

STORY OF THE BIBLE

W. L. SHELDON

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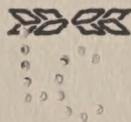
5. 1909

THE STORY
OF
THE BIBLE

FROM THE STANDPOINT
OF
MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

BY
WALTER L. SHELDON
*Founder and for Twenty-one Years Lecturer of
The Ethical Society of St. Louis*

SECOND EDITION



S. BURNS WESTON, Publisher
1415 Locust Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
1909

BS 445

.S 45

1909

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The author trusts it will be clearly understood that these lectures are intended rather for those who do not know very much about the Bible but would like to know more. For this reason the pages have not been encumbered with references to authorities or with lists of books which would only tire the reader. It is not as if the writer were contending for some peculiar theory of his own. Those who wish to make further study of the subject can get such lists from the same sources as those which have been open to the author. The material presented here is meant only as an introduction to what has been an unexplored field for many otherwise well educated people. The lectures were first given under the auspices of the Ethical Society in St. Louis and were inaugurated with fear and trepidation lest they should prove of little interest. To the lecturer's surprise, the attendance was unusually large. Men from commercial and professional life came in numbers, with a singular curiosity to find what the Bible was about or what had been discovered with regard to it by modern scholarship. Under these circumstances it seemed fitting to let the lectures go forth in volume-form, appearing just as they were given, as lectures—addressed to those who wish to learn something more about the Bible.

W. L. SHELDON.

St. Louis, Mo., 1899.

INTRODUCTION

It was with great pleasure that I consented to examine the late Mr. Sheldon's little book with a view of suggesting such changes as may have been called for by the progress in Biblical scholarship since its appearance about ten years ago.

I found that only a few changes were necessary. Mr. Sheldon was an unusually careful student, and thanks to the discriminating judgment embodied in his presentation of the subject, only such results as at the time he wrote could fairly be regarded as definite were set forth. The work may, therefore, still be recommended as a safe guide to those who wish to obtain a general idea of the attitude taken by modern scholarship towards the books of the Bible.

This remark applies not only to the books of the Old Testament, the study of which falls within my field, but to the chapters on the New Testament as well; and in order to be sure of my ground in regard to the latter, I have asked my friend and colleague, Professor J. A. Montgomery, to examine these chapters, and suggest whatever changes seemed to him to be called for. In order that Mr. Sheldon's exposition of the subject should stand as a memorial to him, the lamented scholar and teacher whose early demise is so seriously felt, the changes have been embodied in a series of foot-notes in all but such comparatively minor matters, as dates and names, in which the needed alterations have been embodied in the text itself.

The book is eminently deserving of a second edition and is especially to be commended for the sympathetic treatment of the subject and for the fine ethical spirit which breathes through its pages. Mr. Sheldon's work shows that the Bible loses none of its power, beauty or impressiveness and therefore none of its real value because of the new point of view from which it is now re-

garded and that it gains in clearness by the discarding of traditional and conventional views which cannot stand the test of criticism.

The *real* Bible has nothing to fear but everything to gain from a critical study in the full light of historical, archaeological and philological investigation. The stories in Genesis retain their ethical and religious value when viewed as remnants of myths and folk-lore, because it is the peculiar spirit—the spirit of ethical idealism—put into these tales under the influence of the prophets' view of life and of the universe that has given to Genesis its distinctive place. The view that the entire universe is the emanation of a single power transcending the grasp of human intellect is not affected by the reflection that the order of creation and many of the details in the narrative reflect primitive fancies and crude speculations based largely on popular myths. The story of the Flood viewed as an elaboration of an ancient nature myth has no ethical or religious value, but the conception of the catastrophe, not as a caprice of the gods, but as a punishment for corruption and wrong-doing, embodies a point of view that is as important for our days as for any other period in the world's history. Noah pictured as a righteous man and therefore singled out for divine grace is an impressive figure even though presented to us in a framework of myth and folk-lore. The patriarchs with the curious mixture in the tales concerning them of national traditions, tribal legends, petty political rivalries and even tribal scandals, yet stand out as types that can be used under certain limitations for illustrations of the play of ethics in human conduct, while Moses—the most commanding figure in the Old Testament—is a veritable source of ethical and religious inspiration because of the light in which his life is viewed.

There are to be sure other sides to the Bible besides the ethical and religious phases and these too are skillfully touched upon by Mr. Sheldon. The study of the Pentateuchal Codes is of the utmost interest to the student of customs and rites; and this study has been

made possible through the recognition of the various strata to be found in the groups of laws. Similarly, the historical narratives can only be properly understood if we separate them, as modern scholarship has done, into their various sources and within these sources distinguish between facts and legendary—and in part mythical—accretions on the one side, and between the narrative itself and the interpretation put upon events by the later compilers in the endeavor to make the narrative illustrative of certain conceptions of the past, or of religious theories that had in part at best already become traditional when the final shape was given to the historical books of the Old Testament.

The flower of the ethical and religious thought appears in the Prophets, and Mr. Sheldon has set forth this phase of the subject in so succinct and impressive a manner that no words need be wasted here to emphasize the commanding position assigned in the domain of religious history to the great teachers of Israel.

Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Ruth, covering a wide range of literary activity require perhaps even more than the other books of the Bible an acquaintance with the modern critical point of view in order to become intelligible to the lay public. Unless viewed in relationship to the times when they were produced and interpreted with an endeavor to understand what is *in* them, instead of reading certain doctrines and views into them, they lose their distinctive plan. It is through these more distinctive literary productions that we can penetrate into the real meaning of Hebrew history and of the religion and religious philosophy as developed in the course of centuries in Palestine. The broad and sympathetic spirit of the author manifests itself also in his treatment of the transition period which led to the birth of Christianity. In accordance with the trend of modern criticism he traces the origin of the movement to the Prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries whose efforts were destined to lead to an increasing emphasis on the universalistic elements inherent in a faith resting on a monotheistic conception of the universe.

Certain changes were required in the chapter on "The New Testament" in order to adapt it to the present stage of new testament studies, but they do not affect the essential features in Mr. Sheldon's clear succinct presentation of the growth of the New Testament literature. The closing chapter on "The Bible as Poetry and Literature" has a special interest as an illustration of the rare gifts of the late author himself which enabled him to penetrate beneath the surface to the very core of those perpetual truths of human conduct and of faith in unseen purposes that find their illustration in the Bible as in no other production of ancient or modern times.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, not only for his kind introduction to this second edition of my husband's "Story of the Bible," but also for revising the Old Testament part, and to Professor James A. Montgomery, of the Episcopal Divinity School of Philadelphia, for kindly revising the New Testament portion.

ANNA H. SHELDON.

St. Louis, Mo.

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**APPROXIMATE DATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE
HISTORY OF THE BIBLE, GIVEN IN ROUND
NUMBERS, ACCORDING TO THE MORE
RECENT OPINIONS OF BIBLE SCHOLARS**

- 1300 B. C.—Moses and the Flight of the Israelites from Egypt.
- 1000 B. C.—Time of David and the Foundation of the Kingdom at Jerusalem.
- 750 B. C.—Rise of Prophecy, with Amos and Hosea in the North, and the Revolution in the Religious Spirit of Older Judaism.
- 722 B. C.—Fall of the Northern Kingdom by the Attack of the Assyrians, and the Time of the “First” Isaiah at Jerusalem.
- 621 B. C.—Publication of the First Elements of a Bible—The Book of Deuteronomy.
- 586 B. C.—Destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, in the Time of the Prophet “Jeremiah,” followed by the Period of the “Exile,” as the Time of the Compilation of the “Pentateuch” out of Older Documents, and the Probable Date of the Writing of the Books of the “Kings”; also, the Period of the Prophet Ezekiel, and a Little Later the “Second” Isaiah.
- 444 B. C.—First Regular Establishment of a Jewish Church and the Adoption of a First Canon of Sacred Scripture, under Ezra and Nehemiah—following the Restoration of Jerusalem. The First Canon of Scripture adopted, including probably only the “Pentateuch.”
- 160 B. C.—The Struggle with “Hellenism” and the Greek Empire. The Time of the “Maccabees.” The Date of the Closing of the Old Testament with the Writing of the Book of “Daniel.” Between This and the Preceding Date, 444 B. C., probably to be ascribed the “Chronicles,” “Job,” “Proverbs” and most of the Psalms.”
- 4 B. C.—Birth of Jesus and the Dawn of Christianity.

- 50-60 A. D.—First Portions of the New Testament to be written. Some of the “Epistles” of St. Paul.
- 69 A. D.—Final Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Hadrian.
- 70-100 A. D.—Probable Period of the Writing of the Four “Gospels.” Also More of the “Epistles” and the Book of “Revelations.”
- 120 A. D.—The Four “Gospels” Coming to be Recognized as the Starting Point of a New Sacred Scripture, which, however, did not as yet include the “Epistles” or the Book of “Revelations.”
- 200 A. D.—The Whole of the New Testament about as we now have it, coming to be accepted as an Additional Canon of Scripture for Christianity.

The date of the “Apocrypha” is not Given Above. But as the Connecting Link between the Old and New Testaments it is most important. In round numbers, the “Apocrypha,” including the Significant Apocalypse of the Book of “Enoch,” belongs to the Transitional Epoch from the Maccabees to the Birth of Jesus.

IMPORTANT TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

- I.—The “Septuagint,” a Translation of the Old Testament into Greek made for the most part in the Two Centuries Preceding the Christian Era.
- II.—The “Peshito,” a Translation of the Bible into Syriac made in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era.
- III.—The Gothic Bible. A Translation into Gothic Language made by Wulfilas in the Fourth Century.
- IV.—The “Vulgate,” a Translation of the Whole Bible into Latin and attributed to St. Jerome about 400 A. D.
- V.—Martin Luther’s Translation of the Bible into German—1522-34 A. D.
- VI.—The English Bible—called the “King James’ Version,” published in 1611 A. D.
- VII.—The polychrome or “Scholars’” Bible, being issued at the Close of the Nineteenth Century.

The Story of the Bible

THE ENGLISH BIBLE

You step into a book store in one of our large cities and ask for a copy of the Bible. It may be that the clerk who waits on you will be unusually intelligent, or more than usually careful, and will ask you whether you wish for the "revised version." In all probability, however, he will not put that question, but will take you to a case where you will see copies of the Bible in many bindings and at many prices. You choose one easy to handle, with a flexible binding, in the style in which the better copies are made up nowadays, pay your money for it and depart.

Some evening when you have leisure, and do not know what to do with yourself, you get out your purchase and decide to open it and see what it looks like. You turn to the first page and observe how the book begins. And you read:

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, 'Let there be light;' and there was light."

You are not quite sure whether it is going to be very interesting, this new book which looks so attractive and opens so easily in your hands. But—forgetting, perhaps, that it is not a novel—you look to the last page in order to see how it ends, and you read:

"I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man shall add unto them, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book;

and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part from the tree of life and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book. He which testifieth these things saith: 'Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come Lord Jesus.' The grace of the Lord Jesus be with you all. Amen."

You turn over the leaves and find that it is a pretty long book, with something like a thousand pages. And on examining it a little more carefully you discover that it is divided into two portions; one, the much shorter portion, covering about three hundred pages, and called the "New Testament"; and the other part much longer, making up three-quarters of the volume, and entitled the "Old Testament."

After this cursory glance over your purchase you say to yourself: "This, then, is what has been known since the earliest times as the Bible." At this point, however, I must warn you. Take care! Do not go any farther than your knowledge will warrant. Your assumption is a mistake. This volume has not been known from the earliest times as the "Bible."

In the early days it was called "Ta Biblia," "the books"—not "the book." It is we of the later age who have given it the title "The Bible." To the people of the early time it was "the books," "the bibles"—that is to say, "the sacred literature."

In a word, what you have in your hands was in those ages not a book, but a literature. Many an ignorant person has assumed that the last words at the end of this volume applied to the whole book; whereas everyone who is acquainted with it knows that those words apply to one part of it only, "The Book of Revelations."

In fact, not until almost 200 years after the birth of Jesus was there a distinctly recognized set of books as the accepted "Sacred Literature." About that time in the Christian Church they began to speak of what they called "The Canon," or "The Canon of Sacred Scripture"—the word "Canon" coming from a Greek term meaning "rule" or "standard," as some translate it, or as others translate it, "list." At last they were com-

ing to have a "list" of sacred books. But, bear in mind, it was still "Ta Biblia," the books, not the "Bible."

It is of "Ta Biblia," as it was called, the sacred books or the sacred literature, of which I am going to talk in these lectures. You may be rather perplexed or surprised over the attitude I shall take. My purpose is not to dissect these books or tear them to pieces for you, as you may fancy, with the idea of pointing out the errors there, because I pass for a radical or a rationalist, as I am. On the contrary, my aim is to tell this story and go over this literature with the other plan in view; of doing what I can to arouse a deeper, stronger interest in this literature. I want, if I can, to make you see what it stands for.

For a person of the present day, with education and culture, not to know about the Bible is rank stupidity. It is pathetic to have to admit that nowadays many persons know more about Shakespeare than they do about the Bible. Sometime ago a person who, I assumed, had had a good high school education, came to me in distress, asking me where in the Bible to look for one of the Epistles of St. Paul. On taking the book into my hands and seeing it where it was opened, I observed that my inquirer had been searching for the Epistle back in the Pentateuch. It would not be surprising to have the same experience with a university graduate as well. Yet, as concerns actual influence on the world, influence on other literatures of the world, influence on the way you think nowadays, your views of life, your more serious attitude toward the world, even on the kind of language you use when you talk with one another, this book counts for vastly more than your Shakespeare, your Goethe, your Dante or your Plato.

No other set of books of any literature or any race or any people has ever begun to have the influence which has been exerted on the civilized world by the Bible. And this is as true, or more so, of the world to-day than of the world a thousand years ago. We are less aware of this now, because we read other

literatures so much more, without stopping to appreciate the fact that these other literatures have caught much of their finest spirit from the afflatus of the Bible.

All the while, however, I am speaking as a radical or a rationalist, judging this book from the human side, as I would judge the literature of the Buddhists, the teachings of the Stoics, or the philosophy of Greece.

It is my purpose to inspire you, if I can, with the resolve to go back once more and study this book called the "Bible," if you have ceased doing this; or to lead you determinedly to read it carefully if you have never done so before. It rests for me as a teacher in ethics to assert, with the utmost candor, that more ethical influence has come from this book or set of books than from any other literature in the world. I have read it and re-read it; and the more I turn to it the more it stirs and moves me, the more I realize what it has meant to Christendom, and what it implies for us to be the heirs of such an influence in this age of the "enlightened" nineteenth century.

It is high time for us, as radicals and rationalists, to abandon the foolish prejudice that inasmuch as a vast number of persons have managed to find all sorts of crude and grotesque theories in the Bible, and have become expounders of the strangest superstitions on this account; that because many men have forced their own philosophy into the Bible, or twisted its language out of all meaning in order to suit their own "pet views," or because certain minds have thrown the whole emphasis of their interests in the Bible on its minor aspects or least important features—that, therefore, this so-called Sacred Literature has been the mother of superstition. Like many another book, it might be the mother of superstition in a superstitious age, just as it may be the mother of enlightenment in an enlightened age. Through all history it has been pretty much the same. The conditions of the age will determine the interpretation of any book or literature.

It behooves us now, as I say, to abandon that old prejudice and to go back and make a study of this wonderful literature which has meant so much to the human race. I shall treat it as I would treat the writings of the Buddhists or of Plato, aiming to sift it down and make you see what portions are of the most value, and what may be of less consequence or have had the least influence.

It is the new scholarship, to my mind, which has given back to us the Bible, and which is going to make it of more interest to the world, more popular to the average reader and more influential in certain ways than it ever has been before. The new scholarship can do this, because it can present this book as an historic fact—by this means giving us an interpretation of it such as never could have been had before. We do not mean by this that the new scholarship has shown us how this book teaches facts of history, but rather how the book itself has been a fact of history.

We will turn once more to the copy of the book which you call the "Bible," and which you may have recently purchased from your book store, and I ask you to examine it carefully and make sure at the outset to what extent the volume in your hands is the original Bible. We may as well tell you at the start that if you go on the supposition that what you have before you as it stands there is the original sacred literature, you are mistaken. What you hold before you is distinctively "The English Bible."

Look now and see. You open somewhere in the middle of the volume, and you find at the top of the page the heading, "Isaiah." You glance down and find headlines in the middle of the column, such as "Chapter 50" or "Chapter 51," and you observe that all the way through, the separate books are divided up into small chapters about a page or less in length. But this division into short chapters of this nature was not in the original Bible. It is, most distinctively, your "English Bible."

Again, you read a list of topics in fine print at the

head of the chapter, as, for instance, "Christ showeth that the dereliction of the Jews is not to be imputed to him, by his ability to save, by his obedience in that work, and by his confidence in that assistance. An exhortation to trust in God and not in ourselves." These are rather strange words to be found in a book written many centuries before the time of Jesus. But they do not belong to the original Bible. This is rather a part of your "English Bible."

Furthermore, you look at the top of the page and you find, as you will in most books published nowadays, the topics which are being mentioned in the words below. And you read, for instance, there:

"The ample restoration of the church. An exhortation to trust in Christ. Christ's free redemption. His suffering foretold. The church comforted. The prophet calleth to faith. Happy state of believers."

This, too, seems rather extraordinary as a part of the ancient Hebrew literature. But it had nothing to do with the original Bible. It has been put in there by the translators. It is the English Bible.

Then, again, you examine the text, and notice how it is divided into short verses, three or four lines in length, all the way through from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelation. Now, do you suppose that when the prophets were speaking, pouring forth their denunciations or telling of their anticipations for the future of Israel, they stopped to make a pause between every sentence or half sentence?

But this division into verses did not belong to the original Bible, although it crept in before this literature was translated into modern language. Yet we can but faintly appreciate what a peculiar influence has come from breaking up each one of these long chapters into short verses, as if each separate sentence had been uttered like a proverb by itself. It has led to the crudest errors and caused the most misleading interpretations of this literature, by taking sentences out of their connection and letting them stand by themselves, when their whole meaning is only con-

veyed through what precedes or follows them in the text.

It was one of our modern preachers who said that verses of Scripture should bear the same mark as coupons on railway tickets, "not good if detached." But remember this is your English Bible, and not the original Bible.

Still more, you turn to the sides of the pages and you will probably find narrow columns in fine print, as "references"; so that when you come on one verse in a chapter by Isaiah you may be referred to another verse in a chapter in Genesis. This looks innocent enough. But by this means it is the easiest thing in the world to work in certain pet theories a man believes is taught by the Scriptures; taking detached sentences from different parts of this whole literature and making them all bear on one point, when, originally, they had no reference to each other at all.

Again, I remind you, these columns of "references" are a part of the English Bible and had nothing to do with the original.

Up at the top of each of those columns you will find a date. It may read, for instance, "Before Christ, 712." This runs all the way through the whole thousand pages. On the first page you see it reads "Before Christ, 4004," and on the last page it stands "Anno Domine, 96."

Now, it would have been very convenient for us if Providence had supplied dates for all the events told in this literature, and in such a neat and compact way. But I suppose that you know that these dates got in here only about 250 years ago, counting from the investigations of a certain prelate by the name of Usher, an archbishop of England,¹ who worked out a series of dates this way for the Scriptures. And from about that time they crept into this side column and have become conventionally a part of the English Bible.

¹Born 1580; died 1656. In 1650-54 he published his two vols, *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, in which he sets forth his system of Biblical chronology.

You see we have shorn away a good deal from your copy of the Bible when contrasting it with what was originally there. I remind you again, once for all, that the book you hold in your hands ought to bear the name which we give to it, "The English Bible." It bears on its face peculiarities of its own, having characteristics as a translation, which no other translation of any other book in the English language can be said to possess. The form of speech into which the original thought has been cast seems to make the book as essentially English as the plays of Shakespeare themselves. Somehow, in reading this English Bible you almost feel as if you had in your hands an original literature.

This is partly owing to the fact that the translators oftentimes gave us paraphrases instead of a literal version. We get the original sentiment rather than the original thought there. The music in the speech of the English Bible has had a great deal to do with the power it has exerted. Instead of making use of the Latinized phraseology which had been creeping into the English language for a number of centuries, the translators of the Bible employed simple, everyday language. Where they might have used "detractions" they give us the word "backbitings." What a difference it makes, and how the word strikes home to us! Observe how much they introduced monosyllables or short words of homely speech. As an illustration, read the following:

"Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden light."

Now, of the fifty-one words in those lines, forty-two of them are words of one syllable, and the other nine are short words, none of them more than six letters in length. It is this which has introduced the English Bible language into popular speech. We may talk of "making bricks without straw," many of us not knowing, perhaps, that we are quoting from the Bible. We speak of "entertaining angels un-

awares," and some of us may not be conscious that this is English Bible language. Or one may refer to the "Flesh-pots of Egypt" and fancy it comes from Shakespeare. If only you could know how often you are talking in quotation from the English Bible when you are not conscious of it!

It is not strange that those who have looked upon this book as inspired from the Most High, should almost have forgotten that it was a translation from another tongue, and should have fallen into the habit of thinking of the very words themselves in the English form as having all the sanctity of the original. With many persons you will still notice a hesitancy in using certain phrases carelessly, because they belong to the English Bible.

Bibles are cheap nowadays, but they are not read nearly as much as they used to be. You can buy them for a song, even the handsomely bound copies. Most families own one or several copies. It is regarded a suitable birthday present for a young person. You inscribe his name in it and your own. It is his Bible, and when he is grown up, if he is religiously inclined, he will take it with him in the summer when he goes traveling. But I fear that oftentimes he forgets to take it out of his trunk. Yet he has it there. But I can recall in my boyhood days in New England how it used to be a matter of pride when a youth could say that he had read every word in the Bible. There was a method laid down how it could be done in exactly one year, according to the specific number of chapters one might read each morning. After all, it was not a bad method, inasmuch as it did familiarize the youth with his English Bible. Yet the method had its drawbacks, for it has made many a young person, at the end of the year, close it with a sigh of relief, never to open it again.

We must come to the confession: Those of us who love this book and wish it were read as of yore, know that in spite of the enormous number of copies printed, it is read very much less than it used to be. Go back in your fancy, if you will, to the century before Shakes-

peare in England. The people over there are "practical" men and women, and we would not suppose they had been much given to subjective piety, save in unusual instances.

And yet, can you appreciate the fact that in that century there was many and many an individual who would walk miles of an evening, to go to some room where he would meet a crowd of others of his own kind, and there they would sit huddled together listening to some one who read to them by a candle-light from the English Bible? For the most part, the men themselves could not read. But they listened and listened, with an earnestness and intensity which we can scarcely understand at the present day.

Can you take in the circumstances that churches were crowded by persons who came, for what—do you suppose? To hear some popular preacher? No. They came for the sole purpose of hearing the Bible read aloud to them. And these were not persons being educated to become clergymen. They were hard-working men—artisans, laborers, or, it may be, well-to-do men of affairs who had money, but had no education. They came by the thousands, just to hear this book read aloud and to find out what was in it.

How shall we explain the fact? Who shall tell the secret of those mighty meetings in rude quarters, with eager faces and eager minds, listening to the Bible being read to them as a child to-day would listen to an exciting story or fairy tale?

I am not giving you any exaggerated or fancy sketch, but a true picture of what was going on in that century just before Shakespeare, or even at his time. Two forms of culture were open to the people, the stage and the Bible; and both, for upward of a hundred years, appear to have been equally popular.

But why? Well, for one reason, because it was a new world, because men had lived in darkness so long that there was a passionate craving for light, just mere light of any kind. It was not exclusively the religious spirit which induced men to go long distances, or to stand by the hour in crowds in the

churches of London to hear this Bible read. No, it was the new world which was being opened to them. Christendom was awakening from the dark ages, when culture, education and knowledge had been shut away in monasteries, when many a lordly baron who ruled towns or cities could not read or write.

There were no newspapers in those days, no private libraries, no book-shelf in each home. Remember that printing as an art had only just come into existence. Four years before Columbus set out on his first voyage across the Atlantic, there came from the printing press the first edition of the Hebrew Bible—not the English version, you understand, but the Bible in Hebrew.

Furthermore, it was the conviction of the large majority of the scholars and clergy of the day that it was not safe to put the Bible in the hands of the people. An effort of that kind would have shocked them as much as a suggestion to give them the franchise. It meant democracy, and that meant anarchy, in the theories of the statesman or the scholar of those days.

All the while the man of the people knew that there was a book written in an unknown tongue, containing wonderful knowledge, having had an enormous influence, expounding the mysteries of this life and the life to come, revealing truths about man and nature and God. All of this the man of the people had heard of. It was talked about more or less as a great mystery which he was not allowed to know anything of, a sealed book into which he was not to look.

The fear on the part of the scholar or statesman was not so strange when we think of it. Surely it was a bold and venturesome step which should place the Bible in the hands of the people, to let them think for themselves as to what it contained or what its doctrines meant. It would set up each man for his own church, his own guide in religion—yes, even his own state and his own law-giver. We can well appreciate the exclamation quoted from one of the men

of that day: "We must root out the English Bible or it will root us out." That was the fear.

But be that as it may be, for one or two centuries in English history, there was an eagerness almost passionate in extent to read and know about the Bible. And it was in that age when this simple language of the English Bible passed among the people, and when its greatest influence in certain ways was exerted. To them at that time, it was the one source of light and enlightenment. In letting in the knowledge of the old world, it let in the new light of the new world.

Beyond any question, it was largely responsible for the new individualistic movement of the modern world. I do not think it can be doubted that the English Bible was the forerunner of democracy. If we have republican institutions in the United States of America at the present time, if we have a free ballot, if there is an opportunity for us to manage our own affairs to some extent as a people, if we rest our faith on the Declaration of Independence—then we may safely assert that all this has come, more than from any other one cause, through the direct or indirect influence of the English Bible. Through it and its influence, and not from Voltaire and Rousseau, did we get our immortal Declaration of Independence. I am speaking now of the Bible simply as a human instrument, as an influence like all other influences, while pointing out to you how paramount this peculiar influence has been.

But when I come to the question which is before me over and over again, Why is it that people nowadays study their Shakespeare, their Goethe or their Dante, and will not study or read their Bibles? I own to being sorely perplexed.

Why is it, do you ask? I will make one suggestion as the reason for it: You take down your copy which you have bought. You have heard it said "it is all the Bible, read it, read the whole Bible." And you open and you read:

“These are the generations of Shem: Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the flood. And Shem lived after he begat Arphaxad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. And Arphaxad lived five and thirty years, and begat Selah. And Arphaxad lived after he begat Selah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughter. And Selah lived thirty years and begat Eber. And Selah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years and begat sons and daughters. And Eber lived four and thirty years and begat Peleg. And Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters. And Peleg lived thirty years and begat Reu. And Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.”

You lay down your book and say to yourself: “Well, and this is the Bible?” “Yes,” I answer, “a part of it.” And you have been told that it was all alike, the sacred book, all equally beautiful, equally valuable, equally instructive, all bound under the same cover.

But there is the mistake. It is that which has made the Bible largely an unread book among vast numbers of people at the present time—the impression which has gone abroad, that all parts of this sacred literature are equally good and just alike, all parts equally instructive, equally inspired.

Suppose you take down your copy again in spite of your discouragement, and begin once more to read further along. You may be more fortunate the next time. Perhaps you are tired with life, and this may have led you to look into the Bible. And you begin to read:

“For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In overflowing wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee. The mountains shall depart and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed. Oh, thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted, behold, I will set thy stones in fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And great shall be the peace of thy children. In righteousness shalt thou be established; thou shalt be far from oppression; for thou shalt not fear; and from terror; for it shall not come near thee.”

You put down your book for a moment and begin to think. You say: "This is something else." You may have been discouraged or disheartened, feeling as if life were not much worth living. Here was a man who had gone through the same experience; but what a long while ago! Here was a man who knew just how you feel now, with the difference that he got over his melancholy and began to hope. And this is his voice of hope. Before you know it, if you have let yourself go, and lost yourself in the mood of what you are reading, you may begin to have hope too. Hope in what, you ask? I answer, "Nothing in particular; just hope." A new kind of music has struck your ear. The hopeful attitude of another soul is sounded in yours, and you begin to catch it in spite of yourself. Perhaps you say, "there is more in the Bible than I thought. It is not all 'genealogies.'"

You turn over and read:

"Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

You put your book down again and you say to yourself, "there is another kind of peace, is there? A kind which money does not buy?" It may be a new suggestion to you, although the Bible is full of such suggestiveness. You try once more further along. You may strike more genealogies, or you may come upon dry statements of doctrines, discussions which you may not be interested in. Or perhaps you will meet with sentences like these:

"Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one toward another with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another. Bless them which persecute you; bless and curse not. Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men. If it be possible as much as lieth within you, live peaceably with all men. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."

Now that is a good doctrine, is it not? You would be glad to have other people practice it toward you, even if you were not inclined to practice it towards others. You would like to have your children learn such maxims, would you not; and to follow that advice in a general way?

You may turn to your Bible and not find the words I am reading. But they are there. Only as I go along, I omit one verse and give another, sounding those notes which please me, and ignore the other parts. I have read the Bible a good deal, and know how to do that. I should do the same with my Plato. There is dross in my philosophers also; tiresome speeches, clauses or sentences or whole paragraphs which show an attitude of mind shaped wholly by the conditions of the age. Then there are other paragraphs that seemed inspired, as if my philosophers arose above all ages, or all special influences, and spoke through the universal heart of man.

So it is with my English Bible.

You may ask, where did this English Bible come from? Who translated it. And somebody else sitting by your side will say, "Why, it is the 'authorized version,' translated under the direction of King James, and published at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in 1611."

Well, your neighbor sitting beside you, in telling you this, knows something; but his little knowledge has made it a dangerous thing for him. The English Bible does not belong to the seventeenth century, nor did it come from the beginning of the seventeenth century.

There were three great and most important translations of the Bible into the English language, from which all our English Bibles in popular use are lineally descended; and one of those three was not this "Authorized Version."

