hebrew literature, but we may be sure that the history of this new religion would have remained the same in its main outlines. It would have been Romanized; it would have incorporated the traditions of classic antiquity in a similar manner as did the Roman Catholic Church; it would in a similar way have remodeled them in the spirit of the age, in its dualistic conception of the soul and its admiration of asceticism.

In fine we might say that the Christ ideal (not the story of Jesus) is the factor which made Christianity, and it became centered around the historical figure of Jesus mainly through the efforts of the Apostle Paul. But even here we must not exaggerate the personal influence which one man might be supposed to have exercised.

Even here the necessary outcome is predetermined through social conditions, and it appears that the main factor in the acceptance of Christianity must be sought in the dispersion of the Jews.

There are other reasons which favored Christianity in spite of some serious drawbacks, but it seems to me that the presence of the Jews among the Gentiles acted like a living testimony to the truths of the Christian faith.

THE DISPERSION OF THE JEWS.

The Jews lived in the great centers of population long before Jerusalem was destroyed, and kept themselves aloof from the Gentiles. The Jews spoke with contempt of the gods, and since the mythological conception of paganism had long been discredited, people were apt to look upon the Jews as representing a typically religious nation, a nation that had come to represent the main doctrine of the new religion that was preparing itself in the hearts of mankind, viz., monotheism. The rigidity of their monotheism was generally acknowledged throughout the Roman Empire, and their very stubbornness in clinging to their traditions elicited not only the hatred but also the admiration of the pagan world.

The claim of the Jews as the chosen people of God made a deep impression upon the Gentiles. It is true that at a certain period every nation in the world, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and all the rest, had looked upon themselves as "the chosen people," but since the amalgamation of all into a cosmopolitan empire, these claims had been forgotten, and so the Jews appeared truly to be set aside by providence for some reason or other.

It is true that the Jews were held in contempt, but their faith was conceded to contain a most important truth. They were looked upon with a mysterious awe which made an effective propaganda for a religion that was based upon their sacred scriptures.

The Jewish dispersion, frequently called by the Greek term "Diaspora," is a peculiar phenomenon in the life of nations, and has given rise to much reflection which is precipitated in folk-lore and legend as in the story of Ahasverus, the Wandering Jew.

The Jew had become a type at the time of Horace long before Christianity had risen into prominence, for this Roman poet refers to "the Jew" in a popular proverb, *Credat Iudæus Apella*, of the real meaning of which we are no longer sure. It is a mistake to think that the dispersion was due to the destruction of Jerusalem which it antedates by more than a century.

The presence of the Hebrews among the other nations is even

now considered a strange phenomenon. Wherever they had their abode they have remained strangers and it was naturally assumed that some secret doom had made them different from the rest of mankind. It seems to me that the explanation of the odd peculiarities of the Jewish settlements should be sought in the typical character of the Jews which was impressed upon them by the zealous reform of their priests on their return from the Babylonian exile. The rigidity, we might almost say bigotry, of their God-conception, the narrowness with which they retained the idea that they were the chosen people of God, is (as we said) natural at a certain phase of development. But while other nations soon broadened into cosmopolitan conceptions on the widening of their horizon, the Jews remained nationalistic and only universalized their God-conception. From the mere tribal deity of former centuries Yahveh became the omnipresent ruler of the universe, but they retained their pristine nationalism in all other respects.

It appears mysterious indeed that the Jews should be scattered all over the face of the earth, but we should bear in mind that all nations have the same tendency. There are always men who leave their home for the sake of improving their material conditions, and people will flock wherever there is a chance of making a living. This is true to an extraordinary degree to-day in the United States, but it has always been true of all nations and for all countries. The population of all large cities is cosmopolitan, being comprised of representatives of all the nations of the earth. But the general rule is that foreigners gradually become acclimatized and the third generation is absorbed by the nation where they have found their new home. Not so the Jew! Keeping aloof from his Gentile surroundings he remains a Jew, and a group of a few Jewish families soon forms a center for new comers. In a few generations this tendency naturally results in the presence of Jewish congregations in all great centers of population, and thus the strange phenomenon of the Jewish dispersion is not due to a peculiar tendency of the Jews to scatter among the nations but to the sternness of the Jewish religion with its decidedly nationalistic tendency to preserve their identity as a nation.