I hold in my hands a copy of a work which was the starting point for the English Bible. But the date of it, I find on examination, to be 1530, eighty years or more before the publication of the "version"

you know about. It is not the whole Bible, but only the first five books. Yet the same man who issued these five books of the Pentateuch, issued a translation of the whole Bible. All our other English versions in popular use are lineally descended from this translation, made by a man whose name was William Tyndale. He was the one who was revealing the mysteries of that sealed literature to the crude artisan or tiller of the soil, and who was by this means making an individual soul out of a clod—if that be not too exaggerated a form of speech. It was Tyndale who really gave the English tone or Anglo-Saxonism to the English Bible.

We speak of our "King James Version" as of a new and different translation. Now compare the first words of the first chapter of Genesis, as translated by Tyndale, and see how they read, contrasting them in your mind with the first words of the "authorized version" which you know so well:

"In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the waters. Then God said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good, and divided the light from the darkness, and called the light 'Day' and the darkness 'Night;' and so of the evening and morning was made the first day."

Surely the variations from this in the King James version are not so remarkable. The last line reads, for instance, "And the evening and morning were the first day," instead of "Of the evening and morning was made the first day."

But the style of speech, the Anglo-Saxon flavor, was given by Tyndale.

To be sure, the spelling is quaint and quite unlike what we see nowadays. "Beginning" is spelled "Beggynnynge." "Deep" is spelled "depe." "Earth" lacks the "a" and is spelled "erth." "Light" is spelled "lyghte," and "darkness" is spelled "darcknesse."

But if you were to see the spelling of the so-called "authorized version" exactly as it appeared in 1611, you would also be rather surprised. Look at a copy

of the New Testament from that version printed precisely as it was then, and you find the word "son" spelled "sonne." "Fourteen" is spelled "foureteen." But on the whole, English spelling was at the point of settling down to an established shape about the time when the King James version was issued.

Here is an interesting volume in my hands which gives me six translations of the New Testament. You can get it in any of our large public libraries. But, as I have said, only three are important, and in those three I do not include the last or "authorized" one.

The second one I have in mind goes by the name of the "Rheims and Douay" version. This was the English version made for the Roman Catholic Church, and done by refugees from England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. We usually speak of the "refugees" from England in the reign of Queen Mary, as if the Roman Catholic Church had done all the persecuting. But the Roman Catholics themselves were not living in a bed of roses in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Many of them found it wiser and safer to live in other lands at that time.

I should be glad if there was time or space to say something of this other version. It is like, and yet quite unlike, that by Tyndale. It was made chiefly from the so-called Latin Vulgate, and not from the original Greek or Hebrew. The "Vulgate," as you know, was a translation of the Scriptures made about four hundred years after the Christian era in the Latin language by St. Jerome, and has been accepted as the authorized Bible by the Roman Catholic Church.

Those who are acquainted with the history of church doctrines would see in the two translations the important distinctions in the use of language. As, for instance, where Tyndale uses the word "repent," you find in the Rheims and Douay version, "Do penance." It was over that issue that the Reformation started. Whereas the Roman Catholic Church had given an objective interpretation to the

original word, and thus laid the importance on "works;" Martin Luther had given a subjective rendering to it as "repentance," throwing the emphasis on "faith," and so launched the Reformation.

The other translation belongs to a much earlier epoch, two hundred years, in fact, before that made by Tyndale. It was done by a monk, John Wyclif, and the language is so quaint that one would only half understand it, even if it were read with modern pronunciation. It, too, was made from the Vulgate, and not from the original Greek and Hebrew.

I scarcely need to tell you of the history of the Authorized Version. It was made under the general direction of King James at the beginning of the seventeenth century, at the time of the last years of Shakespeare's life. A large number of men worked at it. For this reason it lacks the unity of style which seems to characterize certain of the other versions. Some portions of the translation are better than others, and in certain places the English is less fine than in others. But, as a rule, it is the most perfect style and the most beautiful rhetoric in the English language.

There have been a number of translations of the Bible made within the last two hundred years, by one or another scholar or group of scholars. Yet none of them have ever become at all popular. Not one of them has the music, I fancy, which belongs to this rightly named "Engilsh" Bible.

To be sure, language had changed, and all our words do not have quite the same form or meaning which they had two hundred years ago. Some persons are not aware of the fact that the "authorized version," published in 1611, does not anywhere contain the possessive pronoun "its," as that word was only just then coming into usage, and occurs only a few times in all the writings of Shakespeare. Besides this, since that time new manuscripts have been discovered, and a better text in the original languages has been established. Hence, it almost seemed as if, in this century, a clamor had gone forth for a new version of the Bible. About thirty years ago, therefore, it was

agreed upon among a group of scholars in England and this country to make a new translation which they hoped would be adopted by the orthodox Protestant churches of Christendom. A large number of men entered on the work.

Never was an undertaking carried out more thoroughly, devotedly and painstakingly than this last "revised version" of the Bible. It was given forth to the world about ten years ago—I forget the exact date—after it had been waited for with an eagerness quite extraordinary. When the New Testament was published first, before the rest of the "revised" translation, it sold by the hundreds of thousands of copies. Positively there seemed to be an interest in it somewhat similar to that in the sixteenth century, when the Bible was first made known to the people of England. When the new version of the Old Testament was published, however, the book dealers who had expected to reap a harvest from it had a hard time of it.

As a matter of fact, the revised version, so-called, has been pretty nearly a failure. From a business standpoint, it fell flat on the market. At a Bible publishing house I was told not long ago that not one per cent. of the Bibles sold in the English language at this time are copies of this revised version. Yet the work was honestly done, far more carefully and painstakingly than the regular authorized version made in the reign of King James. And no one has been quite able to explain the reason for it. Some say it is habit or the custom which makes people cling to what they have been used to. Others say it is the price which makes the difference, as the revised version has cost more. But at the bottom, I doubt very much whether either reason accounts for the circumstance. I suspect the translation was a failure, for the reason that it made too few changes to satisfy the scholars and too many changes to satisfy the people. Those who knew their Bible were used to its phraseology, and they saw no great reason for changing it. Some of the alterations in the revised version affect us as we should be

affected if efforts were made to alter certain parts of the familiar airs, like "Auld Lang Syne."

For example, in the 23d Psalm, which is known, perhaps, more than all the others, and committed to memory by people all over the English-speaking world, what was the use of changing one word in the verse, "He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake," and substituting, "He *guideth* me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake?" The difference in sense was not enough to make it worth while to break up the familiar music of the old words. The revised version does not give a literal translation on the one hand; and yet, on the other hand, it breaks up a part of the beautiful paraphrasing of the original authorized version.

A few important changes had to be made. The most conspicuous one I know of, happens to be in the speech of St. Paul, where he is addressing King Agrippa, and the king replies—in the older version—"Almost persuadest thou me to be a Christian." This was, as we know now, exactly contrary to the real sense, which has been rendered in the revised version correctly, "With but little persuasion thou would'st fain make me a Christian"—spoken, of course, in a sneering tone.

For practical purposes it would have been sufficient to have reissued the King James Version, with all-told, perhaps, twelve or fifteen alterations or omissions. In both versions we are not dealing with literal translations, but with an "English" Bible.

In these lectures I quote sometimes from one and sometimes from the other. The only real translation of the Bible into the English language will be the one now being made as the crowning feature of the new scholarship at the close of the nineteenth century. Of that I shall speak in a future lecture.

THE ORIGINAL BIBLE

A long while ago, it may have been a hundred years or several hundred years before this time—I do not know the exact time—it seems that a number of men were exploring near the summit of a high mountain and came on some sea shells lying there. We call them nowadays fossils. And what were those sea shells doing there on the top of a mountain? “Why, the devil put them there,” was the answer, “in order to perplex the scholars and lead them to make fools of themselves with more theories.” “No,” replied the scholars, “nature put them there, just as nature shaped the mountain tops. It was all one work.”

“Then how did those sea shells come there?” was the query. “It is plain enough,” was the reply. “There is only one possible answer. At one time those mountain tops were at the bottom of the sea.” In response to this the scholars or men of science received only a smile of contempt. Such talk was not worth listening to or arguing with. It was to be let alone.

But it has all been settled now beyond dispute. The mountain tops have been at the bottom of the sea. And it was then that the shells found their way there. No educated man doubts this. We all take it for granted. The smile of contempt has ceased. The theory was finally argued out and settled.

We call these sea shells fossils, meaning by this, evidences of organic life which may now seem out of place. And chiefly by means of these fossils the man of science has read the story of the earth. He knows the history of our planet ten millions or one hundred million years ago, almost as well as he knows the early history of the human race.

“But what has all this to do with the Bible?” you ask. “A great deal,” we reply, “because just such

fossils exist there too, and it has been by means of such fossils that the scholars have read and reconstructed the Bible." To-day we know more about the way it grew or was put together than we know about the growth and development of the plays of Shakespeare. It is astounding to think it. But it is a fact, nevertheless.

It has come for the most part within the last one hundred years, and the major portion of it within the last twenty-five years; at least, so far as the popular acceptance of it is concerned.

When the new standpoint concerning the structure of the Bible was first put forth, it was looked upon naturally as a grotesque theory and was answered by the same smile of contempt. By and by, when it took larger proportions and became more important, it was regarded as a dangerous attitude which conscientious, devout believers in the Bible must not pay any attention to.

But to-day all is changed. The standpoint I am going to describe for you has won its way within the folds of orthodoxy. It no longer ranks as heresy for a man to accept it. The best authorities for it in the English-speaking world on the whole are within the fold of the orthodox church. And if you wanted books on the subject explaining it, supporting it and advocating it, I should refer you to the works now published by the orthodox clergy, men in good and regular standing within their respective denominations. I do not mean to say that all the clergy have accepted it, by any manner of means. A great many of them hold to the old attitude as before. But the new standpoint has ceased to rank as "heresy." What is more, it is most surprising to observe the unanimity of opinion, on the whole, among those scholars who accept the new method at all. I do not mean to say that they agree on all the minor points, any more than you will find that the men of science agree on all points concerning the history of the earth.

But taking it altogether, the agreement of opinion is

positively astonishing. Where the divergence among the scholars is most apparent is with reference to the latter portion of the Bible which we call the New Testament. This would seem strange, inasmuch as the New Testament is nearer to us and we ought to be able to come closer to the circumstances which lead to its appearance. But it may be that more is involved in admitting this other attitude with reference to the New Testament.

The new attitude or new method of studying the sacred literature goes, as you know, under the name of the Higher Criticism. I like the term because it implies a conviction on the part of the scholars that it is a higher way of looking at the Bible. With it comes an interpretation which makes the Bible more instructive, more valuable, more worthy of regard than ever before, and therefore it is a "higher" method.

It has certainly given us another Bible from the traditional one. It leaves us all—whether we are radical or conservative, within or without the folds of orthodoxy, belonging to the church or apart from the church—it leaves us all free to approach that literature with the same regard or same awe or same reverence. And it is a gratifying fact that in the new version of the Bible which is being issued, the "Polychrome" Bible, the translators have been chosen without regard to sect or church, solely by their rank as scholars. What is more, we find the thoroughgoing rationalist who may not believe in inspiration, and the thoroughgoing conservative who believes in inspiration just as before, each paying a like regard to the opinions of the other. Plainly it would look as if the doctrine of inspiration of the Bible was not necessarily concerned in the outcome between the struggle of the old and new standpoints.

I have said that they have been reading the story of the Bible, its history, the way it grew or finally was put together, by means of the fossils there. I am using this term reverently, meaning by it the detached or misplaced pages in that literature, those

which stand out isolated, as it were, by themselves. One such sublime "fossil," for instance, is the Sermon on the Mount, in certain respects the finest portion of the whole sacred literature.

This Sermon on the Mount, beyond all question, comes nearer to the original teachings of Jesus than anything else in all the Scriptures. We find allusion to it from the very earliest times of the Christian era, where there is a reference to certain "logia" or "sayings" recorded by Matthew. These sayings, which pass as the "Sermon on the Mount," and which form such a striking portion of the Bible, stand out by themselves as a landmark, and undoubtedly give us the kernel or core of the New Testament. Whatever else we may trust in the Scriptures, we can put supreme confidence in those sayings as coming close to the original Jesus. The Hebrews of those days had, as they continue to have, a wonderful facility for remembering sayings or precepts which had been given to them; while on the other hand they had a like facility for getting themselves into a hopeless confusion in their memories concerning the facts of history. Their enthusiasm was for the precepts and for the teachings. It may have been a characteristic of the religious temperament of the Hebrew of those times. It is on this ground that we put so much faith in their traditions concerning the precepts or *teachings* of their sacred Scripture.

But be that as it may, it was the problem of the scholars to get back to the original Bible. And this has been the purpose of the Higher Criticism. One might suppose that all this would have been easy enough. It only remained, one suggests, for them to go to the original manuscripts, find the original text, study it carefully and then make an honest translation of it. What more could we ask for?

True enough. But what about those original texts? The material on which people wrote in the days when the Bible came into existence was chiefly from the papyrus plant, and unfortunately it had little durability, decaying or rotting away in the course

of about a hundred years. Not until long after the Bible had been written did there come into use the new form of parchment, which had positive durability. This, so far as we know, dates back to about the fourth century after Christ. Hence all the original manuscripts are in dust. Not one of them had survived or could have survived.

As a matter of fact, the oldest manuscript of the Hebrew Bible dates back from about the year 1000 A. D., some 1,200 years after the canon of Hebrew Scriptures was completed. What is more, the orthodox Christian church had lost interest in the Hebrew language. But by good fortune the old Hebrew text had been preserved pretty faithfully among the schools of the Jewish Church. Just about the time when Columbus was starting out on his voyage of discovery of America, a copy of the Hebrew Bible came, as we said in the previous lecture, for the first time from the printing press. And a few years afterward there was published in printed form a copy of the Greek New Testament.

But bear in mind that the Greek language had been ignored for centuries, that manuscripts of any kind from the original Greek New Testament must have been scarce in the extreme, and you will see what a difficulty there was in presenting the original text in printed form. In fact, until about fifty years ago, the oldest complete manuscripts of the New Testament dated from the sixth or seventh century—a long while after Jesus had lived. And unfortunately those manuscripts themselves were not always in accord.

About forty years ago, however, a great discovery was made. A German scholar was staying for a time at a monastery at Mt. Sinai. He noticed while there some old pieces of vellum or parchment lying in a waste basket ready to be burned. Already the contents of two other baskets had gone into the stove. He pulled out a sheet of that vellum and gave a start, more than a start. He saw that he had before him a page from a Greek Bible earlier than any

known up to that time. I need not tell you the further details of the romantic story of that discovery; how it took nearly ten or twenty years of planning and searching for our scholar to get hold of that old manuscript or what remained of it. But at last he succeeded. It contained the whole of the New Testament with one or two other books not now belonging to that part of the Bible, but to which there had been references in the writings of the Church Fathers. And it contained also quite a large portion of the Old Testament, although with unfortunate interruptions in the text, where the sheets had been thrown into the stove. The whole manuscript was afterward published to the world and ranks now as the "Codex Sinaiticus." To-day it is accepted as the oldest complete manuscript of the Bible in existence, coming from about the middle of the fourth century, 350 A. D.*

"Now, at any rate," one would say, "there was a chance to get at the original Bible. At last a text had been found which had been written only three or four hundred years after the beginning of the Christian era. All that was necessary was to translate it carefully and give it to the world, and the original Bible would be in our hands." But think a moment! Let me give you an impression of the way one of the paragraphs or pages of that manuscript would have looked if it had been in the English language. I take this from an article on the "Codex Sinaiticus" in one of our Encyclopedias:

WAREOFMENFORTHEY
WILLDELIVERYOUUP
TOTHECOUNCILSAND
THEYWILLSCOURGE
YOUINTHEIRSYNA
GOGUESANDYESHALL
BEBROUGHTBEFORE
GOVERNORSANDKINGS
FORMYSAKEFORATES

*The Vatican Codex, which is less complete for the New Testament is somewhat older than the Sinaitic.

Do you find it easy to read? The type is large enough, surely. "Yes," you ask, "but where are the punctuation marks?" Quite true; that is what I should like to know. "Why aren't the words separated from each other? How can we know just where one word ends and another begins always?" True, that is what I should like to ask.

Perhaps you may or may not have been aware that in the original form in which the books of the Bible were written there were no punctuation marks, no capitals or small letters; not only that, but no divisions between the words. In this manuscript there is here and there an occasional mark, showing the fact that punctuation points were just coming into use, although only to a very slight degree.

Do you begin to see some of the difficulty in getting at the original Bible? Fancy the text of Shakespeare without a punctuation mark in it, with the words all run together and no separating spaces between them. Would it be easy to read your Shakespeare, and always know just what it meant?

No, it would mean work and an enormous amount of it. And it has meant work on a colossal scale for the scholars to get back to the original text of the Bible and to find out what it meant. Furthermore, keep the other points of difficulty in view. The New Testament was written in a language which was not spoken by Jesus. Besides this, the people in Palestine at the time of Jesus no longer spoke Hebrew. It had become to a degree a dead language. At that time the language in use in Palestine, as you know, was the Aramaic. Already in that day the copies of the sacred Scriptures in popular use were in the Greek language. About 150 years B. C. there had been a translation of the Hebrew literature made chiefly for the Hebrews living down in Egypt. It goes under the name of the "Septuagint," from the Greek number 72, coming from the tradition that seventy-two Jewish scholars had worked upon it, six men appointed from each of the twelve tribes. And the story runs that each one of

the seventy-two was put into a separate cell or room and made to translate the whole sacred literature, and that when they all came together it was discovered that every man of them had translated it word for word exactly alike. All very pretty as a tradition! Only as the scholar knows, parts of it had been wretchedly translated and make no sense at all, unless the original Hebrew is compared in order to help out the sense.

Besides this, and illustrating another difficulty, this Septuagint or Greek translation of the Scriptures as we now know, contained quite a number of books which do not now belong to the English Bible. A hundred years ago, to be sure, if you had been living then and gone to purchase a copy, you would have found at the end of the Old Testament a number of other books printed, perhaps, in smaller type. But they have been dropped out from the English Bible altogether. This within only 100 years! They went under the name of the "Apocrypha."

When, therefore, the new scholars set out with the task of getting back to the original Bible, they had a situation about like this: There was the Latin translation, the Vulgate, made in the fourth century, A. D., which had come down, however, in imperfect manuscripts, and with the copies sadly varying from each other in certain particulars, although on the whole fairly well preserved. There was this Greek translation from the Old Testament, made about 150 years B. C., and existing in manuscripts which had been written about 300 or 400 years A. D. And along with this there were the Hebrew manuscripts dating from about the year 1000 A. D. of the Hebrew Bible. Out of this material it devolved upon them, as I have said, to read the story of the Bible just as the man of science reads the story of the earth. And they have done it in a way that fairly dazes us when we appreciate the difficulties.

At first it might have been said that all that remained was to formulate a good text as near as pos-

sible to the original and then translate it. But that was not all.

The chief problem for the new scholarship was not so much to get at the original text, but to study the strata of history when these books were written. Tradition had said, for instance, that whatever was found in the book of Isaiah had been written by Isaiah. Does the book say so? Yet, for a time, it was heresy to assume that parts of the book of Isaiah belonged to several different authors.

And what has been the first result of the researches of these scholars? Why, it has been to discover that in the way we have the English Bible now, there is very little chronological order. In certain portions it would almost seem as if somebody had accidentally dropped the separate leaves of the manuscripts from a house-top and they had been scattered all over the ground, and then had been picked up at random and put together without regard to order. It is not quite as bad as this, to be sure, but something of that nature.

I open at the beginning of my Bible and I read the story of the Garden of Eden. It is a beautiful story, fascinating of its kind, and most instructive. Here it is on the second page of my volume. According to tradition—tradition, mind you—this was the earliest portion of the Bible written. Then I go on toward the end of the Old Testament until I come to those books which go under the name of Prophecies. According to tradition these were written at a later time. I look over a number of these prophecies, some of the longest of them. I read them with care; yet I do not find a single reference in them to the story of the Garden of Eden, or to "Adam and Eve." That is strange, passing strange, is it not? Over and over again we find references to "Moses," and the experiences of the Israelites in Egypt, their crossing the Red Sea and their troubles in the "Wilderness." But search as we may, apparently we come on no allusions to Adam and Eve, our first parents, nor the beautiful Garden of Eden.

What shall we make of it? If we were dealing with

any other book, which had not been encrusted with various theories or traditions, we should take it for granted that those prophets had never heard of the Garden of Eden, or of Adam and Eve; that the part of the Bible where you find that account had not yet been written, or as yet had not formed a part of the sacred literature of a Bible. The new scholarship will tell you as practically certain that Moses himself had never heard of the Garden of Eden nor of Adam and Eve. This chapter which contains the story I am speaking of, they will tell you now, was compiled beyond question after many of the great prophets had lived. If it were placed in its normal position and the Bible were arranged according to the dates at which the chapters were written, that particular chapter would come in nearer the end of the Old Testament, and the Prophecies nearer the beginning.

Is this destructive? No; on the contrary, it is reconstructive. From this standpoint it is possible to see what the Bible means, to get a consistency out of it.

We turn again to the historic books and read some of the fascinating chapters concerning Saul and David. They are in what we call the books of "Samuel" and the books of the "Kings." Then we open to long series of chapters called the "Chronicles." Here are other accounts of David and Saul. But on examination the pictures here of the character of these men are not in accord with the pictures of them which we found in the other chapters which we have mentioned. Yet these various chapters or books all come right along together, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, as if they had been written at the same time. What are we to think—that the writers of the same age were disputing within each other and telling falsehoods to each other? It would certainly seem perplexing. In fact, the whole attitude of the author of the Chronicles seems other than that of the author of Samuel and Kings.

But it is also plain enough now when this higher criticism steps in and shows us that the second narrative was written perhaps two or three centuries after the first. It would be just as if there were two histories of early times in England, one of which had been written in the sixteenth century and the other in the eighteenth. Now, in a certain respect the earlier history would be more accurate, as it comes nearer to the events described. But it might also have been written at a time when men were more careless about investigation. On the other hand, the second history may have been written farther away from the original events and the author have found himself in greater difficulty in trying to get at the facts. But he may be a more careful chronicler, so that in other directions his history may be more trustworthy. But, furthermore, we must take care in studying such histories. The author in each case may have a religious bias. In one instance the writer may have been a Roman Catholic and in the other instance a Protestant. They may both be equally honest, and yet in spite of themselves the difference of attitude will be perceptible and the way they narrate their facts will depend on their religious views.

When the new scholars began to study the book of Chronicles and compare it with the book of Kings or Samuel, it was very plain indeed—this religious bias of the respective authors. Instead of making these books teach less history, this method makes them teach more—when the scholar steps in and explains the situation of the age when the book was written. In point of fact, one might almost say that the Bible from this other standpoint is being used more now to explain history than it ever was before. But it is used more as a means for presenting a true picture of the times when it was written, than necessarily of the facts which it describes.

If you think you can open your Bible from this other standpoint and read a paragraph or a page anywhere and understand it, I must ask you to be on your guard. Read it, of course! But it is just

as with your Shakespeare. You can botch it woe-fully if you have not learned how to read the Bible, precisely as you can botch your Shakespeare if you have not gradually been taught how to read his plays.

I want to give you an illustration of the careless use of the Bible, and it will be the best one I could give also in order to bring out this new method of interpretation by which we have re-read the whole story of the Bible.

You have all heard more or less in talk or argument, or you may have read it in books or newspapers, something in the Bible concerning a man who was swallowed by a whale and how this man stayed inside of the whale for three days and was finally spewed out upon the land still alive.

The book which goes under the title of "Jonah" is one of the strange fossils I have been speaking of. It has been used over and over again by many a man, in order to show that he did not believe in the Bible, because he knew that a whale could not swallow a man, and even if the whale had swallowed a man, that man could not stay inside such a creature and keep alive. On the other hand, it has been used likewise by those who wanted to assert their faith in the Bible and who have solemnly put forth the statement that they would have believed it if it had been said that Jonah swallowed the whale. As a result of all this, to a good many persons the trustworthiness of the whole Bible turns around this whale-swallowing story.

But now let us look rather attentively at this book of "Jonah." Read it first, for it is short, only about a page in length. To begin with, right in the middle of the chapter comes a prayer. On looking at it carefully it does not agree with the statements concerning it in the rest of the book. It is mentioned as a prayer made by Jonah while he was inside the fish. But on reading it you discover that it was a prayer of thanksgiving for having come out of the fish. "Yet hast thou brought up my life from the pit, O Lord my God." It does not take much

thought to observe, therefore, that this prayer is a psalm, and most clearly a "detached page," not written by the author of the book at all, but simply pasted in there as expressing a feeling of his mind and therefore suitable for quotation, although without the quotation marks. At once, therefore, we eliminate this passage from the rest of the book.

In the next place we want to find out what the book was written for. "Oh," you say, "at least hundreds and hundreds of thousands of people have said it was written to show the wonderful power of the Almighty, how He could hide a man away in the inside of a big fish in the sea and keep him there three days and have him come forth alive once more."

Suppose we decide first as to when this book was written. "This has been settled long ago," one may assert. "It was written when Nineveh was a prominent kingdom." I turn to my "teachers' Bible" and find that it tells me that in all probability the author wrote about the 9th century, B. C. All this is very interesting but very puzzling, if one happens to know much about the history of those times. To begin with, there is a reference to the "king of Nineveh." Now steps in a man who happens to be a great scholar in Oriental lore, a man who knows a great deal about the history of Nineveh by original research, whose name was Sayce, and who tells us from his positive knowledge that at that time it was not customary to use such phraseology as "the king of Nineveh." This mode of speech belonged to a much later epoch.

But our scholars examine the language of the book. It is Hebrew—of a certain kind. But the language contains phrases from Aramaic, or the speech which was used in the time of Jesus in Palestine. The linguist knows the history of this language. He knows it was spoken by the people up north of Palestine, not among the Israelites at first. It was not until several centuries after the date assigned for the writing of Jonah, that this language crept down further south and came more and more into use among the Hebrews. The author is using phrases which

belonged to the 3rd and 4th centuries, and not the 8th and 9th centuries, B. C. This is enough to settle the fact once for all. The chapter from the Bible I am speaking of to you, contrary to tradition, is one of the very latest to have been written, and is rightly placed near the end of the Old Testament. Unfortunately it is followed by another short book called "Micah," who was one of the very earliest writers of the Old Testament, and may have lived about the 8th or 9th century. Apparently there is no difficulty for the scholars in knowing that the language of these two books is centuries apart, that they belong side by side, just about as much as the "Faery Queen" by the poet Spenser, who died in about 1400, belongs side by side with the "Idylls of the King," written by Tennyson in this century.

Now having found out the approximate date when the book of Jonah was written, from the language and other incidental circumstances, our question arises, what was it written for? In order to settle this point, we must ask ourselves concerning the conditions among the people of Israel at that time. This will not be so difficult because we have approached an age of pretty plain history. We know what had been going on among that people for a length of time, how the priests and teachers had been working with might and main to make the laws among the people rigid in the extreme, to emphasize in the highest degree the distinction between Jew and Gentile, to encourage the Jew to look with contempt and utter scorn upon all other races as being inferior and scarcely worth thinking of; how race pride was being made the crucial point in religion; how this was narrowing Judaism, cutting it off from any possible influence on the rest of the world, and threatening to make it a dead force so far as the future of culture and civilization was concerned. But it so happened that while that narrow sect was working with all its might and main to make those customs and those beliefs rigid in the extreme, a small school, perhaps very small indeed, was rising, with men who

were taking the opposite attitude, and suggesting that the days for those rigid distinctions were coming to an end—pointing out that there was something higher and more important than race distinctions, that God was more than a God of the Jews, that He was a God of man.

And at last this new standpoint of that small school found a voice in the book of Jonah.

In this book, written about 300 years, it may be, before Christ, you have the one great sentiment of Jesus already anticipated; written so plain that all can see. There comes forth the extraordinary standpoint by which the author was fighting the narrow schools all around him as if he were exclaiming: "Almighty God knows naught of your Jew and your Gentile. Your race distinctions, your sense of superiority, all that may be good or bad, according to circumstances. But all that is a human affair. In the eye of the Omnipotent, there is only one race, one human creature." To quote from the book of Jonah:

"And God said to Jonah, Doest thou well to be angry for the gourd? And he said, I do well to be angry even unto death. And the Lord said, Thou hast had pity on the gourd for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it to grow, which came up in a night and perished in a night; and should not I have pity on Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand?"

In this we have the whole point of the book. It is the story of a man belonging to that narrow school of sectarianism who wanted God only for his race and his sect, and who looked upon all other human creatures as belonging to an inferior order; a man who had gone to denounce the people of Nineveh and to tell them of the destruction coming upon them because of their wickedness, and then was angry and disappointed when they repented, because the destruction did not come so that his prophecy might prove true.

It means the turning point in the world's history between race religion and universal religion, between

the belief in a God of one race or one people, and the belief in a God of all races or all peoples. *"Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it to grow, and should not I have pity on Nineveh, that great city?"*

What has all this to do with the whale-swallowing story, you ask; the "big fish" and how Jonah lived inside of the big fish unharmed for three days and three nights?

Yes, I know all about that. I can recall, as perhaps you can also, how our old catechism used to run about like this:

Who was the first man? Adam. Who was the first woman? Eve. Who was guilty of the first murder? Cain. Who escaped from the flood? Noah. Who lived inside of the whale for three days, kept alive by the Lord? Jonah. And what became of Jonah afterwards? Why he was spewed out by the whale on the dry land unharmed. What were the names of the three men who were cast into the fiery furnace? Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego.

And so it went on. You know it all. I shall remember those last three names, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego until I die. That was the old conception of the Bible. And the story of Jonah was there to show the power of the Lord in keeping a man alive for three days inside of a whale.

And because of that impression, many people have lost the notion as to the beauty or meaning of the books of the Bible, and the book of Jonah has become a laughing-stock to many, a debating point between the atheist and the orthodox believer. It has been said: What can the Bible be good for, if it is there to teach things like that?

Suppose that "Shakespeare" was looked upon nowadays as a fetich, not read very much by grown people, but revered as something grand, inspiring, a good book to carry around with you to save you as a preservative from calamity; a safeguard in the vest pocket from bullets in war or from drowning in

time of peace. In all probability you would have a catechism for the young running like this:

When did Shakespeare die? 1616. Where did he live part of the time? In London. How many plays did he write? Thirty-five may be one answer, forty another,—although on this question there would be bitterness of feeling almost to a point of death. What was the greatest play of Shakespeare? Hamlet. And what wonderful event is described in Hamlet? The appearance of a ghost. And who was the ghost? It was Hamlet's father. When did this ghost appear? At midnight. When did he have to leave the scene? At the cock-crowing. What did the ghost say to Hamlet? How many times did the ghost appear? How did the ghost look?

And then you would have as a result of all this, a certain school of wise men who would be running down Shakespeare and saying it was a pernicious book to put into the hands of the young, because it encouraged superstition, leading people to believe in ghosts when we know there are no ghosts; and that it was not a healthy book for sane people to read nowadays; and that as for them, the wise ones, they were going to read something better where they should not come upon superstitions of this kind.

Did Shakespeare believe in ghosts? I do not know and I do not care. It doesn't make any difference whatever as to the significance of the play of Hamlet. People of those days did believe in ghosts, and he saw fit to give that setting to his play in order to bring out his thought.

Did the author of Jonah believe that a man might be swallowed by a big fish, stay inside of the fish for three days in the sea and come out alive again? I do not know and I do not care. It doesn't make any difference to me as to the meaning of this book by that author. I know perfectly well that in those days when he wrote, the mass of the people did believe that just such events could happen as a matter of course: and it is plain that this author chose for reasons of his own to give this setting to his story.

while bringing out his thought. But the point of it all is plain enough. It hasn't anything to do with the whale-swallowing episode.

Now which Bible shall we choose? That of the Higher Criticism, which gives us the thought of the Bible? Or the old-fashioned kind which gives us the wonders of the Bible? We shall have to make our choice.

Here in my hands I hold a new translation of the Bible, made from those original texts, after the researches of the new scholars into the age when the books of the Bible were written. Being made by many scholars it will appear in many volumes, and perhaps not be completed for many years. But it is a marvelous piece of work and it is giving us the original Bible. The volume I hold in my hand is one of the many. It happens to be of the book which goes under the name of "Isaiah."

According to tradition, this whole book of Isaiah was written or spoken by one man, that one prophet. But the new scholars step in and say "No." This was written by a number of men covering a period of several centuries. By and by the utterances of those various men, in manuscript form, came to be pinned together somehow, and took their title from the name of the longest chapter or from the writer who lived first, by the name of Isaiah.

Furthermore, the parts have fallen together very carelessly; the portions by each author are not by themselves. The men who pieced them together must have been very ignorant, as anyone can see who studies the matter. There are parts of one page which belong to parts on another page. You can determine it by the language, by the allusions, by a number of characteristics. If you read it as it stands in the old version you jump from one subject to another, from one standpoint to another, and the closer you read the more perplexed you are.

But now look at my translation. On the same pages there may be two or three colors. Here are blue and red and purple, three unlike tints, for example.

What does all this mean? It is made on a scheme of colors, as you know. This is the "Polychrome Bible," one of the most scholarly versions of our times. It is simply the translation of a scholar or a set of scholars; and where you have one color anywhere in the book, it means that all the parts in that color belong together from one author, or from the same age, whereas the parts under another color belong to some other author or to another age. By this means, instead of reading the book straight through in a haphazard way, you can read it in the order in which the parts originally stood. Then you will see the real sublimity of the teachings of "Isaiah," or the various "Isaiahs." If you respected these teachings in former times, I almost venture to say that you will revere them now. They will make sense to you as perhaps never before. You are coming near to the original Bible.

THE BIBLE AND HISTORY

I wish to talk to you to-day about the Bible and history, and to answer the question as far as one can whether the Bible teaches history. It is a solemn question with more significance in it than one might at first realize. According to the way we answer it, may depend our estimate of the value of the Bible. And the future estimate of the value of the sacred Scriptures means a great deal, when we pause and reflect on the rank which this literature has held in Christendom.

The year 586 B. C. stands as one of the great dates of history. Indeed, I am almost inclined to look upon it as ranking next in importance to that of the Christian era. Around that former date the history of the Bible centers. Without appreciating what took place at that time, we cannot understand the Bible, nor should we be able to understand how it came into existence.

The rise of what we call the "Scriptures" is connected with the fall of Jerusalem. We mean by this the first event of that nature, and not the one which occurred under the attack of the Romans in the first century of the Christian era.

The second fall of Jerusalem was an event which concerned the Hebrew people only. The course of history would not have been much changed, I venture to say, if Jerusalem had not fallen under the Romans. But with the first event of that kind six centuries before, the entire world is concerned. Our history to-day, our American institutions, the thoughts of to-day, nineteenth century science and philosophy, can be traced back by stages to that first fall of Jerusalem. It was a sad and appalling event. The king, Zedekiah, had his eyes put out and his children were murdered in his presence. The temple of Solomon was razed to the ground, the beautiful buildings set

on fire and destroyed, and nearly all the people of the city were carried off as exiles to Babylon.

We are sometimes inclined to trace the origin of the Bible to the epoch of Moses seven or eight centuries before that fall of Jerusalem. But that is a mistake. It was the "exile," so-called, which, humanly speaking, led up to the Bible. The event which one would expect was surely to destroy all possibility of establishing a sacred literature by wiping out the seat or center where it was to develop, was the event which, on the other hand, was to give us that literature.

For over a hundred years a large proportion of the Hebrews remained in exile in the far-away Babylonian country. At the end of the first half-century a change had come and a number of them then were allowed to return to their native soil and to undertake to rebuild their city. But the true return did not occur until about 125 years after the first exile, when the great leaders of the people came back and set up a new Jerusalem. In doing this they set up a church. Never before had there been distinctively a church in Israel.

How did the exile do this, you ask? Why, it was owing to just that process of natural selection which the school of evolution has taught us to apply, not only to events in the physical world, but likewise to events in the human and spiritual world. During that exile, those people of the Hebrew race who were not tenacious of their religious beliefs, who had not a strong individuality that could resist the influences surrounding them, tending to make them blend with the populations of Babylon—all such naturally fell away and fused with the soil to which they had been translated. The stock that was left, therefore, was of the sturdiest kind, stern and unbending, with a capacity for resistance to surroundings, which has made that race survive to the present day.

The date for the Bible as such, that is to say, for the recognition or establishment of a "Sacred Literature," was the year 444 B. C. Much of that literature had come into existence before. But up to that

time it was only literature. It had consisted of books and documents in many people's hands, regarded with various degrees of respect or reverence. After the restoration of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the temple, a certain number of those books or certain portions of that literature began to be regarded as a Bible, or to stand out as the Sacred Books.

As you are aware, the great battle among the scholars of the last 50 or 100 years in regard to the Scriptures has been, as to what portions were pre-exilic, having arisen before the exile, and what portions were post-exilic, arising after the exile.

The Old Testament falls practically into two portions, the one made up largely of historic material, being the books giving us the records of the history of Israel, of their laws, and of their church; the other being sermons, books of teaching, or hymns, and containing more especially the thought-portion of the Old Testament—most of which goes under the name of the "Prophets."

But the work of the scholars has been first and supremely with reference to the historic books of the Old Testament. Does the Bible teach history? That has been the problem. There were the inconsistencies, the confusion of dates, the accounts of the same event which would not agree. All this offered fine ground for men who like discussion, and it has been an arena memorable in the annals of history.

The Bible does teach history. That is settled. It teaches history in a marvelous and most valuable way. It is a perfect gold mine of information about the early world. If you want to read history I can only quote the old saying, "Search the Scriptures."

But remember that in reading history as in reading anything else, one must have intelligence and use it.

The first point we have to bear in mind is that in the early world, books of history were not written with the same purpose or according to the same plan as books of history at the present time. It was the exception when they were written strictly for the pur-

pose of recording facts. As a rule, they were put into writing for educational or instructive purposes. In the days previous to writing, there were undoubtedly grandmother-tales handed down from generation to generation just as mere stories. But with the introduction of writing the world grew more serious and the mere story began to lose some of its importance. When men began to write they felt the necessity upon them of preparing the story according to certain lines.

Suppose I give you a short illustration as to the way these Scriptures teach history. I open to the first book of the Scriptures called Genesis and turn to a well-known story which many of you are intimately acquainted with. I will read it to you as it stands :

And it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest, even Isaac, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. And Abraham rose early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac, his son; and he clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose up and went unto the place of which God had told him. On the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off. And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the lad will go yonder; and we will worship and come again to you. And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac, his son; and he took in his hand the fire and the knife; and they went both of them together. And Isaac spoke unto Abraham, his father, and said, My father; and he said, Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold, the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? And Abraham said, God will provide himself the lamb for a burnt offering, my son; so they went both of them together. And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built the altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac, his son, and laid him on the altar, upon the wood. And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son. And the angel of the Lord called unto him, out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold,

behind him a ram caught in the thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son. And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh; and it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be provided. And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham a second time out of heaven, and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son; that in blessing, I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice.

Now, you will ask me, Was there a particular man who lived at a particular epoch by the name of Abraham? I answer, I do not know. You ask again, Did such a man have a son by the name of Isaac, and was he particularly instructed by his God to offer that son Isaac on the altar? I answer, I do not know. You ask me, Did that particular man take his particular son Isaac and go to a particular place called Moriah? I answer, I do not know. You ask me again, Did that particular man Abraham with his particular son Isaac build a particular altar at the particular land of Moriah, and, having raised the knife to slay his child, did a particular ram appear in a particular thicket and was that particular ram chosen in the place of his particular son Isaac? I answer, I do not know.

In what way, then, is this actual history? Why, I answer, this is a record of an event which took place in the history not merely of Israel, but in the history of the human race. You will find annals of this same kind in other literatures in other parts of the world. In a word, it indicates that at one time in the history of the Semitic race it had been the custom to offer human beings or human blood as sacrifices to the gods, more especially the first-born child, as the highest gift one could make to one's deity. But there came a time when the human consciousness began to grow more refined. The moral and religious sense grew more sensitive. And at last this higher con-

consciousness asserted that one's God could not possibly be pleased with such a brutal gift. Hence there came in gradually a substitute for the old form of human sacrifice, by which animals were offered instead. The blood of the animal took the place of human blood, as a sacrifice to one's God. And this story marks the change in the record of the Semitic race.

The standpoint which I propose to unfold to you with regard to the historic books of the Bible goes under the name of the Development Theory. In a word, it points out to us that portions of many of the books of the sacred Scriptures lie there like strata, representing the stages of growth in the moral or religious consciousness of mankind, more especially of the early Hebrew race. A certain passage represents a certain stage of culture. The record indicates how far along the religious consciousness of man had advanced.

It means in substance that the Bible is a sublime record of how man by degrees came to know his God, the ethical God, the God of righteousness. Written there in the Scriptures, in plain sight to all observers, is the record of the development of the moral or religious consciousness of the human creature. The stages are all there.

We do not say that it is an easy matter to open the Scriptures and read this and see it all there as it stands. If you pick up a fragment of rock by the roadside you may not be able readily to interpret the significance of that piece of stone in your hands and to tell what it means in the earth's history, how it came there. But the trained eye or trained mind can do it. It takes education of a certain kind to use the mind at all.

This standpoint I am speaking of, goes back for the most part for its origin to the scholars of Germany. It may be a hundred, or two hundred, or three hundred years, according as you choose to follow it up. As an important theory, it is only about half a century old and of much less age in the English-speaking world. It came out boldly in Great Britain for the

first time in an article by a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman on "The Bible" in the last edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. His name, as you remember, was W. Robertson Smith. This article he followed by some lectures on "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church."

The excitement over that article and these lectures was tremendous and an effort was made to force him out of his position, and he was tried for heresy. But the outcome was practically a victory for him, although it deprived him of his professional position at Aberdeen. Yet it appears to have been settled by the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland that a man was entitled to hold that attitude without necessarily being in contradiction to the doctrines of his church.

A few years after, I think it was in 1889, a volume of sermons appeared by a number of the clergy of the Church of England, entitled "*Lux Mundi*." These sermons made a sensation. The editor of them, Rev. Charles Gore, took this same general attitude. In his own bold language he said: "It is the essence of the Old Testament to be imperfect, because it represents a gradual process of education by which man was lifted out of the depths of sin and ignorance."

About the time when the article on the Bible appeared in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the standpoint was introduced into this country by the well-known Prof. Briggs of the Union Theological Seminary of New York City. He aroused a storm of excitement, you remember, and was tried before his church. Wearying of the long struggle, he finally, as you know, went over and joined the American Episcopal Church. This "development" standpoint has triumphed nearly everywhere in Germany, quite extensively among the best scholars in England and Scotland, and is winning its way in this country also. In America, for instance, it is represented by such men as Prof. Moore of the Andover Theological Seminary, Prof. Ladd of the Yale University, Prof. Schmidt, who has the chair of Hebrew at Cornell, Prof. Briggs of the Union Theological Seminary at New York and

Prof. Toy of Harvard University. It has made its way in England and the English church through Cheyne, Driver and Gore of Oxford. And its foremost representatives in Germany are such men as Cornhill of Koenigsberg, Wellhausen of Goettingen and a host of others.

Do not understand me as asserting that these men agree in all the details which I shall put forward to you. But they are all practically united on the method. One and all of them will tell you that they accept this Development Theory and explain the Scriptures by the process of growth, pointing out how the stages of moral or religious culture can be traced in the stages of development of the Sacred Scriptures.

Now, I have told you emphatically that these books of the Old Testament do teach history, but I have pointed out to you plainly that when you read a passage at random from one of those books you cannot take it in all its details as you would a passage of history concerning the last century in England, which had been written in our own time.

The vital problem to be settled was just this: When was the Jewish Church established? On the face of the records, reading them as a casual, untrained observer would read the history of the piece of rock he picked up at the roadside, this Jewish Church to which the new ideas about God, the religion of Christianity and even our latest civilization, can be traced back—this church was developed and established to its fullest extent, in its doctrines, its rites and ceremonies, its moral and religious laws, by the founder of the Jewish State, Moses; and it was all done, on the face of these records in the "Wilderness," before the Jewish people had settled in Palestine and had founded their city of Jerusalem.

The substance of all the discovery of the new scholarship centers in the conviction that the entire account has to be reversed. In a word, the placing of that Jewish Church with its laws and ceremonies, its precepts and doctrines, in the days of Moses, would be about like assuming that the fossil sea shells on the

mountain top grew there up in the air and not at the bottom of the sea.

It has come to be pretty generally recognized by these scholars, although with great differences on points of detail, that the Jewish Church, with all that elaborate ceremonialism, its temple and its priesthood, dates about 800 years after Moses, and is connected with that first fall of Jerusalem, the exile of the Jews, their return, and the restoration of Jerusalem. It was during that exile, while the Jews were over in Babylon, that this great scheme was completely formulated, and it was after their return that the scheme was set up and a Jewish Church fully established.

In doing this it seemed wise and honest to the leaders in those days to throw back the origin for all this to the founder of the Jewish State, Moses. A method of that kind was not looked upon in those days as deception. Everywhere in early literature you find the same custom. Where there has been a great leader, the habit has grown up afterward of writing books and attributing the authorship to that early leader, or throwing back the order of existing institutions to his time and his influence.

The evidence for this has grown greater and greater by the study of the scholars in the structure of those historic books. The battle-royal centered around what was known as the Pentateuch, or the Five Books of Moses. Tradition states that Moses was their author, and this had been asserted so long that it was thought to say so in the books themselves. But it did not. It only attributes certain limited portions to Moses.

The accepted standpoint for explaining the origin of the historic books of the Bible is most satisfactorily conveyed in what goes under the name of the Document Theory. In a word, it has been disclosed that the early books of the Bible grew up not so much by alterations, but by additions or a system of compilations; first, by putting together miscellaneous documents, working them into one story, omitting

certain portions, perhaps, but not necessarily changing the text, and then afterward gradually adding on further portions as time went on.

Let me give you an illustration, for instance, as to the way the Ten Commandments probably grew up. Suppose I read you one of these Comandments, the Fourth:

“Observe the Sabbath Day to keep it holy, as the Lord thy God commanded thee. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath unto the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son nor thy daughter nor thy man-servant nor thy maid-servant nor thine ox nor thine ass nor any of thy cattle nor the stranger which is within thy gates; that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt and the Lord thy God brought thee out hence by a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm; therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath Day.”

Do you observe, however, that this is not the Fourth Commandment, as we have it recorded in the book of Exodus, in the account of “Mount Sinai and the Ten Commandments?” In a word, it is the last edition of the Fourth Commandment. That is the whole point of it.

It is coming to be accepted among good and orthodox thinkers that the original Ten Commandments were not in this form at all; that they were made up of ten short sentences running about as follows:

Thou shalt have none other gods before me; the first.
 Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image; the second.
 Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;
 the third.
 Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy; the fourth.
 Honor thy father and thy mother; the fifth.
 Thou shalt do no murder; the sixth.
 Neither shalt thou commit adultery; the seventh.
 Neither shalt thou steal; the eighth.
 Neither shalt thou bear false witness; the ninth.
 Thou shalt not covet; the tenth.

If the accepted Ten Commandments came at all from Moses they came from him in about this form, although the one about “images” is probably of

later origin. More than one of these scholars assure us that even the Ten Commandments were never heard of by Moses, but were composed four or five hundred years after his death. At any rate, the first appearance of them in writing comes from about the year 800 B. C.. If they were first given by Moses they must have been sadly ignored or lost sight of for many generations afterward. In the days when the Israelites were conquering the Canaanites, to all appearance they had no reluctance to make "graven images" and to "worship" them. Not until 500 or 600 or more years after the death of Moses did the great fight come against idolatry, and it came not through the law-givers, but through the Prophets.

An enlargement of the Decalogue came, however, by and by, in the form in which we now make use of it, and which is found in the book of Exodus, where we have described to us how it was delivered to Moses from Mount Sinai. The Fourth Commandment is no longer only "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy," but has been expanded into a commandment many times the original sentence in length. And in the form in which I read it to you it is even longer and more elaborate than this. The language in which I have quoted it comes from Deuteronomy.

It is easy enough to understand all of this. The original ten words may have been written down somewhere about the ninth century, then expanded in the eighth century and finally taken this form in the seventh century, because we know the exact time when the book of Deuteronomy was published almost as closely as we do the time when the Declaration of Independence was issued. It was in the year 621 B. C. Then the latest form of the Ten Commandments was given to the world. Of all the first six books of the Bible it is the fifth, or Deuteronomy, which is most distinctively one document.

But if you will look more carefully at the place where the Ten Commandments are recorded in Exodus in connection with Mount Sinai, you will observe that they form part of a series of chapters which go under

the name of the "Book of the Covenant." And it is pretty generally agreed by these scholars that in those chapters are a number of Ten Commandments or series of Decalogues, and not just one. Suppose I read you another Decalogue contained in this same book of Exodus purporting to have been written on two tables of stone and given to Moses. And you will note its peculiarities, as one of our foremost scholars has pointed them out, who gives it in the following form:

Thou shalt not worship another god; first.

Molten gods thou shalt not make; second.

Six days shalt thou labor, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest; third.

The feast of unleaven bread thou shalt observe; fourth.

The feast of weeks thou shalt keep at the first fruits of the wheat harvest; fifth.

The feast of the ingathering thou shalt observe at the circuit of the year; sixth.

Thou shalt not offer the blood of my zebach with leaven bread; seventh.

The zebach of the feast of the Passover shall not be left unto the morning; eighth.

The first of the first-fruits of thy ground thou shalt bring to the house of Yahweh, thy God; ninth.

Thou shalt not seethe the kid with its mother's milk; tenth.

It would rather surprise us if we should learn that this was the original Decalogue written on two tables of stone for Moses. But the account almost seems to indicate that this *was* the Decalogue given by Moses and in that fashion.

And which of the two Decalogues came first, do you suppose? The second one, you may suggest. One might assume this. It certainly appears to us as the cruder form. But there is some reason to think that it came afterward; that the older and simpler law was about the earliest to have been written, and that the ceremonialism of this other Decalogue belongs to a later time.

Now, as to this Document Theory. Any of you who have read the early books of the Bible will see that oftentimes you have two accounts of the same story. This is apparent enough, for instance, at the

beginning of Genesis, where you have two descriptions of the Creation, one contained in the first chapter with the account of the "six days," and then a short one near the opening of the second chapter. If you read carefully you will see that there are two accounts of the Deluge. This dualism in places is most clear, and then again quite obscure.

When this was first observed it naturally led to a careful study of these separate accounts which are found more or less pieced in together side by side in the early books of the Bible. They began to notice striking features in the style of language used in certain of the accounts, and other striking features in the style of language of other parallel accounts. It was found, for instance, that in one part the name of the Deity was in one form, and in another part the name of the Deity was in another form.

It was apparent enough that they had before them two documents, and that these documents had simply been run together by the reviser, who had not changed them especially, but pieced them together somehow, so as to make one intelligible record. These documents are now named, as you know, according to the name of the Deity more often used by the original author. And so, for instance, the document which contained the "Garden of Eden" story is called the Yahwist document, because the author's preference for the name of the Deity is "Yahweh." The other document is called oftentimes the Elohist, because the author there more often speaks of the Deity as "Elohim." The scholar takes these two documents apart with marvelous ease, after he has once found his cue, and then he sees how a reviser wove them together.

Not only that; he observes how the reviser, in order to make the account more intelligible or for other reasons, has added on portions or inserted clauses or whole paragraphs, according to circumstances. This peculiar "document" scheme runs practically all the way through the Hexateuch from the book of Genesis

to the book of Joshua, which describes the first conquest of Canaan by the Israelites.

The supposition is that the "Yahwist" account arose perhaps about 850 B. C., in the southern kingdom, followed about a century later by the "Elohist" account, which arose in the northern kingdom. At that time they were mere documents and had no peculiar sacredness. They were not the "Holy Scriptures." The great prophets who were beginning to appear at that time do not talk of sacred writings then in existence, or speak of "inspired" Books of the Law. On the contrary, they talk straight to the people, as if speaking themselves for the Most High.

The first great event in the beginnings of the Jewish Church came in the year 621 at Jerusalem, about thirty years before the destruction of the city and the exile. At that time a good and earnest king was ruling over Jerusalem, and one day in the temple an important discovery was reported to have been made there. It was said that in effecting some changes or alterations in the building an old copy of sacred law from Moses had been found. This is now recognized as containing the major portion of what we speak of as the book of "Deuteronomy." * The scholars are all practically agreed on this point. And that document laid the foundations for the Hebrew Church. It is rendered wholly as if spoken by Moses toward the end of his life, although written beyond question 600 years after the death of Moses. And the keynote at last was struck which was to lead to the establishment of the Church of Israel.

The problem was, whether the Hebrews at that time would fuse with the Canaanites; whether their religion would run together with the religion of the Canaanites; whether the races would blend and no distinctive religion come out at the end of the long struggle.

*It should be stated, however, that the stories and records in the various documents including the legal provisions do not necessarily date from the time when the documents were completed. In fact, much of what is contained in these documents represents old traditions and long existing practices.

But when this Book of the Law was found and opened, there stood the charge before the eyes of the people and before the eyes of the king: Separate yourselves, for you are a peculiar people; have done with the gods of the Canaanites; destroy their idols; put an end to your many altars; set up your one altar at Jerusalem.

In this book was contained the Ten Commandments. This was the first solemn proclamation of the Decalogue. Then for the first time in the history of the Hebrew people did that Decalogue take rank as a sacred document.

It had existed before in various other books, as, for instance, in the Yahwist account, written in the south of Palestine. But those were only documents. This was received as a book of holy law; and, what is more, the king of that time accepted it and put on sack-cloth for the sins he had been guilty of in neglecting that law, and set about to reconstruct the city in accordance with it. By this means there came to be the distinction between the Church and the State. It set up a priesthood and a temple, and established one center of religious worship for all the people.

And what happened? Some of you know the story. Thirty or forty years afterward came the king of Babylon, and Jerusalem was razed to the ground. The temple was no more. There was an end of the priesthood at Jerusalem.

And what about that Book of Law contained in the so-called fifth book of Moses, known as Deuteronomy, the first book of the law put forward as Sacred Scripture?

If that destruction of Jerusalem had not come, humanly speaking, we know what would have taken place. For a little while that book of the law, with its commands against idolatry, with its insistence upon worshiping the one God, with its command that the people should separate themselves from the Canaanites, keep their Sabbath Day and worship in one center—all this would have been followed for a little time. Then a new king would have come along; there would

have been a reaction, and old customs would have come in, and that would have been the end of it.

But when the Hebrews were carried away captive to Babylon, and their city was no more, they carried with them this book we call Deuteronomy, containing the Ten Commandments and all those precepts and commissions to which I have referred. It was the one thing they had left. The altars were gone, their temple was gone, their city was no more. But they had their one Book of Holy Law.

And over there in Babylon, or in that neighborhood far, far away from their native home, in a strange land and among a strange people, a few of them held together, lived together, talked together and clung to that Book. And wise men grew up in their number, sages appeared, and they began to expound this "Law." They had brought with them those other documents of former times, of which the historic material of the Pentateuch is largely made up, and in their isolation in that far away country the wise men were putting these documents together, writing in the explanations, making the necessary additions, expanding the law in their dream of the true Church of Israel.

It was in the exile over there at Babylon that the Jewish Church took shape in the minds of the sages of Israel. Mind you, I do not say, the religion of Judaism. That is another matter. No, the religion came rather from the Prophets, some of whom had spoken long before the exile. But if the elements of that sublime ethical monotheism were to be handed down through the ages, it was essential for the time that a church, an organized church, should exist as a means of preserving it. Without such organization those teachings of the Prophets might have been lost or fallen out of sight.

Out of the Hebrew Prophets and their teachings evolved the high religious thought of later ages, as I shall aim to show you in a future lecture. They were the first fathers of Christianity.

You will see what I meant at the outset in speaking of that period of the "exile" for the Israelites, as be-

ing an epoch-making time in the history of the world and not merely in the history of the Hebrew people. There had first to be a Jewish Church, if there ever was to come, by and by, a Christendom. And the exile, with the sad destruction of Jerusalem, was what acted as a sifting process leading to the establishment of that Church.

The foundation of the great Hebrew Church, as it developed after the exile, is to be traced not to the Pentateuch as such—for the whole Pentateuch was not in existence before that time—but to that book of Deuteronomy, which was published in Jerusalem about thirty years before the fall of the city and its destruction by the king of Babylon.

I wish I had time to read you this book. It is a strange blending of antiquated doctrines, with anticipations of some of the finest moral precepts which have ever been given to the world.

It comes, as you know, at the close of the Pentateuch, and before it stands another body of law called "Leviticus," purporting therefore to be the first rather than the second set of laws. But, as a matter of fact, a large portion of Leviticus, with all that elaborate ceremonialism which encumbered the Jewish church and against which Jesus raised his voice when he overthrew the tables of the "money changers"—all this, or a large portion of it, came in through the priests as laws drafted by them during the exile.

All that elaborate code specifying the burnt offerings or sacrifices which had to be made under given circumstances, was more and more to reduce the religion of Judaism to a bare ceremonialism; so that this same Jewish church which acted at first as a preserver of religion, by and by became the very force which threatened to annihilate it.

I explained something of this in what I told you of the book of "Jonah" in my last lecture, and how the author of that book was rising in protest against that ceremonialism and exclusiveness which threatened to make Judaism a dead force in future civilization.

The religion of Judaism is contained largely in the Books of the Prophets, rather than in the historic books or Books of the Law. But you can see in those revisions of the old historic books or Books of the Law, how the religious consciousness was evolving. With each advance of this kind there was new effort to bring the early literature up to the higher standpoint. Such elaborations of old documents could go on until a theory of a sacred "canon" was established. Then the "revisions" had to cease.

But where, then, you ask, does Moses come in? Was there no Moses; were the children of Israel never in Egypt; was there no Mount Sinai, no Joshua, no conquest of Canaan? Is that all a myth? Does all that go back to a tradition which has no truth in it?

Surely, I have not meant to make any such an assertion. Indeed, there is a vast amount of truth in it.

Was there a Moses? Surely; who can doubt it? Did he strike the rock with his rod and did water gush forth for the thirsty people? As to that I cannot positively say. That is one of those details which is a picture rather than an event. It is of no consequence whether he did or did not do that particular deed.

Did Moses write down the Ten Commandments as we have them? Really I do not know. We shall never be able to settle that point. But I do not see that it matters at all in so far as the value of the Commandments go, or even so far as the value of these records go. That, too, was a detail or picture rather than an event—a dramatic sketch of the appearance of ethical precepts and of their recognition by the human consciousness.

But there was a Moses, a mighty man and leader, a sage, one of those great figures who come once in a thousand years. And this man took the Israelites into the Peninsula of Sinai. He led them forth as a wild horde of undisciplined slaves, whose ancestors had been shepherds in Canaan. And by his genius, his insight and intelligence, he organized them, held them together as a people, and probably gave them a new name for their God. Holding before them the

“Yahweh” as a new name for their Deity, he infused into them a certain spirit out of which, 400 years after, came the Ten Commandments, out of which, 600 years after, came the Prophets; out of which, 800 years after, came the Jewish Church. Moses, in a sense, was the father of it all, and it was not without reason that the leaders of the later epoch went back and put their own words into the mouth of Moses. He started the spirit for the pentateuch, although he probably never wrote a word of it.