If people of other races had shown the same tendency to keep themselves undefiled and preserve their traditions among other nations, present mankind would not be a fusion of all of them to-day as is actually the case, but would have the appearance of a crazy quilt, exhibiting side by side patches of the most diverse and contrary nationalities.

Had the post-Exilic reformers not been so irreconcilably rigid in their institutions, the Jews as such would have disappeared from the face of the earth with the conquest of Jerusalem; they would have been blotted out from the pages of history, and their literature too would presumably have been lost. But since they preserved their identity they furnished the world with Hebrew scholars who could translate their scriptures and preserved the documents which gave a historical prestige to Christianity.

In addition to the peculiar place which the Jews held in the Roman Empire as representatives of a monotheism with a definite literature and well-established historical traditions, we may say that the figure of Jesus had the advantage over all his rivals in being sufficiently human to appeal to mankind, and Christianity was the religion of the large masses of the downtrodden, including the slaves, the common people who by their overwhelming numbers were bound to have the final decision.

Mithraism was the religion of an aristocratic minority, of soldiers, of officers in the army, and of the imperial magistrates. Reformed paganism as well as neoplatonism was the religion of sages, of thinkers, of professors and students, who are always few and scattered, so it is natural that their roots did not penetrate as deeply into the life of the people as those of a more lowly faith.

* * *

Whatever will be the outcome of our present religious crisis we may be sure that in the long run the true and noble ideals of religion will survive. It seems to us unwise to found religion upon historical facts, especially if they are so doubtful and unreliable as are the statements of the Gospels. The life of religion is always rooted in the norm of the eternal, and so it seems to us that inasmuch as the Christ-ideal explains the enormous influence of Jesus on mankind we ought to cling to the Christ-ideal and need not fear any loss if we lose the historical Jesus.

It is perhaps not accidental that the religion was called "Christianity" after the title of the Saviour, and not after his name. It is after all the religion of the eternal ideal of a god-man whoever he may be, whether or not he was actualized in Jesus, or even if he was never actualized at all. The ideal is above time and space, and whatever may happen to our historical traditions, our main concern in the future development of Christianity should be that we do not lose the ideal that has guided us so far. We may even purify the ideal and cleanse it of the pagan excretions which are still clinging to the so-called orthodox Christianity.

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT JESUS.

BY DR. CHARLES F. DOLE.

IV. THE QUESTION OF MESSIAHSHIP.

We have now to consider one of the most perplexing of all the questions about Jesus's personality. How far did he take himself to be in some sense or other the special messenger of God, a unique being, a Messiah, or anointed one, a kind of king; if not to rule the nations, yet at least their lord in a spiritual domain? Conflicting opinions rage over this point. On the one hand, the key note of all the Gospels is doubtless the idea of Messiahship or Christship, out of which the creeds of Christendom grew. On the other hand, it is now held that Jesus was quite or almost innocent of such teaching and that this idea grew up after his death. Professor Schmidt's new book, *The Prophet of Nazareth*, makes this contention the learned issue of his study. The term "son of man," he tells us, so far from having a unique and personal application to Jesus's office, is simply the Syriac term for man. Thus man, not Christ, is lord of the Sabbath. Not Jesus alone, but man then is come to seek and to save the lost? Shall *man* then preside at the judgment?⁸

It seems to me most likely that the Messianic idea of Jesus grew up, doubtless with the help and suggestion of his disciples, from the seed of his original words. It is not easy at all otherwise to explain so numerous a group of passages ascribed to him. The origin and growth of the resurrection stories seem also more likely to have come with Jesus's help, by way of preparation for them, than without any such help. They also came, I surmise, along with a wave of interest and belief in occult and psychical phenomena, of which we get hints in the Gospels, as for example, in the story of Herod's theory of the reincarnation of John the Baptist in the person of

⁸ Matt. xxv. 31. Compare xii. 32; xx. 18, 28; Mark viii. 38; xiv. 21; Luke vii. 34; ix. 44; xii. 40; xviii. 8; xix. 10.

Jesus (Matt. xiv. 2), in the story of Jesus walking on the sea (Matt. xiv), in the legend of the transfiguration (Matt. xvii), as well as in the ghostly appearances in Jerusalem after Jesus's death (Matt. xxix. 52, 53). Would it not be far more likely that Jesus, the child of his age, might have shared in, and given occasional expression to ideas which were immediately in the air all ready to be uttered, than that he should have been free of such ideas—a modern man before his time? No one can easily explain his very frequent assumption of some species of unique and authoritative character, except by the quite natural belief that he took himself to be,—I will not urge more than a man, but a man appointed by God for a peculiar mission.

This idea was congruous with the prophetic office, and specially with the passages which he loved to quote from the book of Isaiah. (See Luke iv. 18.) You certainly have to do violence to his language in order to dissociate the centrality of his own person from numerous passages. The more than prophetic "I" and "mine," while not so exaggerated as in the Fourth Gospel, yet run all through the Synoptic Gospels. The very words "Come unto me all ye that labor," emphasize this centrality of thought. He seems to call disciples to him and to be known as their Master. What does the verse about the bridegroom being taken away, after which his disciples will fast, mean (Mark ii. 18 etc)? Why does he seem to say so much about "my sake" and "my name"? "Whosoever shall deny me will I also deny." (Matt. x. 33.) Why should the least in the kingdom of heaven be greater than John the Baptist? (Luke vii. 28.) The words "Son of man" hardly make sense, if you always insist upon translating them to mean merely man. "The son of man came eating and drinking and they say, 'Behold a friend of publicans and sinners.'" (Matt. xi. 19.) Here is a very emphatic mode of saying "I," as apart from ordinary men. "He that soweth the good seed is the son of man." (Matt. xiii. 37.) This is another emphatic *I*. Why again does Jesus seem to put away his own family relations in favor of the wider relationship to his disciples? (Matt. xii. 50.) Shall we rule out altogether the tradition of the profound interest of people generally, of Herod, of John the Baptist, of Jesus's own disciples, especially of Peter, (Matt. xvi. 13 etc.) in speculating as to Jesus's office and claims? Can we keep just what we like in the story of the interview between Jesus and Zebedee's sons (Mark x. 35 etc.) and suppose that nothing at all was said of a kingdom of glory, in which, after the impending crisis of sorrow, the disciples hoped to share?

Again, why did the authorities put Jesus to death, if he claimed nothing beyond the gift of ordinary prophecy? What assumption of authority could have led to that extraordinary story of the cleansing of the temple? What else but the sense of Messiahship could have made him so silent beneath the questions at his trial?

Jesus's singular unwillingness to be publicly known deserves attention here. If we can believe the tradition, he habitually imposes silence about himself at least in the early part of his ministry on one and another of those whom he has treated. It may be said that this tallies with the sentences which urge the doctrine of quiet coming of the kingdom, without violence and observation, as we to-day think it comes. I raise the question whether these verses do not all lend themselves to a different interpretation? One of the great motives of Jesus's life seems to have been the beatitude, "Blessed are the Meek." The law of the world, he teaches, is that the mighty shall be brought down and the lowly exalted. He has accordingly an instinctive dread of being put forward and made a popular hero. The idea of a suffering type of leadership, taken from Isaiah, has impressed his mind. Through the gate of suffering humiliation and even death lies the way of victory. None the less, but all the more, may he claim and expect final exaltation. The lowly shall be exalted. That is his creed. There is nothing inconsistent between this thought and the expectation of the coming of a "great and terrible day of the Lord," a day of retribution. This tremendous equalizing of accounts and rewards is indeed the fact to be looked for. The familiar text about the kingdom of God coming "not with observation" now tallies with this idea of the lowly Messiah, who through the valley of humiliation is on his way to glory.

Even we modern men are able to hold both ideas in solution at one and the same time; on one hand, the thought of a ceaseless law of evolution, the possibility also on the other hand of epochs of seemingly rapid and even revolutionary movement. Both ideas have truth in them and fall back on analogies in nature. We are inclined therefore to think that Jesus did distinctly, naturally and sincerely voice the expectation of his age, looking toward some sort of a catastrophe and a miraculous renovation of social conditions. This seems altogether more likely than that he failed to share the common hopes of his oppressed and imaginative people in favor of an interposition of their God in their favor. He doubtless believed that he was the chosen leader in the way of the new hope. He spoke with an assumption of authority. He doubtless thought himself

gifted to heal the sick and to drive out the demons. People rallied to him and responded to his treatment, carried away by the contagion of his own conviction and hope. All this is quite in line with what we know of the psychic working of human nature.