Yes, the Israelites had been in Egypt, a body of them. They had come down from Canaan and settled in the land of Goshen. There were “Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,” although whether the three great patriarchs were so closely connected as to be grandfather, father and son, we shall never know. Perhaps they were all living at the same time and fused together as one tribe, as has been suggested by certain scholars. But the nucleus of the Hebrew race had been in Palestine. They settled in Egypt; they crossed the Red Sea under the leadership of Moses; they lived there in that Peninsula as wanderers for a time. All this is history. And beyond any question they worshiped their God at Mount Sinai.

It is history, too, that they crossed the Jordan—a part of them, but not all of them—and settled in Palestine again. The various stages there, immediately connected with that event, we cannot be sure of. In one book we find an account which describes them as going there, all of them, and conquering the land, whereas, in another book called the Judges we find an account of how they entered that new country small bodies of them at a time, gradually crossing the Jordan and only gradually settling in the land of Canaan.

It is history, too, that they conquered that land in part. But it is not history that they were at first vastly superior, morally or socially, to the Canaanites. The moral superiority came later on. For a time they worshiped the gods of the Canaanites and forgot their Shepherd God, whom they had known and worshiped in the desert as “Yahweh.” It is history that they lived

as scattered tribes in Palestine until by and by great leaders appeared, two men by the names of Saul and David, who at last made a kingdom out of them and established a government with its center at Jerusalem. David was no psalmist; not a "sweet singer in Israel," writing the hymn-book for the Jewish Church. He was a fighter, a slayer of men, a shedder of human blood. And he was the second founder of the Jewish State after Moses.

From that time on we have real history. We know how the kingdom was divided into "Israel" on the north and "Judah" on the south, after the death of Solomon, and how these two kingdoms went on separately until gradually a true religious spirit began to develop through the Prophets. It is history that the Kingdom of Israel in the north was first destroyed. In the year 722 the ten tribes of the north were wiped out of existence and became the "Lost Tribes of Israel." And it is history, too, how the conflicts came on between Judah and Egypt on the one hand, or Judah and Babylonia on the other, until by and by, in the sixth century, Jerusalem fell and the kingdom was no more.

THE BIBLE AND PROPHECY

I open my Bible again in the latter part of the Old Testament and come upon a series of books which are called "The Prophets," as distinguished from the earlier books of the Bible which have to do with history, and the middle books of the Old Testament which are more "literary" in character.

I ask your closest attention to what I shall have to say concerning these prophets, because in a certain respect, they constitute the richest portion of the Bible. They give us the kernel of the religion of Christendom of to-day—much of the religion which you and I believe in and approve of, either as conservatives or as rationalists. The starting point for it all is here.

The books of the "Prophets" are in sharp contrast with the earlier books of which we have spoken, in that they are personal utterances of individuals. They record the spoken word of teachers, and although they too have gone through a series of revisions like the historical books, yet they have received their stamp of being first hand documents. They are full of insertions, frequently quite extensive but they do not represent a union of distinct documents. On the other hand, it is very apparent that few if any of these prophecies which bear some one name, came from one author.

If, as a matter of fact, there may have been a number of authors of one or more of these books, although all under the same title, this is because different utterances written down in that way, were put together in a rather careless manner, and so, after awhile, began to be looked upon, mistakenly, as one document.

The Old Testament was composed for the most part between 800 B. C. and 200 B. C., covering a period therefore of about 600 years. One or two of these prophets, for instance, belonged to an epoch not more

than two centuries before the Christian era. Others wrote and spoke somewhere in the eighth century previous to that era.

We must remind you that the order in which the "Prophets" stand in the Bible has no significance. Indeed, the order is confusing and makes them almost unintelligible, unless you are provided with information as to the dates and circumstances with which we now connect these various books.

Not only that. But, as with the historic books, it is essential to re-arrange the contents of the individual prophecies.

When the new scholarship began to grapple with this part of the Bible, the problem was not quite the same as with the historic books. It was not so much to ascertain the dates when these books were written, because there was greater unanimity of opinion on this score than with regard to the first books of the Bible. It had even been admitted by conservative and radical alike, for example, that there had been at least two authors for the book of Isaiah.

The problem was rather as to the interpretation of their contents; and on this point there has been no end of confusion. The trouble started with a mistake which had come down as to the meaning of "prophecy" or the purpose of the prophet's work. The term itself is most unfortunate. As we understand the word now, it implies foretelling the future. And for ages that is the first thought which has been connected with the books of Prophecy in the Bible.

It is practically certain now that originally the word applying to the Prophets of the Bible had no such meaning at all.

In point of fact, the "prophet" in the early significance of the name he went by, was not so much a man who could foretell the future. The term meant rather one who "raves."

In early history there was more of this than at the present time. The human mind has grown more normal and sane as time has gone on. But if there was

more "raving" in those days, still less was there a clear understanding of what it meant.

Yet among uncivilized races to-day as in those days, there is a certain regard felt for the persons who are given to spiritual intoxication. There is something strange about them which suggests the supernatural. They may be the "medicine men" of our Indian tribes. They gave rise to the famous "oracles" of Greece, as for instance, in the Temple of Delphi. There is a vast deal of this at the present time in India, connected with the mysticism there. The prophet in the early sense of Hebrew literature meant, therefore, not one who foretells the future, but one who raves, one who went into a state of "ecstasy" or could pass over into a condition of semi-spiritual intoxication.

It may have happened in those early days that this class of men were a valuable institution. They became leaders and were known as wise men, and oftentimes they were very sagacious in their utterances and were excellent guides in the opinions they offered. Hence, it was not a bad thing for the half-civilized man to consult the "oracle." As a matter of fact, the man who voiced the oracles was a man of much experience. And what is more, as he grew in experience, he was evidently less given to raving or going off into a trance, and much more given to offering sagacious advice from his large experience. This explains the value which was attributed to the oracles of Greece.

In the earlier books of the Bible, you read of "schools of prophecy." You might therefore assume that there were bodies of men who met and practiced the foretelling of the future. But it meant nothing of the kind. They were rather bodies of men given to raving or "ecstasy." They were a class of persons who took a delight in passing off into trance-state, as it were, and who associated themselves in groups, living together perhaps like monks. They were sometimes ascetics, cultivating all the means possible in order that they might be carried over into that state of trance or ecstasy.

These were the first prophets of Israel. They were "trance men," or men who raved and seemed to pass out of themselves and appeared to be inspired by supernatural influences.

I do not say that the great prophets whose writings we have in the Bible, belonged to that class of persons. We are only tracing the genesis of the institution. It was out of that thing, as it were, that the great prophets *evolved*, after the condition of mind ceased to be one of abnormal trance and showed itself rather as a high state of intellectual or spiritual insight. But when those men talked, pouring forth their language of ethical passion, often they must have looked like the men who "raved." In the minds of the people, they would be placed in the same class. It was felt as if those men spoke through a spiritual force not of themselves. What is more, the men themselves who spoke, almost beyond question believed this. They, too, felt themselves inspired.

I am telling you this because I want to explain to you what a difficult problem it was to go back and interpret the utterances of these prophets, owing to this mistaken apprehension as to what that prophecy originally meant. As tradition had settled the point that prophecy meant foretelling the future, it was natural that the sayings of those great prophets in the early times should be explained by after-events. As a result of this, you find that the utterances of those prophets are applied to occurrences taking place a thousand or two thousand years after the men themselves lived.

You will see this tendency strikingly manifest with regard to the one book of prophecy in the New Testament now called "Revelations." This book most surely had exclusive reference to events connected with the time of the Roman Empire. But you will learn of sane, intelligent people of the present time who are referring events which have happened within the last ten years, to that book of Revelation, and showing how these events were foretold there. The fate of the Turkish Empire is a favorite topic of those who read that last book of the New Testament in this

way; and they can see how the author of that book was foretelling what is to happen to Constantinople and the Sultan of Turkey.

If this is true with regard to the book of prophecy in the New Testament, much more has it been so with the prophets of the Old Testament. Now if there is any point sure, beyond doubt to the rational mind, I should say it was that the men who wrote in those days were not thinking of 2,000 years from their time. They had no idea of such a distant future. They were speaking with regard to what was going to happen in the course of a hundred years. They were uttering warnings or offering hopes to the generations then living, working on the fears or stirring the courage of the people of that time. It does not influence people much when you presume to foretell something which is going to happen in the world a thousand or two thousand years from now. It takes a very high order of mind to be stirred by that sort of expectation.

For the most part, their utterances were not what we would call prophecies, were not intended as revelations concerning the future. They were ravings—using ravings in the higher sense. They were a fulmination of the moral sense in its most sublime form. Ethical religion, in the strict interpretation of the word, begins with these prophets, and had little to do with the “foretelling” capacity.

In after times, the custom grew up more and more of referring the history and growth of Christianity back to the language of these prophets, and interpreting that language by what was happening in after times.

I might give you just one illustration of such mistaken interpretation of prophecy if you will turn to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. All over the Christian world, even at the present time, as well as in past centuries, it has been customary to point out this chapter as a prophecy of Jesus and the way Jesus was to live and to die. It has been given a “Messianic” significance. You know the words well, many of you.

“He was despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hide their face, he was despised, and we esteemed him not. Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we, like sheep have gone astray; we have turned everyone to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, yet he humbled himself and opened not his mouth; as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb; yea, he opened not his mouth.”

It is a beautiful picture you have there, and in a way it does portray the life and death of Jesus.

But when you think of it carefully, you observe that it portrays the experience of hundreds or thousands of other sufferers and reformers. As a matter of fact, we know, almost for a certainty, that in this picture the prophet was not giving a messianic anticipation at all.

No, the prophet is describing something near at hand. He is picturing the “remnant of the righteous” in Israel, those who were the true servants of the Deity and who were going through all of that sad experience, suffering for the sins of Israel, but through whom the ideal Israel was to survive and reappear in actual fact when the new Jerusalem should come. To my mind this other interpretation gives far more grandeur to the passage. Yet, if you will look at the top of the page of your “teacher’s Bible” above the fifty-third chapter and see the head lines, you will read, “The Messiah’s Humiliations and Sufferings.”

If these writings were to be interpreted in the normal way, it was essential to get back into the atmosphere of the prophets themselves, and to throw aside altogether the traditions of later times as to the functions of those prophets. You can get no rational idea of what the teaching of those prophets was, unless you abandon altogether that notion of those books as being chiefly a revelation concerning the future. In our mind’s eye we should drop the term “Prophet”

altogether and substitute the word Teacher. They were Teachers in Israel and the Teachers of Israel.

Some of the finest portions of the so-called prophecy in the Bible came in the two centuries just preceding the fall of Jerusalem in 586. But it was a new prophecy because so unlike what had come from the "Schools of the Prophets." As for the utterances of that other class of men, in their general tenor, they were often not unlike what one would get to-day if one went to the played-out vestige of that "School," the mediums or fortune-tellers of the present time. In a word, they would tell just about what one wanted to hear, and one would be expected to pay well for it. The fortune-teller usually "knows his man."

But the note of the new prophecy as it rang out in those centuries was of another kind. It was not soothing to the ears; it did not whisper peace to the heart or good cheer to the mind. It was not the kind that people would care to pay liberally for. Its keynote was of just the character that most persons dislike to listen to. It was Woe, Woe, Woe—one long wailing note of Woe. Drearisome, monotonous, exasperating, it kept sounding in the ears of the people from these new "ravers" who had another message to give and asked no pay for their utterances. The people cried, "Let us alone." But the new prophets would not let them alone. Once and again they cried out in their tones of woe.

I might give you one sample of this prophecy of the Old Testament. On first reading, the whole of "Prophecy" in the Bible will strike you as very much alike, or of the same general character, monotonous in the extreme, repeating a few sentiments over and over again. The selection I have in mind has been regarded as the basis of the well known Day-of-Judgment hymn, the "Dies Irae." I take it from one of the "minor" prophets, Zephaniah.

"The great day of the Lord is near, it is near, and hasteth greatly, even the voice of the day of the Lord; the mighty man crieth there bitterly. That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a

day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of the trumpet and alarm, against the fenced cities, and against the high battlements. And I will bring distress upon men, that hey shall walk like blind men, because they have sinned against the Lord; and their blood shall be poured out as dust and their flesh as dung. Neither their silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver them in the day of the Lord's wrath; but the whole land shall be devoured by the fire of his jealousy; for he shall make an end, yea, a terrible end, of all them that dwell in the land. Gather yourselves together, yea, gather together, O nation that hath no shame; before the decree bring forth, before the day pass as the chaff, before the fierce anger of the Lord come upon you, before the day of the Lord's anger come upon you."

And this was the kind of language which was being sounded for upward of 200 years in Palestine by those great teachers. No wonder the people had no use for them, and shrank away from them. Yet they had to listen to it. Even the kings could not escape those voices. On it went sounding, that same dreary and fearful cry of warning and menace, the thunder tones of denunciation spoken by the prophets of Israel.

And why did all this come? What led to it? In what relation did these men stand to the Priesthood? The Jewish Church in its developed form had not yet been established. But the elements for it were all there. Centuries before that time among the Israelites there had been priests just the same, with altars and sacrificial offerings; there were feast days and fast days; there were laws and precepts of various kinds taught to the people. This had all existed even among the Canaanites before the Israelites came into the country. Ceremonial observances of various kinds are to be traced back to the very beginnings of history. The altars were all over Palestine. Blood offerings without number were being made to Yahweh or the other gods; human sacrifice still prevailed to some extent. King David himself is reported to have slaughtered his enemies before the altar of Yahweh, as a blood offering to his God.

In those early days, from the time of David down to the destruction of Jerusalem, it would not have been such an easy matter to have distinguished between the

worship of Israel's God, Yahweh, and the worship of the gods of the Canaanites. The lines were not drawn very sharply. There was not one center of worship at Jerusalem; no one exclusive altar, no one especially separated priesthood, and no recognized code of Sacred Scripture. A ceremonial worship, ritual service to the gods or God, was going on in any number of ways all over the land. It has come down as I have said, from prehistoric times.

The Jewish Church of later times after the exile, in its festivals and fasts, in its rites or ritual, was made up largely of what had existed in former times, only now woven into a system and centering around the worship of one God. The Sabbath Day, for instance, which we attribute exclusively—and in a sense, rightly so—to Judaism, had existed as a lunar festival among the Babylonians and may have been adopted by the Canaanites before the children of Israel came into that country at all.* It was not the invention of the Hebrews, that of setting apart one day in seven as a festival day. In fact, they may have borrowed the notion altogether from the Babylonians or from the Canaanites.

What they did do was to transform the notion of the festival, dealing with it not as a mere feast day, but giving to it the phase of its being a Day of Rest. From the earliest times downward, there has always been the antithesis between the priest and the prophet. It has been the function of the priests to look after the worship of the Deity as a ritual or ceremonial. He has attended to what we should call the church services or prayers or "religious rites" as we now term them. What is more, he has been the conservator of tradition. He stands normally for the authority of the past. His function has been to uphold the established law; and in this function the priesthoods of the world have served a mighty purpose for good in the progress of civilization.

*The problem of the Sabbath is a particularly difficult and complicated one.

But as any one can see, it is inevitably a one-sided function, in that it tends to stop the wheels of progress by forcing mankind to live exclusively on the authority of the past. If it had the exclusive control, it would hold to what was established and society would come to a standstill.

Every now and then therefore, in bygone ages, there has arisen another class of religious teachers who have taken the opposite standpoint and represented another function in the history of religion—equally important though not necessarily more so than that of the priesthood. Because of the antithesis I speak of, it will not do for us necessarily to look down on the one class while we exalt the other. They have both been essential to the advance of the human race.

The contrast between the priesthood and the prophets of Israel lies right at one point. It was the characteristic of the priesthood of the Jewish Church as it became more and more an established institution, when they had anything to proclaim, for them to cry out, "Thus said Moses."

But the prophet, as you know, took precisely the other attitude. It was his cry: "Thus saith the Lord." He spoke from the present standpoint; the priest, from the past. He talked as if speaking for God, addressing the people straight from his inner consciousness.

During the interval after the entrance of the Israelites into Palestine down nearly to the time of the fall of Jerusalem, religion had largely been ritualistic in character, worship of the gods with offerings, feasts, sacrifices. More and more its charge had fallen into the hands of the priestly class who presided over that ceremonialism, and who undoubtedly more and more were trying to get complete control of all religious observances.

In the midst of that old worship of the gods by sacrifices, blood offerings and festivals, in the midst of the idolatry which paid respect to all the gods, although perhaps a little more respect to Yahweh as the God of the Israelites, fell for the first time the voice of the

prophet, the man who stood forth and cried, "Thus saith the Lord."

The kernel of our ethical religious thought of to-day in this century and in the civilized world, comes into evidence for the first time at this point.

What caused it, you ask? I wish you would answer the question. As for me, I cannot do it. The thoughts which make the turning points in history just come; that is all the answer you can give. After they come it is possible to account for the way they spread and grow; but their first coming is beyond human ken.

At that age, the eighth century before the Christian era, something happened. There was a turn in events of the world. It was not a curve, but seemingly a right angle.

I am thinking, of course, of the appearance of prophecy in Israel. If you ask what were the surrounding circumstances which acted as a nourishment for it, that I can answer.

There was turmoil or commotion in the spiritual atmosphere of Palestine at that time. A thunder cloud was seen in the distance. And its mutterings approached the corners of all Israel. A mighty empire in the far east, known as Assyria and centering around the city of Nineveh, had been marching its armies across one country after another, and the storm was approaching with its fury the neighborhood of Palestine.

In the presence of that storm cloud a new kind of Prophet stood forth—an Ethical Judge.

But to what did this prophecy apply itself? It may surprise you if you have not studied the subject. You may think it is going to start from jealousy on behalf of God-worship, the right belief in Yahweh, the God of Israel. But no; its first note of warning seems not to have centered there.

It was the oppression of the poor—the tyranny over the weak by the strong. This was the thought it put forth.

The first prophet was a herdsman or shepherd. And this is what the herdsman began to say to the people:

"The virgin of Israel is fallen; she shall no more rise; she is cast down upon her land; there is none to raise her up. Forasmuch as ye trample upon the poor and take exactions from him of wheat; ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink the wine thereof. Woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord! Wherefore would ye have the day of the Lord? It is darkness and not light—even very dark, and no brightness in it."

What would they make of all that. There they were at the altars worshiping Yahweh, the God of Israel, making sacrifices, keeping the very festivals which were in honor of their God, doing as the priests had told them to do.

But one prophet, whose name was Amos, goes on with his "Thus saith the Lord":

"Neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols."

"Seek good and not evil, that ye may live. Hate the evil and love the good and establish judgment in the gate; let judgment roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream."

This tells the story. The revolution had come with that new proclamation *that the true worship of God was by one's ethical conduct* and not by "rites and observances." The note was sounded twenty-five hundred years ago. It is the kernel of all there is in all the prophets of the Old Testament.

One prophet after another arose. But the blow fell in the course of another generation. In the year 722, the storm cloud which had been like a speck in the dim distance in the time of the first prophet, spread over the whole sky of the northern kingdom of Israel. It broke and fell, and the northern kingdom was no more, swept out of existence, as if it had never been there at all, and never to be restored again. The doom which the prophet had held forward as awaiting the Israelites in punishment for their iniquities, had come now at last.

Our story passes over to the Southern kingdom, to the Israelites centered around Jerusalem and the kingdom of Judah.

There, too, prophecy was to appear and speak in like tones of thunder. There, too, was to come the voice of warning. Now it was to be heard at the very gates of Jerusalem. Who would dare to speak those thunder tones of wrath and woe within the precincts of that sacred city?

But there also, a prophet came, the greatest of them all, and yet in a sense with only the same note or cry as that of his forerunner, Amos.

I am speaking, of course, of Isaiah, the Jerusalem prophet. He is talking within the precincts of that sacred city, with the same old cry, "Thus saith the Lord."

"Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that deal corruptly. They have forsaken the Lord; they have despised the Holy One of Israel; they are estranged and gone backward."

What could this mean? Was there not a temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, and a priesthood there, and were there not offerings being made to their God all the time? But our prophet goes on:

"Why will ye be still stricken, that ye revolt more and more? The whole head is sick and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot, even to the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds and bruises, and festering sores. Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the teaching of our God, ye people of Gomorrah."

Think of it! Calling their city, the city of Yahweh, a Sodom and Gomorrah, and doing it in the name of God himself! What blasphemy it seemed! But he thunders on just the same:

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts. Bring no more vain oblations; your appointed feasts my soul hateth; I am weary to bear them. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

And so the voice went on. Year after year Isaiah kept sounding his note of woe, "Cease to do evil: learn to do well," and warning the people of the judgment to come.

Throughout the Prophets you have this general cry of a Day of Judgment. If you undertook to read those pages through consecutively, you would grow weary of it as if it were always the same thing. But it is said in language which no other literature has ever equaled or ever approached. There is an awful sternness to it.

The fire of the old prophecy had been kindled. It would not burn out. When the voice of Isaiah was no more, solemnly but drearily another voice arose. Once more it sounds in a monotone, but loud enough to be heard throughout Judea:

"The godly man is perished out of the earth and there is none upright among men; they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net. Their hands are upon that which is evil to do it diligently; the prince asketh, and the judge is ready for a reward. The best of them is as a briar. The day of thy watchmen, even thy visitation is come! now shall be their perplexity. Wherewith shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Another mighty prophet was to come, however, as great if not greater than any who had gone before; one who was to foresee the destruction of Jerusalem and to live through it, and who was to die the martyr's death of the prophet in a far away country. It was to be "Jeremiah."

At this point you will begin to observe that there are but two or three conspicuous key-notes in all this grand portion of the Bible. In one of those key-notes you have the philosophy of the true worship of deity.

But the other key-note is equally profound, and gives us a Philosophy of History. In Jeremiah this new note is sounded with all its force. There stood this prophet of Israel, who was able to look back over all

the calamity that had first swept over the northern kingdom and wiped it out of existence, and then swept down over Jerusalem. He had seen it, while he had read the handwriting on the wall. One or another of the prophets raised a voice of warning, telling of the punishment, in some form or another, which had to come upon iniquity. But whom was it to strike? Each and every man who committed evil? No, not necessarily. It was to fall upon the State, the whole people, upon Israel.

To the prophet, Israel—the people, the race, the state, or the kingdom—was as much a reality as each man or woman who belonged to it. In society one person sometimes has to bear the punishment for the sins of another. But society itself, the race, the kingdom, the state, can sin; and in doing so, must work out its own doom when it thinks it is working out success—if it has defied Ethical Law. This application of the subtle workings of ethical law to a whole race, a whole kingdom or a whole society, had in it something profound and far-reaching in its suggestiveness. Even to-day we have only half caught on to that great idea put forward by the prophets of Israel. But it was Jeremiah who dared to say:

“Hear the word of the Lord, O King of Judah, that sits upon the throne of David, thou and thy servants, and thy people that enter in by these gates. Execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, and do no wrong, no violence to the stranger, the fatherless nor the widow; neither shed innocent blood in this place. For if ye do this thing, indeed, then shall there enter in by the gates of this house, kings sitting upon the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, he and his servants and his people. But if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the Lord, that this house shall become a desolation. . . . I will punish you according to the fruit of yqur doings, saith the Lord. . . . Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, are these. If ye thoroughly amend your ways and doings, then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers from of old, even forever more. . . .

Then Jeremiah began to speak for himself, with anguish at his heart as he thought of the doom which was come upon Israel.

"Oh, Jerusalem, wash thy heart from wickedness, that thou may'st be saved. . . . Thy ways and thy doings have procured these things unto thee; this is thy wickedness; for it is bitter, it reacheth unto thy heart. I am pained at my very heart; I cannot hold my peace; because thou hast heard, oh, my soul, the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war, I beheld the earth, and lo! it was waste and void; and the heavens, and they had no light. I beheld the mountains, and lo! they trembled, and all the hills moved to and fro. I beheld, and lo! there was no man, and all the birds of the heavens were fled. I beheld, and lo! the fruitful field was a wilderness, and all the cities thereof were broken down at the presence of the Lord, and before his fierce anger."

This was the great thought of Jeremiah; the conception of an Israel, a whole people which had sinned, and had to work out its own punishment. Nations, like individuals, can sin; and because of that sinning, can die. It was by a spiritual insight that the prophet could assert it. To-day we know its truth by the new science of Sociology.

Not only in Jeremiah do we find this key-note as a philosophy of history. In point of fact it runs through all the prophets just the same. They are interpreting history by their moral sense; that is all. And the two key-notes I have been speaking of, are usually being sounded at the same time or side by side all through these chapters at the close of the Old Testament.

Yet I should mislead you entirely if I laid the subject of prophecy down at this point. One other feature is there, and a feature which comes nearer to the popular understanding of the word prophecy as a foretelling of the future.

It seemed as if among those great teachers there ran a kind of faith concerning the future, which was most striking in contrast with their tones of despair. At the very time when they had reached the heights of their language of woe, picturing an inevitable doom for their people, every now and then their tones would change and they would begin to sound another key-note of hope and of promise.

A Judgment shall come; the doom awaits us; we are to perish. That is what they keep saying once and again. But just as you reach the climax of this you

come upon another phase. There is talk of a "remnant"; and as our prophet strikes that word remnant, his voice changes. His notes of woe are sounded no longer. Softly at first and then more loudly, more energetically there rises a Jubilate. It all gathers around that word, the remnant; the remnant of the righteous. Not all shall perish. A remnant shall survive.

And out of the most appalling music of woe ever listened to, there is drawn an element of hope for the future. An ideal has started which shall not die. The one Israel, that is, the Israel of the people as the people, shall perish. But there has been an ideal Israel which is not to die. It shall survive at first in a remnant only, and in a distant time shall become A New Jerusalem. Yahweh shall be true to his word. The ideal shall not perish from the earth. In that other prophecy where I read to you from Zephaniah, just after the language of woe, we meet with the other keynote:

"The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies; neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth; for they shall feed and lie down, and none shall make them afraid. Sing, O daughter of Zion; shout, O Israel; be glad and rejoice with all thy heart, O daughter of Jerusalem. The Lord hath taken away thy judgments, he hath cast out thine enemy; the king of Israel, even the Lord, is in the midst of thee; thou shalt not fear evil any more. In that day it shall be said to Jerusalem, Fear thou not; O Zion, let not thine hands be slack. The Lord thy God, is in the midst of thee, a mighty one who will save; he will rejoice over thee with joy; he will rest in his love, he will joy over thee with singing. I will gather them that sorrow for the solemn assembly, who were of thee; to whom the burden upon her was a reproach. Behold at that time, I will deal with all them that afflict thee; and I will save her that halteth, and gather her that was driven away; and I will make them a praise and a name, whose shame hath been in all the earth. At that time will I bring you in, and at that time will I gather you; for I will make you a name and a praise among all the peoples of the earth, when I bring again your captivity before your eyes, saith the Lord."

This is our turning point. The music of a new epoch was beginning to sound, although of an epoch still centuries away. We have struck the notes of the Messianic Expectation.

THE BELIEF IN GOD AS IT APPEARS IN THE BIBLE

I may as well own first as last that beliefs about God have a fascination for me. I like to meet with them in poetry, in the Bible, in the early classical literature; and whenever I come upon those beliefs my attention is held at once. In fact, I can never let the subject alone. I like it and want to study it and I find it more and more interesting as the years go on. It continues to draw me, to move me, to inspire me.

What makes the study of the beliefs about God so interesting is just this: By means of those beliefs we are able to trace the steps of growth of the moral sense. That is the secret of my enthusiasm for the study of theology.

When going back to early times and tracing up the evolution of man, the best way to find out what man thought about right and wrong, how he distinguished between good and evil, is to find out what he thought about God. It would seem to be a law of history that man's idea of God must keep pace with the growth of the moral sense. It usually lags a little behind, but is always catching up, nevertheless. The human soul will not admit that the God which it believes in, can be inferior to its own ethical ideal. It will either have a deity up to that standard, or else no deity at all. If atheism has spread from time to time in various parts of the world, I venture to say it has been owing less to the influence of natural science than to the fact that the beliefs about a deity have been so slow in keeping pace with the growth of the ethical feeling. Usually when the God-idea does catch up with the most advanced ethical thought, some kind of a theism or belief in God comes back once more.

Now of all opportunities which have ever been offered for tracing the growth of the moral sense by means of the beliefs about God, none begin to compare with the field open to us by means of the interpretation of the Bible which has been put forward by the new scholarship of which I have been speaking. We can trace that belief in all its stages by going back and tracing the growth of the Bible. It is all there, passing from the lowest, crudest forms conceivable, up to the highest stage of thought on the subject which has ever been voiced in human language.

But taking these Scriptures as they stand in the order in which the books are arranged, going simply by the traditions with regard to them, we find ourselves in hopeless confusion. It would seem as if the whole subject were turned inside out or upside down. The first work of the new scholarship, therefore, lay in one single direction. It was to arrange the books of the Bible, or the parts of those books, in their chronological order. When this had been done the task before them was an easy one comparatively. The value of the work of the new scholarship therefore has not been so much in the sphere of doctrine, or in its analysis of the history of theism, or of religion. It has been rather in the direction of sorting out the parts of the Scriptures and re-arranging the order.

I gave you in round numbers the date 444 B. C. as the time when a Bible had come to be established. A canon of sacred Scripture was adopted about that time, along with the establishment of the Jewish Church. But it was not asserted that the whole Bible came into shape at that time, or that the books which we now look upon as sacred Scripture were accepted as a part of such a canon at that date. In point of fact some of them had not yet been written. Furthermore, a number of the finest books of the Bible had not been incorporated in what was then accepted as Scripture. What became Bible at the famous date I have given you, was chiefly the so-called "Books of Moses," the earlier historic books including the codes of law. It was the law, or "Moses" part of the Bible which first

became Sacred Scripture. The finest portion of the Old Testament, the Books of the Prophets, had scarcely been recognized as a part of the Bible, and only gradually came to be adopted or accepted into the canon.

The Old Testament went on growing for upwards of 250 years. It was from the year 444 down to about the second century before the Christian era that the Old Testament took shape. It was during that interval that two of the books of history called "Chronicles" were written, as well as certain other very important portions now belonging to the Bible.