It may be objected that this thought of Jesus makes him less simple than we had supposed. It gives a double aspect to his character. But it does not make him less human or natural. Let us use a familiar historical illustration—one of many that might be cited. It is the case of Savonarola, the great Florentine preacher and reformer. Perhaps no man of higher, nobler or more austere virtue and purpose ever lived. On one side, you have the pure gold of a great and constant devotion, true till death, a generous humanity, an overwhelming sense of common duties and practical ideals. On the other hand you see a man of prophetic visions, the child of the Middle Ages, ruled by the superstitions of his people, one day working with sane mind for reform through the sure development of the institutions of Florence, the next day confidently expecting the miraculous interposition of angels. At his best and noblest he preached the doctrine of love. All the same, and with no sense of incongruity, he denounced the rulers of his people and stirred the antagonism of men with his passion, subtly akin really to the passions of the men whom he denounced.

A query arises here whether there may not lie in human nature, like tinder ready to be fired, an astonishing and almost infinite readiness, more than men are aware of, to be set apart, anointed and crowned as martyrs or leaders. Thus, the fishermen of the lake of Galilee are ready immediately to be Princes in the new realm. Thus daily, ill-equipped American citizens set themselves up for the highest offices. Thus, priests and ministers imagine themselves to be worthy of superior dignities and privileges and to deserve to live in palaces, or again to be given titles above other men. Is there not a sort of faculty of Messiahship latent in men? On its lower side it shows itself in the extraordinary egotism and conceit of quite mediocre men. On its best side, it is close to the infinite and divine element in humanity. "We know not what we shall be," inasmuch as we partake of the nature of God. The founders of religions and of sects have thus commonly thought themselves to be appointed of God. The recent story of Babism is a good illustration of this fact. Other cases easily occur. For example, some may recall a man of very noble nature, a rather conspicuous figure among radical American thinkers in the last century, who refusing the name of Master to Jesus though at the cost of personal loss and suffering,

yet fondly thought of himself as a sort of philosophic Messiah, whose teachings only needed to be followed by mankind to solve the doubts of the world!

Suppose now a man of profound spiritual genius, such a man as Moses might have been, or a man of commanding personality, such as Daniel Webster was to his contemporaries. Bring him to birth 2000 years ago, in a land where God was thought to speak to man in the dreams of the night. Let him be born at a period when all sorts of wonderful ideas were dawning on the world. Possess him with the tradition of the prophets. Fill his soul with ardor for his oppressed people. Let him fast and pray in lonely mountains. Let him hear voices and dream dreams. Let him in imagination fight battles with the arch-foe of souls. Lift him in insight above the people around him and let him hear their words of admiration at his splendid gifts. You have thus the natural material for the idea of some sort of Messiahship. All the more the praise of Jesus that his thought took the form of the meek.⁹ The more meek the man was, the higher the coming exaltation. This was at the heart of Jesus's doctrine. In his age, however, such meekness demanded a coming glory and victory to match it. Meekness was not inconsistent with the punishment and humiliation of his enemies. The more they triumphed in this world, the surer their doom would be in the next. This is the steady teaching of the New Testament. It seems to have been the thought of Jesus. If he knew better, alas, that he did not make the humane teaching plain! If now and then he hit close to the mark of the universal doctrine of love, he seems never to have worked this doctrine out into its consistent application in detail. How could he have done so immense a task as that, in the face of the prepossessions of his age and the demonology that haunted the world? As well expect Franklin to have worked out the theory of the newly found theory of electricity into the applications of Edison and Marconi.

The fact is, in taking account of Jesus's life and person, we can never afford to leave his theology out of our sight. It looks as if his God was thought of as literally a "person," in the narrower sense of the word, seated somewhere in heaven and ruling the world through the offices of his angels. Did Jesus ever anywhere clearly state the wonderful doctrine of the Fourth Gospel, "God is Spirit"? Never does he give a word of release from the almost Persian conception of the divided world and the Satanic kingdom. His faith

⁹ See the parable about taking "the lowest room" at the feast. Luke xiv. 7 etc.

is that God will at last triumph over the devil. Here is the native basis of a theology altogether different from what modern men can believe. The natural underlying practical conclusion is the final separation of the evil from the good. This idea has been the gloomy burden of the theology of Christendom. It has been woven into the warp and woof of the traditional Christianity. Jesus's great name is still used to sanction it.

We have already seen that we may never expect to recover a veritable likeness of Jesus. We have not the necessary authentic material. But more than that, the idea of Messiahship is inextricably in our way. It is not only wrought into the narrative. It is apparently also in the mind of Jesus. It was inevitable to his age. But it does not fit into the framework of our modern thought. It has become unhelpful ethically. The Messiah has the lineaments of a man, not the character of the God whom we worship. It is a Messiah who was mistaken, as for instance, in his prophecies of the end of the world. (See Matt. xvi. 28.) The world is coming to learn the use of a greater word than the "I" of a Messiah. The noblest of leaders may not safely dwell on the centrality of his own person. The more modest words "we" and "ours" alone keep men safe and in orderly place in the ranks of the common humanity. No one may assume a sole authority over his fellows.

What then, you ask, shall we make of the actual Jesus? We catch the suggestion of a grand and impressive figure, after the fashion of an Elijah or Isaiah, intense, passionate, devoted, prodigal of life, absolutely willing to go wherever the vision or the divine voice bids. He is a great lover and equally a strong hater. He is possessed with a sense of a supernatural mission which he must needs die to fulfil. He is sustained with a sense of coming victory, of death leading to life. He has caught the idea that the suffering of the good is a sort of price paid, as it really is, for the renewal of the life of the world. He believes that, in some peculiar sense, he is set apart to pay that kind of price. Passages from his favorite prophet sway his mind to this thought. More and more, as he approaches the end of his brief career, he is lifted, as many another prophet has been, with this overmastering sense of the exaltation of his office. There blends therefore with the touches of the common and genial humanity, an almost repellant impression of aloofness, as of one already the inhabitant of another and mystic realm. On this side Jesus is well-nigh unapproachable. Normal human life is apart from this realm. It is the region of fanaticism and all religious extravagance. The characteristic of the earlier phases of

religious experiences, such as William James has related, is a vein of what seems to us modern men morbid and shadowy. The characteristic of modern religious experience is that it seeks the sunlight, and must be at one with bodily health and sanity.

I am aware that others may find or create a very different picture of Jesus. It is easy to see only what pleases one. It is easy to imagine a lovable and gentle man, free of every Hebrew feature, in fact the best type of the present-day clergyman, affable, and tactful, a favorite at dinner parties. Is it at all certain that the actual Jesus would be *persona grata* in the average home of the well-to-do citizen who prays in Jesus's name, more than he was in Pharisees' houses two thousand years ago? Recall his stern criticism of men's social and religious conventionalities.¹⁰ How many people enjoy meeting a genuine man who will tell them exactly what he thinks!

There is a common use of Jesus's life and character which deserves a word of consideration. I mean the complete idealization of Jesus, especially under the name of "Christ." Men tell us that they do not care who Jesus was "after the flesh," as Paul says, in view of their ideal of the perfect type of humanity. They therefore worship Christ, now become another more human, intimate and personal name for the idea of God present in human life. Men make under this name a beautiful and glorified conception of a human life, high enough to be called one with God. This is the Christ-centric religion of "progressive orthodoxy."

Many go further than this. They report that they have had profound spiritual experiences of communion with "The Risen Christ." We do not deny the fact of a spiritual experience. We merely suggest that the name which it bears is the least essential part of it. Under all forms and many names men have had a sense of peace, gladness, a companionship too high for words and some kind of divine guidance. This is the central fact of religion. The validity of the experience evidently does not depend upon the name or the symbol used, or any particular image suggested in the mind. James Martineau who says "God," is as well served as Dr. Lyman Abbot, the favorite name of whose God seems to be "Christ." The man who sees no visions and has no dreams may rest in the thought of a divine universe in which all is well.