But taking that date, 444 B. C., we are able to recognize the standpoint of the Bible of that day as regards the belief in a God. We find at that time clear, pure, supreme, ethical monotheism as it existed probably nowhere else in the world.

Now where are we to look for the sources of this monotheism. It had not come from Greece, because the monotheism at Athens in that age was a doctrine of the philosophers, not of the people. The philosopher walking in the streets of that city could see gods galore, and the people believed in those gods.

It could not have come from India, this monotheism, because there, too, it was the doctrine of the few, and, furthermore, in that country it had about it the haziness which goes with pantheism. The people of India by the millions believed in gods by the millions.

But in Jerusalem at this date it was the people themselves, the average citizen, who believed in the oneness of a God, and took the standpoint of a pure, clear, monotheism. The Church of Jerusalem was the church of the people, and its supreme standpoint was the belief in a one, only God.

Under the circumstances we naturally turn to the Bible for explanation of it all, to the literature of the people in existence at that time. It is there that we expect to find it in all its fullness and completeness.

But when we open the books which at that time had come to be accepted as sacred Scripture, as the foundation of the Church of Jerusalem and as containing the

thoughts of the people and the church about their God, we meet with certain features which are sure to perplex us.

I open at the first chapter of Genesis and read the first line: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Then I turn over to the second page and begin to read: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground." That is interesting enough, but I certainly observe a change in the language. Why that phrase "Lord God"? On the first page it was simply "God." Now, as you know, in the original Hebrew we have another name for the Deity on the second page of the Bible. In the first chapter the name of Elohim, which is translated "God." In the second chapter the name is Yahweh, which is translated "Lord God." In other places you find this name in the English Bible as "Jehovah," which is now recognized, however, as having been an erroneous rendering of the Hebrew.

And so at the very start we are struck with the fact that there are different names for the Deity in the Bible. What does this mean? If there is only one deity, why not one name? There must be some history behind this circumstance.

Furthermore, on examining this word Elohim, the first name for the Deity in the first words of the Bible, the scholar finds that it is a plural word which, translated literally, means "gods." We know well enough that many of the prophets used this name and meant by it only one God. But how came they to use the plural form? Behind all this there must have been a history. It points to something back in the prehistoric life of the human race. If the prophet had invented a name for his own God, would he have used the plural noun?*

A few facts like this make it plain to us at once that we are going to find something interesting here if we search this Bible for what it has to say about deity, for

*While the use of the plural would seem to point to an original plurality of gods, it is also possible that Elohim was used as a so-called *pluralis majestatis* in the sense of "the great god."

its conceptions of a God. We are going to find a history there. We shall meet with evidences of a growth, of changes, of advance. We shall come upon stages, or strata as it were, in the thought-life of the human race.

I am not tracing the growth and changes in this belief as it appears everywhere in the world, but only as it presents itself to us in the Bible. And I want you to see that there is no other one book where you can find out so much about that subject, and see it passing through so many phases. It is packed together here under one cover, the history of the mind of man on this subject for over a hundred thousand years.

Suppose now I give you one sample of this belief as we find it written here. I shall take what is usually recognized as the oldest passage in the Bible. It is so very ancient that the scholar is not able to translate it all, nor to decipher its full meaning. It is called, as you know, the Song of Deborah. It is to be found in the Book of Judges, which describes to us the conditions of the Israelites between the time when they left the wilderness of Sinai to go over into Palestine, and the time when they were united under one government as a kingdom by David, a period of about 250 years preceding the year 1000 B. C.

In those days the children of Israel were living in scattered tribes in the land of Canaan with no organized government. They were still rude Arab tribes, and constantly at war with the people around them; sometimes victorious, but more often defeated. It seems that one of these tribes living in the southern part of that country was at war with another people whose leader's name was Sisera. And a woman of unusual strength or force of character by the name of Deborah, arose up in her might, summoned the children of Israel by the thousands and they went forth to battle and won a great victory. The leader of the enemy, Sisera, fled and came to the tent of a woman named Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite. The woman invited the king to enter the tent, gave him water to

drink, offered him food and allowed him to rest and sleep there. But when he was in slumber, as we are told, "Jael took a tent pin and took an hammer in her hand and went softly in to him and smote the pin into his temples, and it pierced through into the ground; for he was in a deep sleep and weary. So he died."

It is a gruesome picture. In fact it makes us shudder, such a defiance of the laws of hospitality. It seems as if it were against any rule of war, an act of this kind. There is nothing fine or grand about it. Plainly it was an act of cruel treachery, and takes us back to the times when conscience had barely begun to show itself in the human race.

But a victory had been achieved, the enemy of the Israelites had been overthrown; and over this victory we have the song of Deborah, one of the oldest pieces of literature, as I have said, in the Bible. It runs as follows:

"Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye sovereigns! I to Yahweh will raise my song, will sing to Yahweh, Israel's God. Yahweh, when from Seir thou settest out, when from the Land of Edom thou marchest, the earth trembled, the heavens swayed, the clouds dripped water, the mountains streamed at the presence of Yahweh, Israel's God. . . . Awake, awake, O Deborah! Awake, awake, lift up the song! . . . Curse Meroz says the messenger of Yahweh; curse its inhabitants bitterly because they come not to the aid of Yahweh, to the aid of Yahweh like heroes. Blessed above all women Jael, above all women in tents shall she be blessed. Water he asked (meaning, of course, the enemy, Sisera), milk she gave. . . . her hand she put forth to the pin; her right hand to the. . . . and (then a blank for a passage too obscure to be interpreted) . . . and smites, crushes his head, shatters, pierces his temple. At her feet he sank down, he fell, he lay; where he sank he lay of life bereft."

Then follows the striking passage giving us a picture of the mother of the king, Sisera, waiting at home for the return of her son, with an exulting description of what is in store for her when the news comes. What a suggestion we have of the primitive mind fairly wild with delight over the thought of a mother who was to receive news of the death of a son. And the song closes with an exultant shriek to the God of Israel over

the triumph of the Israelites: "*So perish thine enemies all, O Yahweh, but be thy friends as the sun when he rises in power.*"

And this is God, the Holy one of Israel. A God of vengeance, of cruelty, of treachery, a God whose blessings fall on a woman without heart, without conscience, without sense of honor, slaying her guest in a tent with the slyness of a fox, but with a wolflike ferocity. And why had the God of Israel done this? Because the people of Israel were any better in character or purposes than the Canaanites, their enemies? No; but because they had stood by Yahweh, therefore Yahweh was to stand by them. "*So perish thine enemies all, O Yahweh, but be thy friends as the sun when he rises in power.*" It almost makes us shudder, such a picture of the Holy One of Israel.

But then the Bible is a large book and a whole literature. Suppose we look again, and see what we find there. I may open at random somewhat, the collections of hymns sung in the honor or praise of Israel's God. This, too, is the Bible; the 103d Psalm:

"Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that within me, bless his holy name.

"Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.

"Who forgiveth all thine iniquities, who healeth all thy diseases.

"Who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies.

"Who satisfieth thy mouth with good things; so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's.

"The Lord executeth righteous acts and judgments for all that are oppressed.

"He made known his ways unto Moses, his doings unto the children of Israel.

"The Lord is full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy.

"He will not always chide; neither will he keep his anger forever.

"He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us after our iniquities.

"For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy toward them that fear him.

"As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us.

“Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.

“For he knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust.

“As for man, his days are as grass; as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth.

“For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more.

“But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children’s children.

“To such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his precepts to do them.

“The Lord hath established his throne in the heavens; and his kingdom ruleth over all.

“Bless the Lord, ye angels of his; ye mighty in strength, that fulfill his word, hearkening unto the voice of his word.

“Bless the Lord, all ye his hosts; ye ministers of his, that do his pleasure.

“Bless the Lord, all ye his works, in all places of his dominion bless the Lord, O my soul.”

This, too, is God. But which is the God of the Bible? What am I to make of it? In this picture I have a deity with the tenderness of a mother; a God of mercy and loving kindness, of gentleness and pity; a God who forgives and forgets; one who has no enemies save those who are the enemies of what is right. *Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him; for he knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust.* It is a hymn of love, and makes us feel as if this universe were made for love; that behind it all and at its center was a purpose; that tenderness and loving kindness were the principles on which and according to which all things took shape. At the core of all is love, says this psalmist, and at the core of the core is justice. “The Lord executeth righteous acts, and judgment for all that are oppressed.”

If in the midst of all the strife and contention of the world, of the mean, petty selfishness, of the struggle of “each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost”—if in face of all that which you see around you, you want to feel that while such a spirit is on the surface, at the core another spirit prevails—that in the

heart of things loving kindness and tender mercy dominate, I can only ask you to keep saying over the lines of this psalm. It is, in a sense, a Song Without Words, a sentiment; and it goes straight to the heart.

Both songs come from the Bible. Which one is to speak for the God of the Bible? I look at the head lines of this song and it bears the title "A Psalm of David." Now I am aware that King David belonged to about the same age as that in which Jael smote the tent pin through the temples of her enemy, and Deborah sang the war cry in praise of the vengeance-God. The two Gods do not fit together.

But now steps in the new scholarship with a half smile over this tradition about these Psalms having been written by David. They study the language of this Psalm, analyze it word for word, and they discover that it belongs somewhere about the time when the Book of Jonah was written. In a word, it belongs to that epoch when the Bible was taking its complete shape, after the year 444 B. C. There would have been about as much likelihood for this psalm to have been written by David as for it to have been written by Prince Bismarck. It is practically established now by the new scholarship that David had nothing to do with writing the Psalms. The majority of those hymns belong to that epoch when the Bible was coming to be accepted by the people after the exile.

And so there is light ahead for us in answer to that question, which is the God of the Bible. The first deity, that of the Song of Deborah, was Israel's God in the eleventh or twelfth century before the Christian era. The second deity, that of this psalm, was Israel's God in the fourth or fifth century. There had been a lapse of five or six hundred years. I could point out the steps to you if I had time, and you could see how the God of Fury and Vengeance in the Song of Deborah, had developed in the minds of the people of Israel into the God of Mercy and Loving-kindness in the 103d Psalm. Give the human race time; only give it time and light is sure to come.

The first ray of new light, religiously speaking, as I told you, came from the prophets of Israel. The eventful epoch was the eighth century before the Christian era. Across the thick darkness of that crude, cruel, grotesque God-idea in the Song of Deborah, there came the sudden flash of a new conception of deity in the voice of the Hebrew prophet. David knew not of it; Moses had only had a faint inkling of it; but the rays appeared on the horizon in the eighth century and the tide turned. The God of Deborah was to change into the God of the 103d Psalm. It all came within a short few hundred years.

Even such changes, however, can only come by stages. It was not the prophet who first announced the God of Love. It was not the early prophet who wrote the 103d Psalm. First there had been the Vengeance-deity of the Song of Deborah, the God who stood by those that stood by Him. Then came the Justice-deity, who was the God of the prophet. As I told you, the keynote of the prophecy of the Old Testament was judgment, denunciation for the sins of the people, and the proclamation that only those who did right should have the favor of God. The prophet had found out that standing by the right was the only real way by which a man stood by the Deity. The prophet's deity was the Justice-God. That was the second stage of which I told you in the preceding lecture. And lastly came the Deity of the psalmist, the Love-God. This new conception of deity came in the thought of the Israelites because of their experience over hundreds of years of history. They had seen that in one way loyalty to their cause, the cause of Yahweh, had triumphed. Jerusalem was restored to the people of Israel. They were back from their exile, once more in their sacred city. What wonder that at last it came natural for them to sing:

“Bless the Lord, O my soul, who forgiveth all thine iniquities, who healeth all thy diseases, who redeemeth thy life from destruction, who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies.”

But this is only one phase of the great change which took place in the theistic beliefs of the people of that time. It meant not so much that there was only one deity, but that the deity was a God of love and justice.

But what about this belief in the oneness of deity itself? How shall we find that in the Bible? Why it is there before our eyes, you say. It is in the language of the prophets. It is voiced in the psalms; over and over they talk of one only God.

True, but I keep reminding you that the Bible is a big book, and that there is a great deal in it. What about that plural form for a name of the Deity? Does it point to the fact that the children of Israel had always been monotheists? Suppose I open once more my Bible on the first page. In the account of the creation I read:

“And God said let us make man in our image, after our likeness.” Why that “us,” and the “our”? Did the one who wrote that, believe that there were gods rather than a god? No, surely, because this first chapter of Genesis belongs, perhaps, to one of the later documents in the Bible, written after many of the prophets had spoken, and upwards of a thousand years after the time of Moses. He is using a “conventional” language, here where he uses the plural form for the name of the Deity. But it points to a prehistoric time when man did believe in gods and not in God. The evidences for this fact are manifest over and over again in one place after another in these Scriptures. We see how such conventional language points to a time when that language arose as meaning just what it said, no less and no more.

What about the first commandment in the Decalogue? It has ranked conspicuously as the proclamation of a clear, pure, supreme monotheism. But I am afraid it will not stand the test. What does it say? “Thou shalt have no other gods before me.” You notice form of speech. It does not say, “I am the only God.” If I had the time I could show you again and again how the children of Israel in the early days

did think of the other gods of the Canaanites as being really gods, and how the early teachers of the people looked upon those deities in the same light as real beings. Nay, further, it would seem as if the first prophets themselves were not out-and-out monotheists.

Did they not come out boldly denouncing the worship of the other gods, and proclaiming the supreme worship of Yahweh? True enough; but read their language closely, and the point of it is that they denounced worship of the other gods, not because those deities were not gods, but because they were not the Gods or God of Israel. The first cry of the prophet is not "Yahweh is the only God," but "Yahweh is the only God for Israel." The supreme effort both of priest and prophet had been to establish a system of separation, to cut off the Israelites from the Canaanites, and to do it supremely by separating them in their worship of their gods or their God.

You can see, therefore, in this phase of the subject, the three stages as well. It is all on the surface to those who read the Bible carefully. In that use of a plural form for the name of the Deity you see how at an early epoch, far back in the dim past, deity for the Israelites was "Gods" and not a "God."*

Then came the second stage, and the one which may have *begun* as the great achievement of Moses, who seems to have given the children of Israel a new name for their deity. This gave the starting point for a separate "God of Israel." The second stage in the evolution of the one-deity idea, came by establishing a certain aristocracy among the deities; one god being more worthy than the others, it was the function of Israel to bring out or emphasize this aristocracy. What the prophet first did was to point out that their God was the best God. It was not because he was the God of the best people, Israel, that he was the best God, but the people of Israel were the best people because they had the best God. You see, there was a tremendous change, a great turn-about, and it

*See note 1, p. 91.

meant almost a revolution rather than evolution. This was the great standpoint of the early prophets.

Not until the last awful catastrophe was approaching, not until the northern kingdom had been destroyed by the Assyrians, not until the dark storm cloud from Babylon was approaching Judea and the day for the fall of Jerusalem was at hand, not until then did there arise the supreme monotheism of the Israelites. It came in with the great prophet Jeremiah, who saw the kingdom overthrown, the city burned to ashes, the people carried away captive, and himself at last dying an exile in Egypt. Not until Jeremiah appeared and Jerusalem was no more, did it come over the people that the gods of other nations had no existence. In the awful judgment which had struck the city it would seem as if this prophet had pierced the veil of the Inscrutable itself, and by the handwriting on the wall he proclaimed the fact: There is only one judge. Out of the fall of Jerusalem and the overthrow of the City of God itself came the belief that there was only one Deity or one God.

But this One-Deity of the Israelites in the year 444 had still other characteristics besides his oneness. Supreme even over that, was the conception of deity as a spiritual being, the invisible, inscrutable, without form and without body, dwelling in the Holy of Holies, where mortal eye could not penetrate, a being who could be known to man, only because of the spiritual something in man himself. And there is a solemn grandeur in this Bible conception of a supremely spiritual deity. It is cold in its way; it takes us on the heights where the atmosphere is serene. But not all men can thrive in that atmosphere; for in fact in such an atmosphere not all men can find any indication of God.

And yet it is true. Had you gone into the temple at Jerusalem in the day when a canon of Scripture had been adopted and the Bible accepted by the people, you would have found no God-image there.

Suppose I turn and read you a poetic passage from another of the Psalms. Here, too, we shall be read-

ing of the Deity, and this language may have been sung in the temple at Jerusalem as one way of suggesting what man felt in that time concerning God.

"The Lord is my rock and my fortress and my deliverer; my God, my strong rock; in him will I trust.

"In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried unto my God. He heard my voice out of his temple, and my cry before him came into his ears.

"Then the earth shook and trembled, the foundations also of the mountains moved and were shaken, because he was wroth.

"There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled by it.

"He bowed the heavens also and came down; and thick darkness was under his feet.

"And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea, he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind.

"He made darkness his hiding place, his pavilion round about him; darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies.

At the brightness before him his thick clouds passed, hail stones and coals of fire.

"The Lord also thundered in the heavens, and the Most High uttered his voice; hail stones and coals of fire.

"And he sent out his arrows and scattered them; yea, lightnings manifold, and discomfited them.

"Then the channels of water appeared, and the foundations of the world were laid bare, at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils.

"He sent from on high, he took me; he drew me out of many waters."

Is it not magnificent, that picture! Does it not stir one to think of a force invisible behind all that upheaval in Nature; the clouds and darkness, hailstones, the coals of fire, the lightning, the channels of water, what are they in this psalm? Are they deity? Are they God? By no manner of means. They are symbols of the invisible, inscrutable Power.

Because the Psalmist knows that he cannot describe the invisible, because the spiritual cannot be put into concrete form or language, he takes the events of the natural world as he sees them, and pictures them as symbols of what eye cannot see, and yet of what the mind knows and believes in. This is not Nature-worship. In a true sense it is a picture of a spiritual God. It is poetry or sentiment, music rather than language.

It, too, ranks by tradition as a Psalm of David; but it, too, has been placed by the new scholarship hundreds of years after the death of David. It belongs just about to the time of Jeremiah, the first great monotheistic prophet. But is the language of Scripture always so easily to be interpreted as indicating a spiritual conception of the Deity? What if we turn back to the passage where we have sketched for us the giving of the Decalogue on Mount Sinai, when Moses brought forth the people out of the camp "to meet God":

"And they stood at the nether part of the mount, and mount Sinai was altogether in smoke because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And the Lord came down upon mount Sinai. All the people saw the thunderings and the lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet and the mount smoking; and when the people saw it they trembled and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, speak thou for us and we will hear; but let not God speak with us lest we die. And the people stood afar off and Moses drew near unto the darkness where God was."

Is that symbol, I ask? Do you see a difference between the language there and the language of the Psalmist? It is more than symbol. We are back in history by some hundreds of years. What in the time of the Psalmist was symbol, the storm-cloud and the thunderbolt speaking for God, in the prehistoric time was fact. God was the storm, the storm was God; and in this language in the Book of Exodus telling us of what happened around Mount Sinai we are back nigh to the prehistoric world. This is the language of a far-away time. It has not yet quite become symbol. Unquestionably the people around Mount Sinai saw what they considered the living God in the storm-cloud which hung over its summit. It was the Mount of God.

And the instinct which leads the spiritually minded man, thinking of an invisible deity, to speak of that deity in the language of Nature, to clothe his conception in form, to wrap around it what he sees going on before his eyes—this which was instinct to the Psalm-

ist and is instinct to us to-day, and which we and the Psalmist alike recognize as being language only in symbols, this points back to the time when instinct made out of Nature or the occurrences of Nature an actual god. The storm-cloud was not a symbol then; it was the Deity.

Beyond a doubt the forefathers of the people of Jerusalem of the year 444 had worshiped their deity as the God of the storm. The thunderbolt had been the actual arm of God.

Think of the change in the attitude of the human mind, tracing it backward from that 103d Psalm, where man thought of his deity as a being of gentleness and loving kindness, a tender father; and that other attitude of the people around Mount Sinai, who said in terror: "Let our God not speak to us lest we die." Why that fear and terror? Because to the Israelites of that time a thunderbolt did strike and kill, and the storm-cloud which wielded that thunderbolt was the Deity. It was "Jehovah."

What is symbol to-day, was fact to the mind of our forefathers. What is poetry to-day, to them was reality. What we talk of as the garment of deity, to them was deity itself. It is all written here in the language of the Bible. You can trace the evolution of the human consciousness in the stages the mind went through, from the Nature-God to the God behind all Nature.

It is true also that the God the Israelites worshiped at Jerusalem in the year 444 was not worshiped by people who were idolaters. Alone of all the race of men in the world at that time it may be said that they had no image of their God. And we are told how this attitude had begun with Moses. But when we look at it from that standpoint it is all meaningless. We can get no history out of it.

Rearrange the books of the Bible so as to place them in their chronological order, and you can see how the children of Israel went through all the stages of development from idolatry up to their belief in an imageless God. What of that "brazen serpent" we are told of,

made by Moses in the wilderness, at which all the people were to look and be saved from the poison of the serpent's bite. According to any ordinary rational interpretation of literature, that serpent was a god.

What of the "ark" which was so dear to the children of Israel? Did they not feel that their God lived in it, that it was his dwelling place? Where it went, there went terror to the enemy of Israel. Why did they carry that ark to battle with them if they did not believe that it was the abode of their God? And when in the land of Canaan the kingdom had been set up under David and afterwards was divided at the death of Solomon, and another kingdom established in the north, do you remember how the new king there set up two golden calves and said: "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy Gods of Israel which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." "And," we are told, "he set one in Bethel and the other put he in Dan."

Did it seem strange to the people; did it shock them as being idolatrous, offering them images of their God which had brought them out of the land of Egypt and out of the house of bondage? No, they took it as a matter of course, because, up to that time, it had not come to be recognized as a sin to make images of the Deity. The second commandment: Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, had not yet been put forth among the people.

If the new scholarship has established anything for a certainty, it is that the Israelites grew out of a stage of idolatry, just as they grew out of a stage of polytheism. If it is true that God-worship at Mount Sinai was associated with worship of the storm-cloud, so in Canaan to the Israelite, Yahweh-worship or God-worship was associated with bull-worship. Only gradually could the later prophets shake the people from this habit. Not until hundreds of years after the death of Moses did the prophet turn and tell the people that images of a deity had no sancity to them.

In this respect, too, you can see the same symbolism. What of that temple at Jerusalem built on the return

of the exiles from Babylon, and in connection with which the Bible was established as a code of worship for the people? No image of the Deity was there, to be sure! But what of the "horns" at the altar? What of the basin resting on the figures of twelve oxen? Does that mean anything? Were those oxen deities to the Israelites? By no manner of means. Had those horns a significance as being part of their God? Surely not. To the mass of the people they had no meaning; they were there only as a symbol. But what was now a symbol had been a fact.

To the people who assembled in the temple at Jerusalem in 444, they had a significance as symbols, it may be. But what was symbol then, had been fact before. A few hundred years before that time their own forefathers had worshiped bulls as images of their God, Yahweh, and even the priests of the time had not thought to rebuke them.

Only when the prophet came, who wished to separate Yahweh-worship from the other God-worship of the Canaanites, and to separate the children of Israel at the same time, only then came the new attitude which forbade images of God. And it came undoubtedly as a method by which the children of Israel could be separated from the Canaanites. Because the other people worshiped their gods and images, therefore it must not be done by the Israelites.

What shall we say of the fact of the reverence for that ark of which I have told you, as being carried by the Israelites into battle because their God went with it; and on the other hand the famous saying of Solomon in the speech he made when consecrating the great temple at Jerusalem not long after the death of David—one of the grandest speeches which ever fell from human lips. Just at the very moment when he was talking of the glory of the temple which he had builded to God as a seat of worship in Jerusalem, an as an abode for the Deity himself, he cries:

"Will God in very deed dwell on the earth. Behold the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee, how much less this house that I have builded."

Again we raise the question, which is the God of the Bible, the one who lived in the ark and went with it to do battle for the Israelites, as if he abode in that ark; or the God of whom the prophet could say, "Behold heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee?" It is all plain enough when the new scholarship steps in and shows us how this "Book of Kings" was written, in which we have the account of the building of the temple by Solomon. We have it established that the books of "Kings" were compiled about four hundred years after the death of Solomon, and that this speech was undoubtedly written by the man who compiled the books. This is not the language of Solomon. It is the language of the prophet of Israel after prophecy had arisen, and the prophet's God had been brought to the minds of the people.

Read the language at the climax of this evolution in the prophet Jeremiah, who lived at the very time when the compiler of the Book of Kings was doing his work and had put that great speech in the mouth of Solomon. The prophet is saying:

"The customs of the peoples are vanity; for one cutteth a tree out of the forest, the work of the hands of the workman with the ax."

Do you see the satire? Gods then are human handiwork. The idols which the nations revered were "The work of the hands of the workman with the ax." Of course, we say, what else could they be? But the prophet continues—

"They deck it with silver and gold! they fasten it with nails and with hammers that it move not. They are like a palm tree of turned work and speak not; they must needs be borne because they cannot go."

It is of the idols he is speaking now, you understand, made from wood cut out of the tree of the forest, the work of the hands of the workman with the ax. Those idols speak not; they must needs be borne because they cannot go. The prophet goes on to say:

"Be not afraid of them, for they cannot do evil; neither is it in them to do good."

Can you fancy the changes that were taking place to have brought about such an attitude of mind? It was one thing not to worship the gods of the nations, the image-gods of the heathen; but it was another thing not to be afraid of them. Surely while they were not like the God of Israel, they might be spirits which could do evil. But hear the scorn of the prophet over those blocks of wood and stone, and then listen to his exaltation over Yahweh, the God of Israel, as he continues:

“There is none like unto thee, O Lord; thou art great and thy name is great in might. Who would not fear thee, O King of the nations; for as much as among all the wise men of the nations there is none like unto thee.”

Then he turns back, this prophet, in scornful language about those image-gods whom he despises. As he says:

“They are all the work of cunning man. But the Lord is the true God, he is the living God, and an everlasting king. At his wrath the earth trembleth and the nations are not able to abide his indignation. He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and by his understanding hath he stretched out the heavens. Every goldsmith is put to shame by his graven image; for his molten image is falsehood and there is no breath in them. They are vanity and the work of delusion.”

The climax had come. At about the year 1300 B. C. Moses had begun to organize the people into a state, to lay the foundations of an Israel. He had given the impulse, but not the philosophy, for it. He had given them a new name for their God, “Yahweh,” the God of Israel.

But there still survived the animal worship in the brazen serpent, and the ark with its two tables of stone, which point to a prehistoric age in the worship of wood and stone, an original fetichism.

The people of Israel carried with them into Palestine the new name for their God, Yahweh, the God of Israel; but with them came the ark and the two tables of stone. Their God was still the god of the storm-cloud, the vengeance-God. The deities of the nations around them were also living gods in the eyes of the

Israelites, to be feared, to be appropriated, but not quite on the same plane to be worshiped like "Yahweh."

Yet Yahweh, the God of Israel, also abode in images of wood and stone. In the altars, on the "high places," in the form of a calf or bull, he was still Yahweh, and worshiped even yet with offerings of human blood, with the sacrifice of human lives.

About the year 1000 B. C., just after the death of David, came Solomon, who built the first temple to Yahweh at Jerusalem, and then the new impulse was given to a supreme Yahweh-worship. There was the starting point out of which was to come the worship of one, only, real God. But the bull-worship survived until the mighty epoch came, the turning point in the eighth century, about 750 B. C., when the first prophets appeared.

Yet those early prophets had not struck the full note of monotheism. The note they had sounded was that of the supremacy of Yahweh, the God of Israel. At last, just when the doom was threatening Jerusalem, or at the time of its fall, a greater prophet appeared, wearing the mantle of sorrow, but with a prophetic insight rather than prophetic foresight. He is the one who says, the gods of the nations are vanity, "wood and stone." And thus about the year 600 B. C. we reach the stage of a clear, pure monotheism.

But the monotheism of Jeremiah was the monotheism of the prophet, not of the people. It was the voice of the leader in advance of the men around him. It was to Jerusalem like the monotheism of Plato in Athens.

Not until that people, the Israelites, had been tried by affliction, not until their city had been destroyed and they had lived in exile far away from Palestine—not until then were the leaders able to put forth this new conception of God as a standpoint for the people. In the year 444 B. C., in round numbers, the church was established, and its foundation or cornerstone was the standpoint of Jeremiah, the belief in a one, only, supreme, spiritual, imageless God.

And which is the God of the Bible? All this is contained there. I can pass from the first chapters where I read of God "walking in the garden in the cool of the day," down to the exalted language of the psalmist or of the prophet:

"Have I not known? Have I not heard? Hath it not been told you from the beginning? Have ye not understood from the foundations of the earth? It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth; for the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in; that bringeth princes to nothing. He maketh the judges of the earth as vanity. To whom then will I liken me, saith the Holy One?"

I have given you the story and traced for you the God-belief in the Bible. You have seen it in many forms and many shapes. Which is the God of the Bible? I leave you to decide.

THE MESSIANIC EXPECTATION

I touch on a delicate and difficult problem in the theme before me in this lecture. In this study of the History of the Bible we are coming now to the issues which have convulsed nations and caused the rise and fall of kingdoms. But my aim will be to present you, as far as lies in my power, the facts as they have been unfolded by the new scholarship. It is with facts rather than doctrines that we are concerned.

The basis of the Messianic expectation is usually sought for in the well-known and beautiful language of the "Second" Isaiah:

"Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished; that her iniquity is pardoned; that she has received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins. The voice of one that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of the Lord; make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted and every mountain and hill shall be made low. And the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Oh, thou that tellest good tidings to Zion, get thee up into the high mountains; oh thou that tellest good tidings to Jerusalem, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid. Say unto the cities of Judah, behold your God! Behold the Lord God will come as a Mighty One and his arm shall rule for him. Behold his reward is with him and his recompense before him. He shall lead his flock like a shepherd, he shall gather the lambs in his arm and carry them in his bosom and shall gently lead them that give suck."

They are the words, if I remember correctly, which make the starting point of Handel's Messiah. You notice, I say that they were the basis of a Messianic Expectation; but observe carefully that there is naught in them concerning what we should now think of as a personal Messiah.

This language of the prophet was spoken at an eventful epoch in the world's history. It was near

the close of the period of exile for the Jews at Babylon. They had been there for a period of fifty years, away from their dear land and city, captives among a people who knew not Yahweh, the God of Israel. And now with singular foresight, a new prophet had arisen among the exiles, who saw the doom which was to overwhelm the empire of Babylon. It was characteristic of these old monarchies in the East, that they had vitality for only a limited period; after which, decay was sure to set in, and some other great leader of a sturdier people would arise from outside, to set up a new kingdom and to destroy the one in decay. Already, as this prophet was speaking, the storm-cloud of the new leader's armies was on the horizon. His name was in people's mouths. The prophet had heard it and could see what was approaching. The armies were drawing nigh from the East. Babylon was to fall and the exiled Jews to go free. As if speaking for the Lord, the prophet anticipates the coming of Cyrus from Persia, saying:

"I have raised up one from the north and he shall come. From the rising of the sun one that calleth upon my name; and he shall come upon rulers as upon mortar, and as the potter treadeth clay. I have raised him up for victory and I will make straight all his ways; he shall build my city again, and he shall let my exiles go free. I am the Lord that saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid again."

It is the language of the prophet, who goes under the name of the Second Isaiah. His expectations, to a limited extent, were realized; the exiles were "let go free," and they went back to rebuild the city of Jerusalem. All the "comfort" which had been promised, to be sure, did not come; but of that I will speak later.

Almost a hundred years went by before Jerusalem was fully restored, the temple built and the Jewish Church established.

The historic books of the Old Testament close with that eventful epoch, around the date 444 B. C.

The next great date in the history of the Bible is connected with the year 4 B. C., which is now looked upon as having been the birth year of Jesus of Nazareth, and around which we associate the appearance of Christianity.

Humanly speaking I shall deal with Jesus as the last of the prophets, no less and no more. But this attitude is not necessarily in conflict with a further supernatural interpretation by which many see a great deal more there. That is strictly a problem of theology, and with that I am not here concerned. In my own mind I take comparatively little interest in the doctrinal disputes on this subject. I stand outside, or apart from both attitudes. Every event in history may have a natural and a supernatural interpretation. Whether you take one of these interpretations, or both of them, is for you a matter of choice. The doctrinal problems are not solved by a study of the Bible. They belong rather to the realm of metaphysics. As to how much or how little there was of God incarnate in Jesus I leave you to decide for yourselves.

It is doubtful whether a single statement which I am making in these lectures might not be accepted by certain of the clergy of this country, as well as of Europe, who are in good and regular standing in the orthodox church.

It is known that the general standpoint which I am unfolding to you, concerning the Bible, has been spreading among educated people throughout Christendom, and that it is gaining in influence in this country, although it is more prevalent among the scholars of Europe. I merely wish to make you see that the standpoint from which I am giving these lectures is not one which you need be afraid of, as if it were coming from just one person, as it were, and which, therefore, must be taken with caution. It is a tendency of thought throughout Christendom, which I am describing to you.

I say to you, therefore, that those who choose to accept the Bible as the "inspired word of God" need not necessarily be anxious or seriously concerned lest

they become radicals or atheists. And those who are radicals, wishing to look upon the Bible as the "word of man," need not be alarmed lest I should be trying to win them over to a basis of supernaturalism. I am presenting you an array of facts and a certain natural connection between facts, and nothing more.

We have come to a most important event in the history of religious thought—in social and political history as well as in the history of the Bible. I take the year 4 B. C. as the new starting point and ask myself what was the general attitude of mind among the people in Judea, or around Jerusalem, at that time: and raise the question whether it can be accounted for by what is contained in the Old Testament, or in that portion of the Bible which had been written up to the year 444 B. C.

In the first place, we come upon a belief quite general among the people of the time, in a future resurrection of the dead and in a personal immortality. Now, what am I to make of this?

Surely, when once such a belief has established itself, it must have important influence. Yet it is the growing opinion of scholars that in no single passage of those portions of the Bible which had been written up to the year 444 B. C. with the establishment of the Jewish Church, is there a plain statement of such a belief. It was not the general belief of the great prophets of the Bible, nor of Moses, nor of the writers of the historic books of the Bible.

Bear in mind, as I have told you, that only about two-thirds, or at the most three-fourths, of the Old Testament had been written at that time. The Bible did not come to its present state until about 250 years after. It was during these 250 years that most of the "Psalms" were written, that the "Book of Proverbs" was made up, and probably that the Book of "Job" was written, as well as some of the books by the "minor" prophets. Yet the opinion is also growing very strong that there is not a clear intimation of this belief of immortality, or the resurrection of the dead, even in any of the Psalms. Most

of the books of the Bible written during that 250 years, are in keeping with the spirit of the earlier portions which had been written before that time. Only in two or three instances do we have a striking exception to this. But in these exceptions we do come upon this other belief.

Furthermore, at this epoch, we meet with the kindred beliefs in the coming of a final Judgment Day, with a heaven awaiting the souls of the righteous, and a hell awaiting the souls of the wicked. Naught of this likewise is to be found in the Bible as it had been written up to that year 444 B. C.

Besides this, and most striking, we come upon a host of new names of angels, with a complete angelology. Yahweh, the God of Israel, is not alone, although he is supreme as God. At this time we find the people thinking of hosts of inferior beings surrounding their God—an angel world; and this angel world is divided up into a hierarchy, with leaders, each having his special name and possibly special characteristics or with special functions to perform. There is also a division between the good angels and the bad angels, so that we have a host of evil spirits with a hierarchy and a leader or prince over them.

One of these princes of the angel world, apparently was a household name among the people of this time and was playing a most important role in the beliefs of the people. It was Satan, the evil spirit. Now all this angelology with its divisions, its cohorts or armies, with princes and leaders, such as we find for instance in Milton's "Paradise Lost," including both the good and evil angels, all this was something foreign to the Old Testament when the Jewish Church was first established. It is possible that Satan is mentioned by name two or three times by the prophets, scarcely more. There is, in a general way, allusion to "angels" who may have come to earth as messengers of Yahweh, but they are not individualized. It was evidently a subordinate or minor feature in the older religious beliefs.

All this has to be accounted for as having grown up since a canon of scripture was adopted, and after that epoch at which the historic books of the Bible come to an end.

Humanly speaking, Christianity as a religion would be incomprehensible to us, and its rise without meaning, if we connect it with Judaism at the time when the historic books of the Old Testament came to their close. It belongs to another world, rather than to a Jerusalem of 444 B. C. The popular state of mind to which it addressed itself cannot be found in the Old Testament.

Only, therefore, as we get an insight into that epoch between 444 B. C. and the birth of Jesus, can we have any sort of understanding of the rise of Christianity. Bear in mind that in studying the rise of a new religion, almost as much importance has to be attached to the general attitude of the mind of the people when it arose, as to the new teachings of that religion itself. These "teachings" are addressed to what the people are thinking about. Therefore, I say, that "humanly speaking," we must find the background for the rise of Christianity in what had been going on during these four preceding centuries, after the larger portion of the Old Testament had been written and after the great prophets had spoken.

In a certain way the transition ages of history are more important for study than what we call the "epoch-making" ages. But they are not so easy to investigate or to understand, for the very reason that the events of these ages do not center around a few leaders, or one leader. You cannot get your perspective as easily; you are not able to fix on certain striking events out of which all the others are to be explained.

But I have not touched on another popular faith of that new epoch. What shall we say as to the expectation of a Messiah? We have reason to believe that the atmosphere was full of talk at that time, about the coming of a new prince, the "Anointed One" who was to be Israel's "Deliverer." Both the humble peas-

ants around the Lake of Galilee, as well as the sages of Jerusalem, were talking of this. There was an atmosphere of expectation, as if at last the Messiah was coming.

It may seem somewhat strange to you when I assert that there is comparatively little in the Old Testament concerning the coming of such a Messiah; and still less will you find there, if you judge only by the great prophets, or by those portions of the Bible which had been written before the restoration of Jerusalem. This expectation of the coming of a Messiah must, therefore, be accounted for during this transitional epoch in the four centuries to which I have alluded.

It is with the Messianic Expectation that I have now to deal; and I want to make you understand at the outset that the Messiah-idea, as such, probably did not hold quite all that importance in the minds of the Jewish people in those days that we are inclined to attribute to it. The coming of Jesus, to whom the name of the Messiah has been so extensively attached, has led us possibly to exaggerate the feeling of interest concerning that belief as it prevailed at the time when Jesus appeared. But it was one of the popular beliefs of the people at that time. There was an air of expectancy. The feeling was abroad that the Deliverer was coming.

At the outset I must also rather surprise you perhaps, by saying that of *Jesus*, as the Messiah, there is no intimation whatsoever anywhere in the Old Testament. Neither prophet nor priest, neither the people nor the leaders of the people had ever dreamed of a *suffering* Messiah. Such a thought apparently had never entered the heads of the Jewish people. There was no anticipation of a Jesus as a Messiah. It was of another kind of person altogether that the people of that day were thinking. And we see even in the gospels of the New Testament, how the disciples of Jesus themselves began also to think of their Master as one who would fulfill the popular expectations and become a real prince, an earthly Deliverer; they, too, had no thought of a suffering Messiah.

Have we any clew anywhere to these changes which had taken place in the minds of the people? Yes, I answer, we have. The clew is not to be found in the great prophets of Judaism, nor in the Bible as it existed when Jerusalem was restored. But if you had been living a hundred years ago and had bought a copy of the Bible in the English version, you would have found in the middle of it, just between the Old and the New Testaments, a number of books which might have been in fine print, but which are no longer there. Most of these books were written during that four hundred years in the Transition-Age leading up to the birth of Christianity. They go under the name of the "Apocrypha," as you know. For some reason they were not looked upon as sacred or inspired quite to the same extent as the other books of the Bible, so that now they are omitted altogether.

I look upon this as something of a misfortune, because they would be like a key by which to understand the New Testament better. Some of these are books of history; and on the whole the history there is far more accurate than what you have in the other books of the Old Testament. Some are collections of wise sayings; one of them is called "Ecclesiasticus," and contains a great deal of the most profound wisdom, as fine as anything in the Book of Proverbs. Then there are other collections of Psalms there, as well as other "Prophecies." If you were to read this literature you would find a number of the connecting links between the Old and the New Testaments. It is in these books, for instance, that you come upon the whole doctrine about the resurrection of the dead, the immortality of the soul, a judgment day, a heaven and a hell. You see how these beliefs had been growing up and spreading abroad among the people after the new temple had been built and the Jewish Church had been established.

In one of these books, if not in a number of them, you come upon a motive practically never appealed to by the great prophets of former times—the motive of

reward in a second life as a return for one's righteousness in this life on earth.

In the great prophets, immortality was for Israel, the people Israel, that is to say, the nation or the national life. But now the language was being applied to the individual Israelite. I read, for instance, in one of these books called the "Wisdom of Solomon," written in this transitional epoch:

"The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God and there shall no harm touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die; and their departure is taken for misery. But they are in peace. For though they be punished in the sight of man, yet is their hope ever of immortality. Having been a little chastised they shall be greatly rewarded."

Where had this belief come from? Even its germs are scarcely to be found in the teachings of the "Law" or the Older Prophets. The answer is pretty clear; it came from the outside.

Keep in mind that after the restoration of Jerusalem and the foundation of the Jewish Church, the people were subjects of a new empire, that of Persia; and they remained subject to this empire, in one way or another, down to the rise of Alexander the Great.

You will recall what was the religion of the people of Persia—Mazdaism, or the religion of Zoroastar. Now, in the teachings of that religion, we find just these special elements which were wanting for the most part in the sacred books of the Jewish Church. In the teachings, for example, of the religion of that other empire, we come upon the great doctrine of antagonism between light and darkness, of good spirits and of evil spirits. It is there that we find the angelology, and there that we come upon the complete doctrine of resurrection and immortality. It is there that we meet with a judgment day, a heaven and a hell. It is there that we find the angels divided into cohorts or armies, with their princes or leaders as soldiers and courtiers around a heavenly throne.

Beyond almost any doubt, it was through that source that this belief in another life, in a heaven and a hell, in a judgment day and in an angelology, crept

into Judaism. It came undoubtedly at first through the people, I fancy, rather than through the scholars or the priesthood. Hence it is that we find little of it in the psalms written at that time; hence it is that we discover a great school in Jerusalem, even at the time of Jesus, who, as conservatives, rejected all these new features, accepting no belief in a resurrection, a judgment day, a heaven or a hell. The scholars of Judea, with the priesthood, had been able to keep their belief in God clear and pure, untinged with idolatry or with Polytheism. Yahweh, the God of Jeremiah, was still the God of Israel. But the plain people had asked for more, or had hungered for more; and they breathed it in from the atmosphere surrounding them, not with a thought of a radical change in the religion to which they adhered, but as an additional feature which made their religion more human and real to them.

Of the belief in a Spirit of Evil we see traces faintly marked in the older teachings of the Bible. But it had been a subordinate element and not of much consequence. Now, in this transitional age what had been a minor feature, handed down possibly from a pre-historic spirit-worship, when all gods may have been looked upon as agencies of evil, this other phase had come to take prominence, ranking next in importance to the belief in the one God. Next in significance to Yahweh himself, in the minds of the people, came this belief in a mighty Spirit of Evil—Satan. The supernatural world had been made alive again for the peasants of Galilee and for the populace of Jerusalem. They had lost their plural-god, but they had got him back in another form, as you see.

The belief in a clear, pure, transcendent monotheism must always be the belief of a few. The majority of men, I fancy, to the end of time will people the supernatural world with beings of many kinds, giving them names and attributes, and perhaps be more inclined to pay attention to them than to the one divine supreme Power over all.

I speak of this because it shows that when the new teachings were to arise in the new Christian era, there was something concrete in the minds of the people, to which they could appeal. In a sense the great prophets of old had been so aloof from that concrete phase which the mass of the people demanded, that they had never really won a controlling influence over the people.

Most striking of all is a new kind of literature which developed during these centuries of which I am speaking. And it is in this essentially new form of literature that we find our cue, or starting point, to the great change which was to come with the appearance of Jesus.

I told you that the men whom we call by the names of prophets in the Old Testament, had not been "prophets" in our sense of the word. Foretelling the future had been a very minor feature of their utterances. The great point of what they had done was in the line of ethical judgments, as I told you. In so far as they talked of the future, it was usually in only a general way as pointing out the doom awaiting wickedness, while holding out a hope for a glorified Jerusalem through a survival of the remnant of the righteous.

But now the real "prophets" were to come; the teachers whose chief purpose was to foretell the future. I am thinking of the so-called Apocalypses which appeared in this transitional age. The authors of these writings gave just what the people wanted. They did not denounce, they did not hold threats of judgment over Israel; but they held out definite promises of what was going to take place within a definite time. They told it in visions, and these visions passed into the minds of the populace in a way that the teachings of the great prophets had never done.

Our cue to the great new age which was coming, lies in this apocalyptic literature. Strangely enough, just one of these books crept into the sacred canon of Scripture. Why this happened we cannot say. It is not really in keeping with most of the Old Testament, and stands by itself in our Scriptures.

I speak of this because we have assurance that at about the time of the Christian era, among the mass of the people, it was about the most popular book in the Bible. And yet, oddly enough, it was the last one to have been written. Around the Lake of Galilee and in the city of Jerusalem the visions of this book were talked of and dwelt upon as naught else in the Sacred Scriptures.

It may seem a strange statement, when I assert that the popular beliefs of the mass of the people throughout Christendom to-day come more from this one short book, the last to have been written, than from all the other books of the Old Testament taken together. And yet to-day it is largely a book which is handed over to the children. It ranks, to a certain extent, with the Book of Jonah. If I asked you offhand what comes up to your mind as a picture from your childhood recollections of the Bible next to the story of Jonah, you would probably say, "Why, it is Daniel in the lions' den."

You know, of course, that it is of the book of "Daniel" that I am speaking. Now, in this book you see the age of transition plainly written there. The cue is before us. In this book we have the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, the belief in immortality, the judgment day and the scheme of angelology. It is there that we read of angels and archangels, and it is there that we come upon that singular phrase which is to mean so much, "The Son of Man." It is a book of prophecy and nothing else, designed to foretell the future and to announce what was to come.

In it we see the Messianic Expectations much further advanced than we find them in the older prophets. In fact, it is a new and changed world into which we are introduced when we come upon this Book of Daniel. It should have gone with the Apocrypha and not have ranked with the grand old prophets of Israel. You remember the dreams and visions which you find there and of the interpretations put upon them. The author revels in mystical numbers; and the book has been, and is to-day, a perfect gold mine for cranks of

all shapes and kinds. They have turned its words inside out, and have found endless meanings in them; they love this book as they love nothing else in the whole Bible. I know not how many new sects may have arisen because of the fanciful interpretations put upon the mystical prophecies of Daniel.

The author writes as if living in the time of the Exile at Babylon, whereas, as we know practically for a certainty, the book was written hundreds of years after the Exile—probably about 160 years before the Christian era.

Along with this Book of Daniel should go another which probably had even greater influence on the masses of the people of the age preceding the coming of Jesus, but which for some reason was never taken into the canon of Sacred Scripture. It goes under the name of "The Blessing of Enoch." As for this book it is a marvel to the curious and well worth perusal if one has the time for such reading. It "out-Daniels Daniel," and gives visions galore. It is something of a pity that this book has not been preserved in our Bible, so that we might have the connecting links between the Old and the New Testament all before us. We should then understand better what the masses of the people were thinking about at the time of the Christian era; because we must remember that Jesus spoke to the people and had little influence over the priesthood or the philosophers in Judea or Jerusalem. Only, therefore, as we understand what the people were thinking about at that time, can we understand Jesus and the rise of Christianity.

We must remember that it is possible for persons theoretically to take a whole literature, as all alike sacred, thinking of it all as the inspired word of God. But when you get right down into the hearts of such persons, you will usually find that only about a quarter of that whole literature appeals to them. The rest they accept theoretically, but make little use of. This is true to-day of Christendom with regard to the Bible, including the New Testament. And it was true at the time of the Christian era in regard to the Bible

existing then, the Old Testament. The attention of the masses of the people at that time, who theoretically believed in the whole of the Sacred Scriptures, was upon one very small portion of these Scriptures.

By turning back to the one Apocalypse of that age which is at hand, that of Daniel, I need scarcely more than mention it in order to revive it in your memories. You recollect the vision of the statue of which Nebuchadnezzar dreamed—the head of fine gold, the breast and arms of silver, the thighs of brass, the legs of iron and the feet part of iron and part of clay. You remember, too, the explanation of that famous handwriting on the wall and the interpretation, “Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting.” You will recall the vision of the “Beasts” and of the “Ancient of Days” whose garment was white as snow. And you remember the language of the prophet as he says :

“I saw in the night visions, and behold there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom that all the peoples, nations and languages should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.”

We come upon these mystical numbers where the prophet says :

“Seventy weeks are decreed upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish transgression and to make an end of sins and to make reconciliation for iniquity and to bring in everlasting righteousness and to seal up vision and prophecy and to anoint the most holy. Know therefore, and discern that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto the Anointed One—the Prince—shall be seven weeks; and three score and two weeks it shall be built again, with street and moat even in troublous times.”

The book closes, you remember, with a suggestion of a judgment day :

“At that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble such as there never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall

be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."

Now it may, or may not surprise you to learn that this Book of Daniel had a great deal more to do with the Messianic Expectation as it existed at the time of the Christian era, than all the rest of the Bible taken together.* Along with it, of course, should be classed that other book, "The Blessing of Enoch." In point of fact, a whole literature was extant at the time, which probably had much more influence on the minds of the people, than the sacred books of the priesthood or the church. It was then perhaps even as now; scholars and the people may nominally have the same religion, but their interpretation of it will be quite different and make it seem like two religions.

I am coming, you see, to the subject which interests us most in that age, the rise of the Messianic Expectation. How did it come? You will say, perhaps, that the Old Testament is full of it. Strangely enough, the Jewish Rabbis at the time of the Christian era said the same thing. There is a tradition of one of these Rabbis having said that: "The prophets prophesy of nothing else save the Messiah."

Yet I must assert that if it were not for the Book of Daniel, we should scarcely have a hint as to the rise of the Messianic Expectation, at the time of the birth of Jesus in Judea. The great point to bear in mind, is just this: Among the older prophets, the great prophets of Israel, the Messianic Expectation was not so much with regard to a person, as with regard to the people of Israel themselves. What they talked of and dreamed of, and looked forward to, and pointed out to the people, was the new Jerusalem which was to come. What they had in mind, was the future kingdom of God on earth, and only incidentally did they talk

*Other scholars, however, are inclined to question whether the Book of Daniel refers so decidedly to a personal Messiah.

of the one who was to bring that kingdom about, or of the personal Deliverer. In so far as they talked of the Anointed One, the Messiah, who was to accomplish this, sometimes they were speaking of an outside king like Cyrus of Persia, and not an Israelite at all, not necessarily a saintly hero of God, but simply an individual whose efforts should work in this direction through the guidance of Providence. It was of the kingdom itself that the old prophets were talking. I venture to say that we should more nearly express the feeling of the prophets if we said that in their thought, the children of Israel themselves were to be the Messiah, rather than any one special anointed hero of God.

The older Messianic Expectation, therefore, was radically different in many ways in its spirit from the Messianic Expectation of the Christian era. In that passage which I read to you from the Second Isaiah there is no reference to a personal Messiah, and probably no reference to such a person in any of his writings. Down to the time of the establishment of the Jewish Church in the year 444 B. C., the dominant note of the Messianic Expectation had been of this other kind. The enthusiasm about the coming of a personal Messiah has to be explained through what took place during that interval of which I am now speaking. The cue to it, as I have said, is in that Apocalyptic literature, an example of which we find in the Book of Daniel.

At the same time, there is the fact before us, that even the scholars of Jerusalem at the time of the coming of Jesus, had begun to see throughout the Sacred Scriptures the prophecy of this Anointed One who was to come as the Redeemer or Deliverer. How shall we explain it? It lies perhaps in one fact I have not yet mentioned to you. In the last century before the Christian era, Hebrew had practically become a dead language. How vital this change was, we can only vaguely appreciate. Down to the time of 444 B. C. the people who founded the restored Jerusalem and were the Israelites of that day, on the whole spoke

the language of the old prophets, the speech of Amos and Hosea, of Isaiah and Jeremiah. The plain, homely, matter-of-fact, direct utterances of these prophets could mean just what the words said to the people who heard them at that time. But during these few hundred years a new language had spread abroad among the people; and at the time of the Christian era the language of the country was Aramaic, and this was the language of Jesus.

The moment a language becomes dead, it takes on a wholly new character; it may lose its simplicity and directness, and admit an element of mysticism which was quite foreign to it at other times. Words themselves become sacred, and peculiar meanings are attributed to them. Hence it is that we can understand why, at the time of the Christian era, the priesthood or the scholars of Israel should have lost much of the clear meaning of their own sacred scriptures. Hence it was that when once this expectation of a personal Messiah had fully taken shape and even won its way among the priesthood or scholars, it was not such a difficult matter for them to go back to their writings and put mystical interpretations upon the sentences or words all the way through, discovering by this means constant references to such a personal Messiah, when the references were not there at all, or only in a slight or vague degree.

Keep in mind the fact, as I have said, that each prophet who had promised hope for the future, had thought of that hope as soon to be realized. And we see now that it had not been fully realized. The new Jerusalem, as they dreamed of it, had not yet come, and hundreds of years had gone by. It was not strange that the Messianic Expectation should have taken another turn.

But the question of all questions arises: What brought the Apocalyptic literature into existence? Why had it taken such a vital hold on the people? Only in answering this question can we explain the new ideas concerning the Messianic Expectation.

It all turns around an epoch in the history of Jerusalem, or of the people of Israel, of which we have no mention whatever, so far as I know, in our Bible. In one sense, we might say, the critical epoch in the history of Judaism was not in the day of the "Judges" after the death of Moses when the Canaanites threatened to exterminate the Israelites who had wandered over into Palestine. It was not even in the days of the kingdom, when the paganism of the Canaanites threatened to conquer the worship of Yahweh, the God of Israel. It was not altogether in the overthrow of Jerusalem and the captivity of the Israelites in Babylon. Nor was it after the restoration of Jerusalem and the contact of Judaism with the other religion of Persia, which seemed ready to fuse with it, if not completely to alter its character. No, the real menace to Judaism came as an influence from the West, from a country which had been in a state of barbarism almost, at the time when the great prophets were speaking. I am thinking, of course, of Greece and of Attic culture.

This "Attic culture" was the most insidious foe which had ever arisen to the religions of the ancient world. What gave it such a disintegrating power we can only dimly understand. It conquered the religion of Rome and the educated people of Rome after the armies of Rome had conquered Greece. It encamped in Egypt, became domesticated there, and overthrew the oldest religion in the world, a religion which had withstood all outside foes for upward of nearly 2,000 years. Why is it that Greek culture did not cause Judaism to disintegrate and go to pieces? It did make the effort. Naught of this, to be sure, is to be found clearly described in the Bible. One of the greatest battles of history was to be fought at this time, far more eventful in its way than the battles fought by the Cæsars, at least so far as the future of religious thought was concerned. It was to be a battle between two spiritual forces.

The reason, humanly speaking, why Judaism did not go under to Greek culture, was because of the

fact that, unlike the methods pursued elsewhere by the new Greek empire established in the East after the death of Alexander the Great, the man who had control over Palestine undertook to wipe out the religion there by violence. It was that effort which saved Judaism. Had the course of events been left to work out their own consequences in Palestine, as in Rome or Egypt, that insidious foe of the old religions of the earlier world might have even killed Judaism.

In that other literature I have spoken of, which used to be bound up with the Bible and went under the name of the Apocrypha, there are two books of history; and in these books we find our cue. Without them we should have no explanation of what went on in that eventful time there. But in the books of the "Maccabees" we learn how for the first time since the overthrow of Jerusalem in 586, a real kingdom was established there, an independent kingdom. It lasted but for a few months only. The leaders had not set out with the idea of establishing a new kingdom. But before they arose there had been woe in the land. As we read in the first chapter of the First Book of the Maccabees.

"There was great mourning in Israel in every place where they were; so that the princes and elders mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of woman was changed; every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness. The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion."

And what was all this about? Why this sorrow in the new Jerusalem? The explanation is contained in the same chapter, where we are told:

"King Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom that all should be one people and every one should leave his laws. So all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king. The king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the seats of Judah that they should follow the strange laws of the land, and forbid burnt offerings and sacrifices and drink offerings in the temple; and that they should profane the Sabbath and festival days; and pollute the sanctuary and holy

people; sacrifice swine's flesh and unclean beasts; to the end they might forget the law and change all the ordinances. And whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king, he should die."

It was an extraordinary policy and the worst one which the king could have tried. The old story repeated itself: Persecution gave still stronger life to the religion of the people. Once more the sifting process was carried out by which only the loyal were to survive in the end and perpetuate the Judaism of old. The people died by the thousands; a whole army of them allowed themselves to be slaughtered without raising a blow in their own defense, because they had been attacked on the Sabbath day. I have not time to tell you the story, how a venerable priest had said:

"Yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion either on the right hand or the left."

And as he said these words, you remember, there came a Jew who had not the courage to refuse and was about to offer sacrifice to the heathen god. And the venerable priest stepped forth and slew the man and slew the king's officer. Then he and his sons fled to the mountains and organized an army of resistance. We know of the battles they fought, of the victories they won. We know of the slaughter which took place, of the kingdom which was temporarily set up under Judas Maccabeus. And we know how he was finally overthrown and the people were conquered. But they were only conquered by a concession on the part of the conqueror that they should be left alone in their religion. Judaism had won. The attack made upon it had put it in open conflict with Greek culture, Greek influences, Greek philosophy. Persecution had saved it from its most dangerous foe.

I tell you this story because we have the best evidence that it was just about this time when the new Apocalyptic literature began to appear. In that awful struggle of the people to save their religion and be

true to the ordinances of their law, the Messianic Expectation underwent a change. The cry went up now for a personal Deliverer, for the Anointed One who should come. They had had the promise of the glorified Jerusalem from the early prophets, and the promise had not yet been realized. It looked now as if Jerusalem itself would go down forever and not appear again in any form, much less as a glorified Jerusalem. Just at the time of the deepest gloom there arose the strongest conviction, not only that a new Deliverer would come and a new Jerusalem would arise, but that they, the people of Israel, were to become the rulers over the whole earth. It seems like a wild dream; but you must remember that it was in the old days. And it is in just such a crisis that people will dream dreams; it may be at the very stage when their cause is the lowest down that they have the wildest hopes of what is to come. At last the Messianic Expectations of a kingdom of God fused with the expectation of a personal Deliverer, of a Messiah, who was to bring that kingdom about.

The new Jerusalem as holding dominion over the whole world, did not come. They lost their fight for freedom and independence, but they won their freedom for their religion. Yet the new dreams had now found their way into the hearts of the people. The visions of "Daniel" spread far and wide.

Then came a new danger to the children of Israel. They had been the victims of the wrath of the king of Babylon; they had been the subjects of the great Persian empire; they had been under the yoke of the new Greek empire set up by Alexander the Great. Now at last they were to fall under the iron hand of Roman despotism. Before the armies of Rome none of the nations could stand up and hold their own. A hundred years had gone by since Daniel had written of his visions. The cause of Israel had reached its lowest ebb, one might say, in the last half century before the Christian era. The kingdom of God had not come; the new Jerusalem had not appeared; the Deliverer was not yet at hand.