One may admit that this symbolism, like its kindred Mariolatry, is helpful and ennobling. But it is not and cannot be an acquaintance with or an appreciation of the actual Jesus. Men who worship the Christ of the imagination as God certainly touch Jesus no more closely than

¹⁰ Read the story of Jesus in Simon's house, Luke vii. 36 etc.

the worshipers of Mary touch the actual mother of Jesus. The story of Jesus indeed suggests certain noble features which go to make up the imaginative conception of the ideal man. This process of idealization is like an artist's sketch in which one might not even recognize the actual forest and stream from which it has been suggested. Like the picture, it is the work of the artistic or poetic faculty. It is not even necessary for the worshiper of Jesus as the ideal Christ to know him at all. It is like the worship of Mary which may be ardent and uplifting, though no one knows anything about her. The difficulty of this use of the conception of Christ is that men confuse their ideal with bits of the ancient story. Their Christ so far from being the highest ideal whom they can conceive, is the man who called down woes upon his enemies. Such idealization perpetuates the spirit of enmity in the world.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE HUMAN PRAYER.

FROM "THE CHOIR INVISIBLE."

[EDITORIAL NOTE: Mr. Thaddeus B. Wakeman, a well-known agitator of liberalism and a leader in the ranks of humanitarian reform, sends us a prayer which has been formulated to replace the Lord's Prayer of Christianity. He makes the following comments with regard to it:

"If it is anything at all, it is really the most important thing put in print for a *very* long time. It is the scientific solution many are after—but so simple and comprehensive, that it will have to be grown *to* or *towards* gradually. It is too immense to be readily grasped."

In giving publicity to this prayer in the columns of *The Open Court* we do not imply that we deem it adequate to fill the place for which it has been intended, either with respect to the ideas which it contains or the form in which they are expressed. As to those matters we leave it to the reader to form his own verdict.]

The prayer reads as follows:

O World, O Man, and Soul of Me—
The Endless ALL, Our *Three* in ONE!
O let me live with love and joy—
In *Thee*—In THEE!

So may I do for human kind
All each should do in turn for me;
So *Duty* meet with honest deeds
And noblest mind.

O let me learn to know *The True*,
So that my life may do *The Good*,—
So that my work may fruitful be
The Ages through!

Thus may my Will as *Thine* be done,
And so fulfil our highest end—
As I in *Thee* shall ever live,
And work as ONE!

So bring our Republic of MAN,
Our *Paradise* of *Earth* to be,

For Each and All—for Me and All,
 As best we can!
 So on and on!—*For evermore,*
Amen—Amen.

Mr. Wakeman explains the "Me" of the first line as follows: "The *I* or *Me* is our subjective consciousness or 'Ego,' which the objective World, Man, and Soul—the unconscious or 'sub-liminal' action of our nerve-system—constantly beget, create and sustain; or which attends that objective *Three* as a 'concomitant correlation.'"

THE SAME PRAYER

In more metrical form,

By *A Poet.*

O World, O Man, and Soul of Me—
 The Endless All; our Holy Three!
 I live and love in work and joy,
 With Thee—in Thee!

So may my life to *all* give meed,
 As other lives supply *my* need.
 To all I dedicate *my* all,
 In thought and deed.

O let me learn to know the True,
 So that the Good my hand may do—
 That what is life to me shall live
 The ages through.

O may *my* will as *thine* be done—
 Thy will and mine so closely spun
 That in the pattern of the years
 We shall be one.

So come our splendid reign of Man
 Our Paradise of Earth to plan—
 For Each and All; for Me and All.
 Amen, Amen.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

TRAITÉ DES ASSURANCES SUR LA VIE. Avec développements sur le calcul des probabilités. Par *Prof. U. Broggi.* Paris: A. Hermann, 1907. Pp. 306.

M. S. Lattès has translated into French Professor Broggi's "Treatise on Life Insurance and Its Explanations as Based on the Calculation of Probabilities," which has been published in Paris by the Librairie Hermann. It is prefaced by M. Achard, who commends the book as especially useful. It contains the mathematical and statistic foundations of theory, the fundamental problems of the mathematical theory of life insurance, the technicalities of life insurance, and the theory of risk.

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Not one holy day, but seven.
Worshiping not at the call of a bell, but at the call of my soul;
Singing, not at the baton's sway, but to the rhythm in my heart;
Loving because I must,
Doing for the joy of it.

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