But in the presence of the Roman soldiers in Galilee, and in the streets of Jerusalem, when the people were paying their tribute to Cæsar, at the time when they were at their lowest stage of degraded subjection to the Gentile, just at that time the dream of a coming Messiah may have been the strongest. It was talked of in the households of Galilee and among the sages at Jerusalem. We are told, for instance, from outside sources, how at this very time the belief had taken firm hold among the people that they were going to have dominion over the whole earth. It was wild and chimerical, we say. Yet not so strange! The worse the conditions, the wilder the dream—that has been often the fact in history.

The day and the hour had not yet been definitely fixed upon in Judea, but the feeling was growing that the time was nigh at hand.

And at that very time, down in the wilderness of Judea, by the river of Jordan, a new leader appeared. It was a strange figure, uncouth and wild in aspect, "with his raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat was locusts and wild honey." And from him went up the cry: "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." It was "the voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make his paths straight."

In this language of John the Baptist we see the tone of a new prophecy. The line of the great prophets of Israel had not died out. Once more the old spirit of Isaiah and Jeremiah was to flame out and shake the world; yes, shake it to its foundations. The "forerunner" of Jesus had come. Of the new prophecy of Israel I shall speak in the next lecture.

JESUS AND THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Of all the pictures from the Old Masters giving us their ideals or conceptions of the face of Jesus, one of them always stands out to me before all others, as the one which is truest to the portraiture of Jesus in the New Testament. You have all seen photographs of this picture, and some of you have seen the original itself over in Europe. It is not among the list of those paintings giving us Jesus at the time of his sorrow and passion, in the hour of his trial or crucifixion. There is no agony in the face of which I am thinking. The lines are clear and serene. It is a face calm and undisturbed by any feelings save those of a universal kind. It gives us the core of the very being of the man.

The effect is produced in part by contrast. What we have is two faces. The one stands for the world—the outside, the physical, the animal in human nature, the lower self all by itself. And the other is the spiritual face—all soul, as if you saw the inside from the outside.

I am sure you know of what picture I am thinking. It is supposed to record the scene which is looked upon as one of the most surely historic in the whole Bible. The man of the animal type is looking into the eye of Jesus, while he holds a coin in his hand, and is asking the Master, "Shall we render tribute to Cæsar?" And Jesus, looking him in the eye, gives him the well-known answer.

Humanly speaking, Jesus was the last of the prophets, and was a lineal descendant of the prophecy of Israel. The revolution which took place occurred after his death and not before. The reason why there was a revolution rather than a steady, onward movement lay not so much in the teachings of Jesus himself,

perhaps, as in the conditions of the age to which they were presented.

Why there came a revolution, a final split in Jerusalem after the death of Jesus, I shall try to explain in a few words, in what I shall have to say to-day, always leaving it for your choice to assume the additional explanation of theological or supernatural causes as being at work at the same time.

We said that the next great date in the history of the Bible was the year 4 B. C., connected with the birth of Jesus. Out of that event and that life grew up the last portion of the Bible, which we call the New Testament. The first part of this second portion of the Bible deals with the life and teachings of Jesus. You open your New Testament and you will find four short books there, called "Gospels."

What you have in each case is a memoir. The accounts repeat each other, in many instances giving the same words, the same anecdotes. But in most cases there are additional features contained in one book and not found in the others. Not only that, but the sayings of Jesus vary more or less; slight changes in phraseology or additional clauses are to be found there. For instance, to give a slight illustration:

In the gospel "according to St. Luke," you find the words, "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God." It is contained in a collection of sayings in the part of one chapter. You turn back to the gospel "according to St. Matthew," and you will find this same saying as one of the "beatitudes" in the Sermon on the Mount. But it reads, "Blessed are the poor *in spirit*, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Such minor variations are evident all the way through these memoirs, pointing, however, to an original group of sayings which undoubtedly came from the lips of Jesus.

Of these four "Gospels," as they are called, three of them are looked upon as very much alike in character, in giving the same general idea of Jesus; while the fourth, as you know, presents another picture—not necessarily contradictory to that of the other three,

but far different in many ways. It would seem to present a phase of Jesus which was not in the minds of the other writers, or a phase in which they personally took less interest, and to which, therefore, they paid little or no attention. In the fourth gospel, for instance, there is a great deal of emphasis laid on his own personality in the language attributed to Jesus. There is a far more vivid consciousness assumed to be put forward by him with regard to the importance of his own leadership, and the necessity for his disciples of constantly thinking of him as the leader and taking him as a guide. In the other gospels, the guidance is more unconscious; whereas in the fourth gospel it is open and avowed. In the conception of this fourth writer the master is aware of his overwhelming superiority, spiritually and otherwise, even to his disciples, and feels the need of impressing the fact of this superiority upon them.

At this point I must remind you that I cannot give you quite the same general unanimity of opinion concerning the New Testament writings, which I might give you concerning the writings in the Old Testament. Feeling runs high when we come to deal with the last portions of the Bible; and the same scholars who may welcome all that I have said with reference to the Old Testament may, in certain instances, refuse to accept this method of dealing when we come to study the New Testament. Caution at this point is much greater. Yet even here you can see forming a certain growing consensus of opinion among those who take the historical attitude at all. And I shall keep to my assertion that every statement I make could find justification in writers from a number of the orthodox clergy, although they would be fewer in number than those who would accept the statements I have made concerning the Old Testament.

The two gospels, for instance, which had been most often attributed to disciples of Jesus, the first and the last, Matthew and John, are not now regarded as directly having been written by those disciples themselves. As for the Apostle Matthew, it is very largely

asserted by the very best authorities, that what he left as a writing was a collection of the sayings of Jesus. This standpoint is also justified by tradition, because from the earliest times we find reference to the well-known "Logia" or "sayings" of Matthew; and the supposition is that the writer of the first gospel made large use of these sayings, and hence his book came gradually to pass under the name of the Apostle Matthew. The second and third writers, Mark and Luke, are not supposed to have seen Jesus, but to have made collections of what they had heard from others.

In studying these memoirs, what you would have is a sketch, and a sketch only—nowhere a finished picture. What you find would be usually mere lines, only here and there a touch of color, with certain portions scarcely developed at all, where there is not even a single line to help us, or give us a clue.

You know, for instance, that when a biography is written nowadays, the writer goes to work most carefully to study up the boyhood and youth and early manhood of the person whose life he has to tell. He sees what a vital importance there is in tracing up the early growth of mind and heart; observing the surroundings, the family life, even the characteristics of the father and mother. A biography to-day would be almost worthless which did not give us a most careful picture of such surroundings. Without these details we should not look upon it as a biography at all. It would be only a memoir.

Now, as you are aware, we have in these sketches of the life of Jesus in the New Testament, only one short anecdote concerning him from the second year of his life down to the time when he was thirty years of age. And the one anecdote of which I speak, mentioning Jesus incidentally when he was twelve years old, is to be found in only one of these memoirs.

Bear in mind, for instance, that the one of these accounts looked upon as the oldest, the Gospel according to St. Mark, has not a word to say with regard even to the birth of Jesus. It begins its account with the Teacher just setting out on his mission, when

we assume he was about thirty years of age. And this is also true of the fourth and striking gospel, where you have the sketch only of the man, with not even any hint of his early life at all.

As you look over these memoirs you will see that the writers scarcely make a pretense of giving a consecutive account even of the public life of Jesus during the three years of his ministry. You can see most plainly that each one is simply putting down the various anecdotes which had come to him, or stories he had heard of, or precepts which had been reported to him as having been spoken by Jesus. You may run on for a number of pages with a certain degree of order; then the connection will break off entirely, as the narrator starts in with some other phase he wishes to introduce, or some other teachings which he desires to record. Only of the last few days in the life of Jesus, or the last few weeks, have we any continuous account in any of these memoirs.

All four of the gospels together make up only about eighty-two pages of the Bible, and if you were to eliminate all repetitions you would practically have the whole of the sketch contained within about twenty-five or thirty pages—and this of the Founder of Christianity, the leader of the greatest religious revolution which ever took place in the world's history.

Whether this is to be regretted is, at least, a debatable point. It has left room for the idealizing tendency of the human consciousness; and if a Providence planned the writing of the Scriptures and the whole scheme of the Bible, I am not sure that such a Providence could have used a better method than that of leaving only a sketch, and having the picture filled out little by little through the responses which the heart of man himself has made to the hints or suggestions which the "lines" awaken.

Bear in mind, further, that a biography is never a true biography, that a picture is never a true picture, in the sense of being complete. There is no use in ever expecting to have a complete picture or an absolutely accurate picture of any life, if that life has amounted to

anything. I am doubtful whether it would have been of any service to human history, therefore, if there had been a far more complete picture given of this Last of the Prophets. It remained for the genius in the great heart of man to go on completing it from age to age. St. Augustine added something to it; Thomas a' Kempis put more into it. The men who designed the great cathedral-architecture of the old world, they put a great deal into it. And more came from Michael Angelo and Raphael, the old masters of Europe. Martin Luther added something to it, and so, also, have the scholars of the nineteenth century. And so the sketch has gone on and on, being further developed all the while, and those who choose to believe that Providence or a God is speaking there in that life, can still hold to the belief that it was the method of Providence that the sketch should be filled out in just this way.

I emphasize this point because it is so important. If a man were to come from the planet Mars and to study human speech here on earth, and were first to read the memoirs in the New Testament and then suddenly to step over eighteen centuries of time and look at the conceptions of Christianity at the close of the nineteenth century, it might be all utterly incomprehensible to him. He could say, and say truly, "But what you give me now, I do not find in these memoirs." The only answer to offer him would be, "Yes, but the memoirs are a sketch, and the human heart has been filling out the sketch during the succeeding ages."

It is not my purpose to go into the subject of the historic trustworthiness of the gospels. That is a side phase of my problem. We have the best of evidence that these memoirs developed somewhat gradually, like the historic records of the Old Testament. Only, the development in this case was much more rapid, so that while the historic documents of the Old Testament were five or six hundred years in taking their shape, we have pretty good reason for thinking that these memoirs were in existence within about a hundred years after the death of Jesus. They did not stop

growing even then. Additions must have crept into them with changes here and there, for four hundred years after. We are not sure, for instance, that we have the Pentateuch exactly as it was put forward by Ezra in the year 444 B. C. It went on growing or being changed for two or three hundred years, but not to a very large extent. So in these memoirs, additions must have been made, and we have the open acknowledgment of this fact in the last revisions of the English Bible, where you will find, for instance, one well-known and very striking story in the Gospel of John, which has been placed in brackets in the revised version. Why? Because it was not found in that famous text I told you about, discovered at Mount Sinai in the middle of the 19th century; a text which is looked upon as having come from the time four or five hundred years after Christ. Hence even then, and from that time on, a tendency prevailed for incorporating new portions, or making slight interpolations in the text.

The same is true with regard to the earliest gospel of the four, that of "Mark." In your revised version, for instance, you will observe that the eleven verses at the end of that gospel are separated by a space from the rest, with the explanation in the margin, that these verses were not found in the two oldest Greek manuscripts, which includes the one manuscript I have just mentioned.

So it is, for instance, in the well-known Lord's Prayer. In your childhood, as well as mine, I suppose you were accustomed to reciting the close of it as you found it in the Sermon on the Mount in your English Bible, "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever." You turn to the "revised version" issued by the English church, and these words are not there at all, not even with brackets. The revisers simply had to leave them out.

Yet all these are not such radical changes; for the most part, as I say, these memoirs as we have them now, had practically come into existence by about the end of the first century of the Christian era.

The more one studies the gospels, or these memoirs, just by themselves, the more one is inclined to feel that what Jesus inaugurated was a spiritual movement or tendency, rather than any new philosophy or new metaphysics. You can feel a certain element of unity in these memoirs, even where you cannot write it down in language. The basis of a creed as such is not there. I am inclined to doubt, if we had had only these memoirs from the New Testament whether there would have ever arisen any creed for Christianity.

You may ask: What do we find that is distinctively new in the teachings in these memoirs? I must answer: Not a great deal. This will appear strange, perhaps startling, to some of you. If there was practically little that was new in the teachings, how did there come about a revolution through the influence of Jesus?

Those who have studied the history of religion will be able to answer the question for themselves. New philosophical movements start from a certain number of new teachings in philosophy. But new religious movements spring more from the element of personality. It is the *man* who starts the religious movement. It comes from his whole soul and being, rather than from just his intellectual side.

As for the teachings themselves, in these memoirs, it would be possible to assign them quite largely to their respective sources. The famous golden rule had already been spoken by one of the Jews, by the name of Hillel; and it exists, as you know, in its negative form in the ancient teachings of the Chinese sage, Confucius. The pictures of the judgment day are largely drawn from previous apocalyptic sources in Jewish literature. And a good deal of the spirit of the new movement came straight from the old Hebrew precepts. Some of the teachings can be traced to sources in Greek literature.

Then what is left for Jesus himself? you may ask, even as you asked with regard to Moses. I answer once more: Go study religious history. If all the various elements are there out of which a new religious

movement may be inaugurated, why does the movement not always come? The situation may be ready, yet the movement may not come at all. If every single thought uttered by Jesus could have been found in the teachings circulating in Palestine at the time of the Christian era, and if Jesus himself had not come, would there have been such a revolution as I speak of? Not by any manner of means!

No, there was the subtle influence of personality. You cannot explain this; you can only call it by name. Teachings of many kinds may be floating round indefinitely among a people but they only become one teaching, one tendency or one spirit, when they fuse into a unit in one living soul.

Even if we only have a faint sketch of a man's life and thought in these memoirs or gospels, by the laws of history we should know that an extraordinary personality had been there. The mighty prophetic movement of the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian era had not been an impersonal movement, an uprising of abstract thought surging through the masses of the people. No, it was the men whom we call the prophets, through whom that movement came. It developed out of a few individual souls.

This much we should know, therefore, by the laws of history, that a rare, unique personality lived at the time of the Christian era, through whom the thoughts and teachings afloat in Palestine at the time fused into a new religion.

It rests for me now in a few words, if I can, to describe this movement in relation to the conditions of the time. You will then be able to see why it was that a revolution came about through the new tendency inaugurated by Jesus, and why it was not just simply an advance movement within Judaism itself.

I have told you that when the exiles returned from Babylon they brought with them a definite religion, the religion of Judaism; and along with it a canon of Scripture including the Ten Commandments, and made up chiefly of what we term "The Pentateuch." In the

spirit of that religion they restored Jerusalem and founded the Jewish Church.

Now it must be borne in mind that a religion like Judaism has a number of phases. But as time goes on, all the phases of a religion do not remain in equal importance. Inevitably one or more of them outstrip the others and take supersedence in the hearts of the people, or in the attention of the teachers of the people.

Whether anyone could have foretold at that time just what phases of Judaism would have come into prominence a few centuries after, I very much doubt. You may anticipate the movements of the planets, but it is hard to anticipate what is going to take place in the spiritual life of a people. Now in the Judaism brought back after the exile, there was the spirit of the old prophecy, with its exalted conception of the true worship of Jehovah through conduct and life, through gentleness of spirit, through love and faithfulness to the duties of life, with a clinging to a certain one only, supreme God as a "God of Israel." Then, again, there was a second phase which had been touched upon by the prophets, but not made so much of by them. It was the importance to be laid by the people upon their separateness or exclusiveness, as a race.

On the other side was a third phase, according to which a form of ritual worship of Yahweh was to be established. The people might not worship their God by means of an image, but they were to show their devotion by carrying out certain forms, keeping certain laws, making offerings or sacrifices. In the Decalogue, as you are aware, there is only one of the ten commandments which has reference to that kind of worship. It is found in the fourth commandment with regard to keeping the Sabbath Day holy.

These were the three phases of the older Judaism. The sublime monotheism of the prophets with the ethical conception of what true worship of God consisted in; the standpoint of separateness or exclusiveness for the people of Israel; and in the third place a code of ritual, according to which the people were to worship God. Which of the phases was to become predomi-

nant? You know which one really triumphed. Had it been the phase inaugurated by the prophets, there would have been no special occasion for the appearance of Jesus. But bear in mind, as I have told you, that the first code of scripture in the year 444 B. C. did not even include the teachings of the prophets; it consisted mainly of the historic books with the ritualistic code of law. The first thing that the new leaders did was to set up the standpoint of exclusiveness.

They demanded that the people should put away even their wives, if their wives were not Hebrews. It was a severe test to be applied. Some of the people yielded; others refused; and so it happened that the leaders who refused went off and founded a separate kingdom, and hence came "Samaria." But by that step, the principle of exclusiveness became supreme in the Jewish Church. And I remind you again that, humanly speaking, if this principle had not been established, perhaps the ethical monotheism would have perished. Even the prophets had taught it and it was essential at that time. The trouble is that a measure once started and established, with a definite purpose in view, may become so fixed and rigid that when the purpose has been accomplished, you cannot change the measure. Now it so happened that the more established the ethical monotheism became and the less was the absolute need of a rigid exclusiveness, curiously enough, the more rigid or firm that spirit of exclusiveness became, and it was at its very height at the time of the Christian era.

In the second place we see how, little by little, the enthusiasm of the priests and people more and more centered around the ritual, the code of law, and less and less around the spirit of the old prophecy. If you want one single cue to the appearance of Jesus and the revolution brought about through his teachings, you have it in this single fact of the triumph of Formalism, or Externalism, in the religious life of the Hebrew people.

What man could have foreseen that the fourth commandment in the Decalogue would have assumed more

importance, perhaps, than all the other nine commandments taken together; that more emphasis would fall upon the careful observance of the Sabbath day than on the avoidance of stealing, or lying, or murder, or covetousness?

At the dawn of the Christian era prophecy was sadly in the back ground, and the priestly attitude overwhelmingly in the foreground. The chief purpose in reading the prophets at that time was in order to find indications of the coming Messiah. But the judgments, the awful ethical judgments of the prophets, appeared to have lost their significance.

Let me give you some illustrations of the emphasis on forms or formalism of the code of law at the time of Jesus. The commandment about keeping holy the Sabbath day would appear to be simple enough as we find it in the Decalogue. It said that people were not to work on that day. But this was not enough. It had to be told just what kind of work one might and might not do. There were, therefore, thirty-nine kinds of work which the rabbis had decided were forbidden on the seventh day. The amount of time and thought required in deciding just what one might or might not do on the Sabbath was almost enough to exhaust one's whole life. It was determined just how far one might walk on foot on the seventh day, according to distance of cubits. It was decided exactly what amount of cooking was to be allowed, or what sort of housework was permissible. "Bread might not be put into the oven in the twilight, nor cakes upon the coals, unless their surface could harden while it was still day." But how much was implied in the word "surface" was a question raised. And the answer comes, "If there is only time for the under surface to harden."

The caution even went further in forbidding the people to "read by lamplight on the Sabbath or to cleanse clothing from vermin." It was prescribed that on the Sabbath day "One might not climb a tree, ride upon a horse, clap with the hands or dance." A great deal of discussion evolved around the point as to whether it

would be allowable to extinguish a light on the Sabbath day. The question arose as to whether a crippled man "could go out on his wooden leg"; one authority allows it, but another does not. As for extinguishing a light because one is afraid of robbers or the evil spirit, or for the sake of a sick person that he might sleep, that was permissible. If it were done, however, in order to save the oil, the lamp or the wick, then it was wicked.

Do not overlook the fact that all this was not regarded as new teaching. Oh, no, they found it all, somehow, in the teachings of Moses; they managed to get it out of the original "Law."

If there was extraordinary formalism with regard to keeping the Sabbath day, so also we find the same formalism, or externalism, with regard to prayer.

Of all forms of worship the one which is most distinctly spiritual is prayer. I wish I had the time to give you some notion of what the teachings on this subject had come to. One important phase of prayer was "grace" connected with food. It had to be determined just when the words should be said. There had to be different forms of prayer according to the kind of food which was eaten. There was one to be used for the fruit of trees, another for wine, another for fruits of the ground, for bread, or vegetables, for vinegar, for locusts, milk, cheese, eggs. If, for instance, one had eaten three kinds of food—figs, grapes and pomegranates—at the same meal, he had to say three separate prayers; the one befitting the figs, the one for grapes and the one for the pomegranates. The question came up "For how much food a prayer was requisite." If, for instance, you put a crumb of bread in your mouth was it necessary to say a prayer? On this point there was a good deal of dispute. One authority said food the size of an olive; another said food the size of an egg. Still another question was raised on this point: Suppose one had forgotten to say grace when eating, and happened to think of it afterward, up to what time should he then say grace? And the answer came "Till the food is digested."

This is enough to give you an idea of what was going on in the spiritual life of the people of Jerusalem at the time of the Christian era. Do not for a moment assume that it was all like this. We have accounts of many beautiful souls in those days, who had another spiritual life quite unlike that which was according to such formalism or externalism. But this was the kind which had the powerful hold on the people. The men who obeyed all these precepts were, as a rule, the men who were looked up to and revered by the average Hebrew citizen in Palestine at this time, especially in that part of Palestine centering around Jerusalem.

Now you know what all this means, plainly enough. The old Judaism of the exile had gone off on a tangent. The men who inaugurated those commands meant them for a purpose. If the flesh of swine was forbidden as food, it was because they assumed, and perhaps with reason at the time, that swine's flesh was an injury to the health. And inasmuch as in those days all laws, whether political, social or religious, were brought under one category, the command against eating swine's flesh was made not only a health law but a religious law. The trouble then is, that after a time, when the conditions in regard to health laws change, these same laws may keep their hold because they have received the sanction of religion. Their purpose has come to an end, but by having become a law of the church they receive a mystical significance. In the original sense, for instance, one served God by keeping one's body healthy, and one kept one's body healthy in part by not eating of the flesh of swine. Now let that middle phase or purpose be lost sight of or changed, and then you have it reading as if one served God directly by not eating the flesh of swine. When you have reached that condition, you will come to a stage which only revolution can alter.

So it was with the Sabbath day. Those who instituted it saw the reason for it. In the first place it was essential to the health of the body that there should be a day of rest. In the second place it was essential in order that the spiritual life should have some oppor-

tunity for culture. Therefore, in its original form, the commandment would have read this way: One serves God by cultivating one's spiritual life, and one cultivates one's spiritual life by setting apart one day and not working on that day. Now drop out the middle link and you have the condition of formalism: One serves God by not working on the Sabbath day.

That was not the purpose of the Sabbath day at all. But when, under certain circumstances, the middle link drops out in the minds of the people you have a complete change in the religious conceptions. The commandment which had been only a means, becomes now an end in itself. Not working on the Sabbath day, even if you do nothing to build up your spiritual life, becomes a mystical way of serving God.

But under any circumstances you know the conditions. In Palestine at the time of the Christian era there were three great sects. These sects had no existence at the time the Jewish Church was first established. The popular school of teachers in Jerusalem, however, was the one which reveled in this formalism.

In this account I think I have given you the cue to the rise of Christianity. The coming of Jesus, in a word, again humanly speaking, was simply a reappearance of the old prophetic spirit. It had been dormant for a long time in Israel. But a spirit like that, once inaugurated, may sleep, but it never dies. The birth of Christianity is to be attributed to the old antithesis between priest and prophet. And Jesus stood for the old prophetic spirit of Israel. In him again it was rather "Thus saith the Lord" than "thus said Moses." The cue to the movement inaugurated by Jesus lies in the revulsion which had to come against this formalism or externalism as it had triumphed for a time in Palestine.

In the midst of this curious externalism and formalism, with the emphasis on hair-splitting distinctions about prayers, Sabbath-day keeping, fasting, cleanliness, the kinds of food one was to eat or avoid, as if that made the whole of religion—in the midst of all this, the new voice appeared and the new personality.

And what was the attitude with which this formalism was met? Was it mainly by a series of ethical judgments such as the old prophets uttered? No, it was something else. The new spirit was rather one of what we should call humanitarianism. And it was a teaching which utterly baffled the rabbis of Jerusalem. Its purpose was to shift the religious interests of the people along other lines; not to overwhelm them with denunciations, but to console and comfort them with another ethical teaching. It was the indifference of Jesus to the formalism, rather than his attacks upon it, which brought down the wrath of the leaders of the people. He triumphed over it, not by denunciations like the old prophets, but by a certain spiritual aloofness from it. He cut the old formalism in two with one single statement, and threw the commandments back on their original purpose. It was when he said: "*The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath.*" There was nothing new in this. It was through and through the spirit of the teachings of the old prophets. It was simply the prophet in antithesis to the priest.

But the rabbis could not see it. They were studying the prophetic writings not for their ethical import, but in order to discover forecasts of the future. Yet all over Palestine was to be heard this other attitude: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's."

The dominant feature of the new teaching of Jesus was its strange, incomprehensible attitude of submissiveness. Amidst all that spirit of hate which reigned so much throughout Judea, hate among the sects or classes of the Hebrews themselves, common hate against the soldiers or legions of the Roman Empire, hate for the Gentile or anything non-Jewish, came this strange teaching of "Love your enemies: Bless them that curse you: Bless and curse not. Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow, they toil not neither do they spin; yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. The life is more than meat and the body than raiment."

We are back again to the old subjective religion, back to the prophetic idea of worship as something which comes out of the heart or through the life, rather than in obedience to a code of laws.

Explain Jesus I cannot, any more than I can explain the coming of the other great prophets. He belongs to the mysteries of which I speak, and which neither science nor philosophy can account for. Why the prophetic spirit should have revived at this time, why it should have appeared once more in Jesus, I must leave for you to decide for yourselves. As to whether Jesus ever personally himself asserted his Messiahship, it has been denied by one class of scholars and asserted by another class. And both classes of scholars have been men of distinction and trustworthiness. Between them I do not care to decide.

Had Jesus remained in Galilee, where he was born and grew up, he might never have been a martyr, but when he went to Jerusalem it was another matter. The calm indifference of the man to all that legalism or formalism which had been built up by the rabbis was like a blow in their faces. And at last it did come to open rupture. Once we find that Jesus did speak out, and the woes which he pronounced on the Pharisees will never be forgotten. In those woes there is absolutely nothing new. They are simply the reappearances of the old prophetic spirit. They could have been spoken by Amos or Hosea, Isaiah or Jeremiah. He is speaking of the Pharisees as he says:

“Yea, they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men’s shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with the finger. But all their works they do for to be seen of men!”

“Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe the mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, judgment and mercy and faith. But these ye ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain out the gnat, and swallow the camel.”

“Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full from extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee,

cleanse first the inside of the cup and the platter, that the outside thereof may become clean also."

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. Even so, ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but inwardly ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity."

Had such a tone been taken long before this era, had it come in its full might two centuries previous, perhaps it would have given rise to a universalized Judaism rather than a new religion. But now it was too late; the lines had become rigid. This formalism or externalism had had 150 years in which to make its way.

Why all this should have led to the martyrdom of Jesus we shall never fully understand. The history here must remain in part unrecorded. When we come down to the plain matter-of-fact history, I think the evidence is pretty clear that the influence of Jesus was mainly on a few persons. And it was those few who founded and spread the new religion. It is doubtful for instance, whether five years after the death of Jesus there were more than 2,000 or 3,000 out-and-out acknowledged followers of the new religion. But the spirit for it had begun and nothing could stop it. First came the man, then came the literature. After Jesus comes the New Testament.

NEW TESTAMENT; ITS GROWTH AND COMPLETION

In coming to speak of the growth and completion of the Bible as we have it to-day, I am sorry that what I shall have to say must be largely a dry statement of facts and dates. There will be little time for me to talk about the contents of this last portion of our great Sacred Literature, or as to what is really contained within the Bible. If, however, you are going to read the Bible understandingly, you can only do it by knowing something of its history. And I am trying to lay such a foundation of history in your minds, so that when you come to this literature yourselves, or read it once more, you may be able to enter more appreciatively into its spirit.

This portion of the Bible goes under the name of the New Testament. The word "Testament" would perhaps better have been "Covenant." The distinction between the names of the Old and New Testaments grew up after the Scriptures had been completed, through the conception of Christianity as involving a kind of new covenant between the Deity and the human race—a covenant which had done away with the old one which had really been with the Deity and the Hebrew race. A suggestion for this would scarcely be found in the memoirs telling us of the life or teachings of Jesus, but grew rather, out of the writings or teachings which we find in the "Epistles."

As you know, the tendency among the scholars with regard to the historical trustworthiness of many portions of the New Testament and the traditions to be found there, has been somewhat reactionary. The older school, starting mainly in Germany, somewhere about the middle of our century, was rather iconoclastic.

A tendency was inaugurated at that time to look upon the books of the New Testament as being much

later in time than tradition had supposed, belonging perhaps, most of them, to the second century. On this score, as I have said, within the last few years the attitude has been reactionary, not so much with regard to the authorship of the books in the New Testament, but as to the time when these books were written. There is a growing opinion among the best scholars that quite a portion of the New Testament belongs strictly within the first century of the Christian era, and that tradition was not so far out in placing the New Testament at the time before the first century had come to an end.

This attitude naturally emphasizes the importance of the personal influence of Jesus himself and makes a great deal more of what he accomplished on earth; whereas the former attitude in the middle of the century, attributed far more to the followers of Jesus who came in the next one or two generations after him.

This last portion of the Bible, which we call the New Testament, as you are aware, is made up first of four memoirs of Jesus, called the "Gospels," of which I spoke in my last lecture. Then you have one book describing the acts of the Apostles of Jesus for a few years after his death, but confining the attention for the most part to the work of only two or three of the disciples or apostles, chiefly the new apostle Saint Paul. Following this, you have a series of books, about twenty-one in number, called "Epistles." These consist of documents in the form of letters of counsel, advice or suggestions, by different individuals, written usually to special churches. They are therefore quite unlike the old Prophets. The spirit of the prophets is to be found in the memoirs, or "Gospels" rather than in the Epistles.

These letters as a rule were written directly to special churches, and the authors were addressing themselves to particular questions which may have been submitted to them, or to special conditions of some particular church. It is very important therefore in studying these Epistles not to attribute too universal

a character to them. A good deal which they contain is only to be fully understood by knowing what brought out the statements of the writers. But it is in these Epistles that you find the development of the doctrinal side of Christianity. It is here that you come upon the theories of the Atonement; and it is in these Epistles where you strike the great emphasis which was coming to be laid upon the *death* of Jesus, as if that death had a peculiar, mystical significance.

This point is most important in understanding the early growth of the church. In the first century there was evidently much less attention paid to the life of Jesus than to the significance of his death and the resurrection.

At the end of the New Testament, we come upon another document wholly unlike either the Epistles or the Gospels. It used to go under the name of the "Apocalypse," but nowadays it bears the name of "The Book of Revelation." It is very much of the same character as those Apocalypses which had grown up during the last two hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era. It suggests the book of "Daniel" or the "Book of Enoch," and unquestionably has reference to the expectation of the downfall of the Roman Empire and the coming of the New Kingdom of Heaven with the return of Jesus. It is in this book where you have the beautiful sentiments of the picture of the final rest to come to the righteous, of "A pure river of water of life, clear as a crystal," and of a place where it is said "There shall be no night there; they need no candle, neither light of the sun." It is in these chapters where we hear of the "Holy City, New Jerusalem coming down from God out of Heaven." And we read of the time when "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away."

As to this last Book of Revelation, a pretty strong opinion has developed to the effect that it is not, or was not, an original work, by a follower of the new

Prophet; but that quite large portions of it come directly from Jewish sources, from those Apocalypses which had become so popular in the Jewish Church during that epoch I have spoken of; and that what the author did, was to work it over, remodel it, make a number of additions, and give it a strictly Christian form. But whatever may have been its origin, it became, later on, a very vital part of the new Christianity. Yet, for several hundred years this book hung in doubt and there was more scruple as to the justification for making it a part of the Sacred Scriptures of Christianity than in regard to any of the other books of the New Testament. Indeed, it came very near not getting into the Bible at all.

It is a striking fact that none of this literature is written in the language of Jesus—the Aramaic. Nor is it in the language of the Prophets, the Hebrew. It is in “Greek” that it has come down to us; so that it is all “second hand” by its very language.

As to the New Testament, there are a number of facts which must be kept carefully before the attention in order to appreciate the significance of this portion of the Bible. In the first place there is a strong opinion among the best scholars that we have not a single writing in the New Testament coming from any one who had ever seen or lived with Jesus. We think of the New Testament in a way, as the foundation of Christianity, as the Bible of the Early Church. You might fancy yourself going back to the early times and entering an assembly of the followers of Jesus on a Sunday, possibly in the City of Rome about 75 years after Jesus’ death, and you would probably expect to see there a scroll of writings brought forward with reverence, as being the Sacred Scriptures of the new church and consisting of the New Testament. But you would have seen nothing of the kind. Not until about the year 150 A. D. do we come upon a feeling among the disciples of Jesus that they had a New Scripture, sacred and inspired in the sense in which what we now call the Old Testament was looked upon as sacred or inspired. In round numbers, there-

fore, we must fix upon the year 200 as about the time when the new church began to recognize that it had its own class of Sacred Scriptures apart from the writings of the Old Testament.

Furthermore, I must remind you that we have no evidence that there was anything like a real memoir of Jesus, such as we have in any of the four Gospels, existing for an entire generation after the death of Jesus. A generation, in round numbers, thirty-three years, is, however, a pretty long time. The oldest books of the New Testament, therefore, in all probability are not the Gospels, but a number of these Epistles. Tradition has ascribed thirteen or fourteen of these Epistles to the great apostle Paul, who, probably with the possible exception of Peter, had more influence than any other one man in the first generation after the death of Jesus in spreading Christianity. But this tradition with regard to the authorship of these epistles has gone to pieces. So much so, indeed, that in my "Teacher's Bible," which is, of course, conservative to the highest degree, we see that one of these epistles, that to the "Hebrews," although in the text itself bearing the heading, "The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews," in the notes in the end stands separate and not under the list of the Epistles written by the Apostle Paul. When the great problems arose in connection with the Higher Criticism in the middle of the century, four of these epistles were left as unquestionably having been written by Paul himself; and these four probably constitute the oldest portion of the New Testament, written somewhere about the middle of the first century. The four I have in mind are the two to the Church at Corinth, called the First and Second Corinthians; and one to the Church at Rome and another to the Church at Galatia—these two bearing the name, "To the Romans" and "To the Galatians."* In these Epistles you see the birth of doctrinal Christianity.

*Epistle to Philippians is now generally regarded as Paul's, and this admission brings in also Colossians, Ephesians (at least as a working over of a Pauline original). Philemon, also First and Second Thessalonians, are now admitted by very many.

To be sure, within the last ten or fifteen years, scholars of high standing in Holland and Switzerland have even begun to doubt the authorship of these four epistles, and until their standpoint has been further threshed out we cannot be sure with regard to them. But the probability is pretty strong in favor of these four writings, as I have said, being the oldest portion of the New Testament. Recently, however, a great German scholar by the name of Zahn has made another stir by asserting that the oldest portion of the New Testament was the "Epistle of James." If this were true it would give us a radically different impression of primitive Christianity from that usually received.

Another point to which I want to call your attention is that it looks pretty certain that the authors of these Epistles and of the last of the books in the New Testament, had not read the Gospels or Memoirs of Jesus, which we find there in the New Testament. How do we know that? you ask. Well, I give you one pretty good piece of evidence. If you turn to these memoirs, you will find over and over again how Jesus was accustomed to speak of himself as the "Son of Man." * It reads like a classical phrase and must have been used over and over again by Jesus with regard to himself. How, then, do you account for the fact that in not one single instance do you find this phrase with regard to Jesus anywhere in all the rest of the New Testament? Had the writers of the Epistles been familiar with these Memoirs, surely they could not have ignored so striking a form of speech as we have in that phrase coming from the lips of Jesus. The fact of it is, in the first years after the crucifixion interest centered more and more on the one fact of the Messiahship of Jesus, rather than on his life and general teachings. Hence before the next generation had gone by, the

*Now regarded by many as a Messianic title adopted by Jesus from Daniel 7.

one great thought of the people was on the mystical significance of his death and resurrection.

Does it not seem passing strange that those who had known Jesus should not have set to work to write up his life, and record all that they knew about him, for future generations? The question leads me to another statement as a practical certainty, and it is to the effect that not one of the writers of the books of the New Testament could have had any notion that he was drafting something which was to become a part of a future "Bible." Not one of them was writing with the idea of preparing something to be handed down to future ages. In every instance we can be practically sure that what was written was written for a purpose. If a new Gospel or a new Memoir was prepared, it was drawn up with the idea of correcting certain misapprehensions with regard to Jesus, which the author felt were prevalent among certain classes of people. In each instance these books must therefore have been put forth with an eye to certain conditions of the time.

We come back to the other question, the reason for this? Why it was that no Memoirs of any consequence arose for a generation after the death of Jesus; and why it was that not a single writer thought of preparing something to hand down to future ages as a part of a new Sacred Scripture? The answer is pretty clear.

If you had been much interested in Bible problems a year or two ago, and had been in the cities in the East, like New York or Philadelphia, or Boston, and had been standing in book stores where theological literature was placed out for sale, and it had been a Monday forenoon, the chances are you would have seen knots of clergymen standing together and talking in a rather agitated voice over something which had recently happened. About two years ago there was a mild form of earthquake in the folds of orthodoxy in this country. A writer of high rank as a scholar in an orthodox seminary, had given a plain intimation in one of the chapters of a recent book

by him, that Jesus himself had been misled with regard to one of his own expectations; that Jesus himself had looked upon the end of the world as pretty near, and pointed to his own second coming as not far away, perhaps within the lives of those around him. Whether this statement is true or not, I am not concerned to decide. It is not of much consequence. After the mild earthquake had subsided, even the orthodox found it was not necessarily inconsistent with their views about Jesus from their standpoint.

But be this as it may, the main point is that beyond any question throughout the Christian churches of the first century there was a very strong conviction that the New Jerusalem was soon to come, and with it was to come the reappearance of Jesus and the Judgment Day. With them it was only a matter of years. Not for a moment could they consider that it could be a matter of centuries. Opinions differed as to whether there was to be a destruction of the earth at once, and a passing of the righteous over to a Judgment Day and a Heaven, or whether Jesus was first to come back to the *earth* and set up a new kingdom; a new kingdom of Love—a kingdom of Justice and Righteousness in this world.

One or the other of these beliefs was very strong everywhere. And this fact of itself explains why the interest of the early followers of Jesus centered so much on two or three facts, such as his Messiahship, his death and the expectation of his second coming. If that Judgment Day was soon coming and Jesus was ere long to reappear, what use for memoirs telling of his life? What use for more Sacred Scripture? What use for preparing anything to be handed down to future ages? The main desire was to meet and talk with the teachers of the new church, and get advice or suggestions from these teachers. Letters of counsel or admonition would be necessary, no matter how soon the end of the world was coming. And hence it was that these "Epistles" naturally became the first material of a New Testament.

There are most beautiful passages in these Epistles. I could give you the choicest collection of ethical precepts which mortal man could ask for, made up from these "letters" which we find in the middle portion of the New Testament. Yet half or perhaps three-fourths of what you would find there is doctrinal material, or advice or suggestions with regard to special issues raised in the particular church to which the letter is addressed.

Then, you ask, if we are pretty well assured that most of these books in the New Testament were not written by the men to whom tradition ascribes them, who were the authors? Where did the books come from, and just when were they written? I must own that these are very hard questions to answer. If there is anything in the world that would make a man's head swim, it is to delve into the recent literature discussing the authorship and dates and books of the New Testament. You could make a good sized public library out of this literature alone. If you could see how they have ransacked every scrap of manuscript of the first centuries, which may have come down to us, studied every phase to be found there, analyzed every word and phrase in the New Testament, compared one phrase in one part with one phrase in another part, searched through all the church fathers for possible allusions or quotations from Scripture; and then, if you could read something of the arguments pro and con with regard to the outcome, it would suggest to you the description of the battle of the angels in mid-air, such as you have in Milton's "Paradise Lost."

As to negative phases of authorship, I can give you one or two samples.

Take the Gospel "according to St. John." This Gospel has caused more discussion than all the others put together, because it presents a strikingly different picture of Jesus from what you get out of the other three Gospels. It was supposed to have been written by the disciple whom Jesus loved more than all the others, and one who was with him during his last days and who stood by the cross to the last moment.

But when you turn to the account of the last days of Jesus in this Gospel, how are you going to account for the fact that it has nothing to say with regard to the wonderful scene in the Garden of Gethsemane, containing those sublime words of Jesus "Not my will, but Thine be done." Even the shortest memoir of them all, which is only about half as long as any of the others, the one called "Mark," has an account of this "Gethsemane" experience. It is contained in one form or another in all of the other memoirs. And this would give overwhelming reasons for assuming that some very serious experiences took place on that last night before Jesus was seized by the authorities. Yet this fourth memoir does not even mention such an experience, beyond saying that "Jesus entered a garden where he tarried for a time until the authorities came out to seize him." According to the other memoirs, the Apostle John himself was present in the garden with Jesus. Yet not a word have we in the gospel attributed to him with regard to what took place there.

However, this is a side issue. The opinion of some scholars is very strong, indeed, as I have said, that we have nothing in the New Testament directly in writing from any one who had lived or known Jesus personally. *

The fact of it is, as we have pointed out, the New Testament was a growth, just like the Old Testament. It developed little by little according to the accident of circumstances. The Hebrew literature covers a period of six or seven hundred years, as we have said; whereas practically all that we have in the New Testament was probably written within one hundred years after the death of Jesus. There may be, and probably are, passages inserted here and there, because as I explained to you in the last lecture, we have the evi-

*The authenticity of John's Gospel (and the First Epistle) is accepted by many, and by a growing number, quite apart from theological prepossessions—e. g. the Unitarian Ezra Abbot and James Drummond.

dence of passages having been inserted into these books hundreds of years after the death of Jesus, and which have been omitted in our English revised version of the Bible. It would be nothing strange if in doing the copying work of those days, a scribe had added in a word or a line of explanation now and then. Yet, it would be absurd to assume, as many a radical might have done, that the whole of the New Testament is made up of just such additions or interpolations. If a phrase occurs very rarely, you may perhaps fancy that it went in as an addition. For instance, only once in all the four memoirs of Jesus do you find the formula, "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost." It would look as if that phrase or formula grew up after the death of Jesus; and if so, it would be quite natural that later on it should come to be inserted in the memoirs. The point I am showing you is, that the doctrinal side of Christianity comes rather from the Epistles.

How much emphasis did Jesus himself lay on this doctrinal side? As to that, we shall never be able to answer. While the disciples or teachers of early Christianity may have fully believed that every single thought they uttered could be traced to the standpoint of Jesus, yet they naturally threw their emphasis on that side in which they were the more interested; and hence it is quite possible that the phase of religion which Jesus talked the least about, may have come to assume the most important role of all, within a hundred years after his death. The germs of it may have been in the life or teachings of Jesus, but no one could have foretold just in what direction his teachings would have assumed the greatest importance.

If you come down to the actual facts of the case, I think there can be no doubt that the memoirs about Jesus in the New Testament have had far less influence in developing Christianity, than the Epistles of the New Testament. While in these memoirs you can see that the ethical phase is decidedly in the foreground; when you come to trace up the history of Christianity, you feel that this ethical phase has been

sadly in the background. The number who believe in the mystical significance of the death of Jesus, could perhaps be counted by the hundreds of millions of the people to-day. But the number who undertake to live out fully and completely the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, could be counted in the hundreds with the millions left off. And if Christianity survives as a world religion, it will be owing to these hundreds, rather than the hundreds of millions.

In speaking of the growth of the New Testament, we must not overlook the fact that while the development of Judaism went on for the greater part within Palestine itself, the teachings of Jesus during the first century were coming in contact with the world at large. The New Testament was taking its shape, not in Palestine, but throughout the Roman Empire. The teachers of the new religion were coming in contact with the ideas and teachings of other religions and foreign systems of philosophy. This fact had a great deal to do in giving the new teaching a more universal character than the older system of Judaism had ever had.

Humanly speaking, Christianity, as a system of thought, was a fusion of the religion of Judaism, with the religion of Zoroaster from the East and Greek philosophy from the West. The partial fusion with the religion of Persia had taken place before the Christian era, with the introduction of beliefs in immortality, a judgment day, a heaven and a hell, and an angelology. All this seems to have been adopted by Jesus himself. But the fusion with Greek philosophy, of course, came later on after the death of Jesus, during the first hundred years while the New Testament was taking shape. The memoir which bears the name of the "Gospel according to John" shows very manifest evidence of the spirit of Greek philosophy as it prevailed in the first century of the Christian era. St. Paul's conception of "communing" with the Divine, or being united with the Divine, is singularly Platonic.

This does not necessarily reflect on the originality of Jesus; nor on the other hand need it overthrow your

conceptions of the Divine aspect in that life, if you wish to believe in that aspect. Greek philosophy itself may have been necessary as a means for developing in more complete form what had only been germinal in the teachings of Jesus. You can say if you choose, that this was the method of Providence itself in working out more elaborately into a system, the movement which Jesus inaugurated. Whatever fusion may have taken place, it must also be made clear that the outcome was emphatically a new religion, or a new religious spirit, such as had not existed before. But in the new religious spirit we can see that the inspired men of other races were to contribute their share.

Now to go back to the growth of the New Testament: While it is true that a number of the Epistles were written before the memoirs; on the other hand, we have the best of reasons for thinking that the memoirs in our New Testament first got recognition as having a peculiar sanctity attached to them. They were the first Sacred Literature to be brought together for the new church. For a long time the epistles were held as special documents by the churches to whom they were addressed, as their property, rather than as something which was ever to belong to a Bible.

But at about the end of the first quarter of the second century, we find evidences to the effect that these four memoirs were used together, by churches in various parts of the Roman Empire, as taking rank over any other of the newer religious literature. Here, therefore, we have the starting point or nucleus for a New Testament.

Gradually, however, the various Epistles of the New Testament began to be brought together one after another, and to assume more and more importance, so that toward the close of the second century, in round numbers about 200 A. D., there was a pretty general consensus of opinion setting apart certain Epistles and certain Gospels as a new Sacred Literature, and including the larger portion of what we now call the New Testament. At the same time, there seems even for centuries after that date, to have been a good deal

of difference of opinion as to the exact list of books which should constitute the canon of the New Testament. Some other books came very near getting into the Bible, and a few others in the New Testament came very near dropping out of it or not being received into it. No council of the whole church ever settled it.

I remind you again of the celebrated Sinaitic manuscript found in a monastery near Mount Sinai, which dates about 400 A. D. When the great German scholar discovered this, in fear lest he might never see the manuscript again, he took it to his cell and set to work to copy out one special book he found there. And why? Because it was a book of which there had been a great deal of talk in the early centuries, but of which no copy had survived. It bore the name of the Epistle of Barnabas.

In this Sinaitic manuscript, were two books or portions of books, which have not been included in the recognized New Testament. Then, too, as I told you, the "Book of Revelation" caused a great deal of dispute; and for a long while there was decided inclination among the church fathers to exclude it from the canon.

You may ask what should have been the cause of dispute as to the books which really made up the New Testament. Why should they not have taken these memoirs or these Epistles as a part of the New Testament? But I must remind you that our New Testament constitutes only a small portion of a large literature in circulation during the first centuries of the Christian era, and all of which purported to be of the same sacred character; most of it purporting to emanate from the apostles or early fathers of the church in the first century. It may surprise you to know that we find reference among the fathers of the church of the first centuries to at least a full score of gospels or memoirs of Jesus, each bearing its own name and claiming on its face a high authority. They had a Gospel "According to Saint Peter," another Gospel "According to Andrew," a Gospel "Accord-

ing to Bartholomew." As there were twelve apostles, it would seem as if tradition had ascribed a special memoir or Gospel to each one of them. There is even reference to a Gospel "According to Judas." Then there were no end of books giving an account of the "Acts" of the Apostles, descriptive therefore of the first generation of work after the death of Jesus. Besides this, of course, there were a number of "Apocalypses," or Books of Revelation.

A small portion of this vast literature has come down to us and I have here in my hand a volume of translations of that so-called "Apocryphal" New Testament. Some of it makes beautiful reading; other portions are trivial in the extreme. One or two fragments of that Apocryphal literature have been absorbed in the Book of Common Prayer of the English church; as for instance, the well-known Apostles' Creed. Tradition has it, that as there are twelve statements in that Creed,* each apostle contributed a single statement to it. Two of these Apocryphal books ranked highly in the opinion of the early church fathers and came very nearly becoming a part of the New Testament,—the one entitled the Epistle of Barnabas and the other The Shepherd of Hermas. It is from some of that literature, by the way, that the Old Masters took their conceptions for their famous paintings of the life of Jesus. Naturally these Apocalypses have a good deal to tell us about those portions of the life of Jesus of which the memoirs in our New Testament have little to say; especially concerning the boyhood and youth of Jesus. We read a great deal about Joseph and Mary, the father and mother of Jesus; and of the wonderful things Jesus did as a boy.

A good deal of this Apocryphal literature so-called, arose in the second century; and you may ask what led to it, or why it was not adopted as a part of the New Testament. If the books bore the names of the apos-

*The Apostles' Creed cannot be called apocryphal. It was the old baptismal formula, to be traced back to the second century. The legend grew up that it was made by the Twelve—but only the legend is apocryphal.

bles, why were they not accepted? If they were rejected as spurious, how shall we account for the fact that on sacred themes men could write down what they did not know to be true?

It is an established fact, however, that regard for historic truth has not been a conspicuous feature of writers on matters pertaining to religion. I do not mean to say that men deliberately went against their consciences and boldly made up what they knew to be lies. But in those days, for one to tell a beautiful story about a man whose name and life one highly revered, even if one knew that story were not true, was not necessarily regarded as an evil. To compose something in the honor of a being one loved, was to do something to show one's spirit of loyalty. If it was the belief of the Christians who wrote those books, that these were the things that Jesus might have done, why then not show one's love and one's loyalty by drawing up such fanciful conceptions of the Great Master? Such inventive methods rather startle us perhaps. But it was not meant necessarily in an unworthy spirit or put forward with an unworthy motive.

But you may ask, how did such books come to be attributed to the apostles as authors? As to that, we can explain that many of such writings were put forth anonymously. Then some copyist, seeing a resemblance there to what tradition had ascribed to certain of the apostles, attaches the apostle's name to it as the probable author. And so the name becomes fixed there. On the other hand, a writer might feel that he was doing honor to one of the apostles by attributing his gospel to such authority, that it was showing a high regard for the apostle himself in attaching such a name to it.

The literature of the middle ages, for instance, is full to overflowing of the stories of the saints, some of which are true and some of which are all fancy. This was not done in the spirit of deliberate falsification. The motive was often high and pure. I only speak of this because accuracy in reporting facts or traditions on religious matters has seldom been re-

garded as of the greatest importance. But be that as it may, we know that a great deal of such literature did arise in the second century and some of it was existing in the first century. In fact, within the very memoirs which we have in the New Testament, we have the assertion that quite a literature was in circulation at that time concerning the life or teaching of Jesus. The author of the third memoir called the Gospel "According to St. Luke," begins by saying that inasmuch as many had taken it in hand to draw up a narrative concerning the subject in which they were all interested, it seemed good to him also to write out an account of what he knew, or had heard on the same subject.

Just what led to the final adoption of these special four memoirs and the particular Epistles as they stand in our New Testament, we shall never know. It was not done by any conference, nor was the list established by any Council. That much we are positive of. Custom was what decided it. The churches gradually settled down to this choice, out of the great amount of literature then in circulation.

As to those four memoirs in the New Testament, I have said to you already that you can see that they, too, show evidences of growth. When they were first written, it is not at all likely that the authors fancied that they were writing for the distant future. They jotted down what they had heard from time to time. Then the manuscripts went out of their hands and were read by others, by whom in all probability additions were made from time to time, or other portions with other stories incorporated. You can see at times where two or three accounts are run together into one. Or on the other hand, you observe where one anecdote concerning Jesus had developed into two forms and therefore become two different stories. For instance, in the account of "Feeding the multitude," different reports made the numbers vary who were fed by Jesus; and so probably grew up two different stories according to the difference in numbers.

All three of the writers undoubtedly had other docu-

ments at command, one which was probably the well-known "Sayings of Matthew," and which they incorporated into their accounts, but not always in the same way. The fourth memoir, however, bears the evidence of having been written pretty much by one author, and shows decided influences from the Greek philosophy current at that day.

This growth of the memoirs did not go on indefinitely, however, as I have said. The notion of the Gospels as all being made up of little pieces put together at various times, will no longer hold. These memoirs to a large degree as they now stand, were written before the end of the first hundred years after the death of Jesus. They were collections of traditions in circulation in different parts of the world, which the authors brought together as best they could.

I am aware that such an historic method of treating the New Testament may at first thought seem like doing away with its documents—as if no history were there at all—or as if there had never been any Jesus. And such rash statements have actually been made. But that would be absurd. You might as well say that there had been no George Washington, because within the last twenty-five years the critics have been studying his life pretty carefully and find that in the stories regarding him there was a growth, and that it was necessary to examine the development of the tradition concerning him quite thoroughly. Our discovery that the "Hatchet and Cherry Tree" story is all a myth, has not altered the reality or tremendous personality of Washington; nor changed the fact that we owe this nation of ours to him more than to any other man, and that he was truly "The Father of his Country."

The world-movement which we call Christianity, had its start in a tremendous personality; call that personality Divine if you will, or human if you will. I leave you to take your choice. And in this New Testament literature, as I said before, I can feel a unity which I cannot necessarily put into language. Only the weakest kind of minds are the ones whose beliefs

or conceptions go all to pieces from analysis or dissection, because they ask or demand that they be allowed to keep all or nothing. The method I am pursuing as an historic study of the Scriptures has been with the idea which I announced to you at the outset, of giving you back your Bible.

The confusion of thought one meets there, the lack of unity or coherence in the various parts of these Scriptures, has tended for a time to weaken or half-destroy their influence on many thoughtful persons. It has been in order to save these Scriptures for you that I have wanted to present them to you in this other light. When you see them as a growth, covering a period of one thousand years, then your whole attitude toward them changes; and you observe that the thoughts about God, or Justice, or Love; about man and the heart of man, could not be the same at the end of that thousand years as they were at the start. Instead of having a vast number of minor truths or minor facts which do not hang together, you have one growing truth as the core or kernel of the whole literature.

In turning over the pages of this New Testament as the closing portions of the Bible, you feel that the emphasis of the teaching of the New Prophet lay in one supreme direction. It was to call the attention of the human race to the value of the spiritual side of life and to make man feel that the spiritual life as such was the one life worth having and worth living. It is this which has made the gospel of Jesus essentially the gospel of the poor, because the import of its teaching is to point to the value of the inside things. When you say in your despair, if you are hungry or houseless, or homeless, if you have lost all you ever had, are penniless and without work—when you say, "I have nothing, absolutely nothing, it is all gone," then this teaching of Jesus, the New Prophet, gives you reply. The answer comes: "Stand up; you have got your soul and it is worth more than all the possessions you have lost or all that wealth you dreamed of and never got." In this teaching of a soul, we seem to find the kernel of the thought of the New Prophet of Palestine.

That word "Soul" alone as an outgrowth of Christianity has been one of the greatest gifts ever offered to the human race. *What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his soul*, was the teaching of Jesus.

And with that doctrine of the soul in man, went the beautiful, sublime humanitarianism of the New Prophet. I call to your mind that picture of a Judgment Day in these memoirs of the New Testament. It is not of the fact of a Judgment Day that I am thinking, but of the kind of a Judgment Day which is pictured to us there. It is the King speaking to those on His right hand, and he is saying:

"Come ye blessed of My Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungered and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him saying: Lord when saw we thee an hungered and fed thee; or athirst and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger and took thee in; or naked and clothed thee? And when saw we thee sick or in prison and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them: Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, ye did it unto me."

Is there not enough in that teaching to save you from any concern over the disputes as to what is history and what is not history in the Bible? Is this not the humanitarianism we believe in to-day?

And was it new? No. After all, it was the old prophetic spirit of Israel coming back again. The prophet Isaiah sang in the same spirit to the exiles of Babylon as he talked of their God,

"Behold the Lord God will come as a mighty one and his arm shall rule for him. Behold his reward is with him and his recompense before him. He shall lead his flock like a shepherd, he shall gather the lambs in his arms and carry them in his bosom and shall gently lead those which are with young."

And as I read this and then turn to that picture of the Judgment Day in the teachings of Jesus, it would seem as if I had found the kernel or core of both teachings; and at this point I seem to see Judaism and Christianity fusing into one.

THE BIBLE AS POETRY AND LITERATURE

There is a splendid freedom for the mind in the ethical attitude—according to which our one purpose is to find light on the pathway of the true life and to learn how to lead the best life possible. No anxiety need concern us as to where our light comes from on this score, so long as we know that the light is genuine. I feel no hesitation in talking enthusiastically over the literature of the Bible and the light which I find there—all the more for the reason that I feel no constraint as if I must find the light there, whether it is there or not.

No authority requires it of me that I should place this literature higher in importance than the literature of other religions or other races. I turn to its pages as I would turn to the pages of the literature of the Stoics, or to the Buddhists, or to Plato.

But I do most emphatically believe in what we call the historic method, when looking for light on the pathway of life. We each one of us have only a limited experience, and after we have once gotten it, the time is nearly past when we can make it useful. But the human race at large has had enormous experience on this very one matter, as to what gives value to life and how to get the most value out of life. There is more to be had in the experience of the human race in this regard than in one's own experience. Only in the rarest instances, therefore, should one go contrary to what the enlightened portion of the human race has come to regard as the right course of life.

The first rule, therefore, which we should lay down for those who want light on life's past pathway is the old one, "Search the Scriptures." Only, by this I mean all scriptures which tradition has led us to be-

lieve contained elements of value. It is in such scriptures that we find the records of human experience.

The trouble is, however, that in searching literature for this purpose, we find so many influences merging together in the same literature; and so the light often is confusing and sometimes adds more embarrassment than help.

I have said that on the whole the Bible, taking it altogether, gives more light on the pathway of life than any other volume of literature from past times. You will find, to be sure, equally valuable precepts in the writings of the Stoics, or in the scriptures of Buddhism, or in the poetry and philosophy of Greece.

But the trouble with such sources of light is that they speak oftentimes only of special personal experience or special epochs in history.

The peculiarity of the Bible is that it is a record of nearly a thousand years of continuous experience on the problems I speak of. If the Apocrypha and the book of "Enoch" had been retained in the Bible, we should have all the threads by which we could trace the growth of the Hebrew mind on certain of the greatest problems of existence, covering a period of nearly ten centuries. If this had been ten centuries of the more advanced experience it would have been of far less value. The records of the experience of the Hebrew race for the last eighteen hundred years do not compare in importance, for the light they give, to the records of the preceding eight hundred or one thousand years.

And why, do you ask? Because in those first records we have the growth from its start, as it were; from the childhood of the race upward to maturity. And this is what gives it the value I speak of.

Furthermore, there is something most peculiar to this literature as a characteristic, which belongs in the same degree to no other literature in the world, as far as I know, covering the same length of time. It is the singular unity or continuity of it. Other literatures would seem to show more or less fusion with outside influences, and the fusion took place so rapidly that

we are not able oftentimes to detect the lines where the parts ran together. But the extraordinary race-tenacity of the Hebrews has been one of the phenomena of history, and it was that race tenacity which gives us in the Bible literature such continuity of experience.

To be sure, as I have said again and again in these lectures, we see where other influences entered. But the striking fact is that in the case of the literature of the Hebrews it is usually possible for the scholar to fix on the entering point of anything that came in from the outside, and to decide what belonged essentially to the Hebrew mind itself. After the first or second centuries of the Christian era the literatures of what we now call "Christendom" began to run together, and I doubt if anyone could clearly tell in the books or writings of the third or fourth centuries, just what was Roman thought, what was Egyptian thought, what was Greek thought, what was Hebrew thought, or what thoughts came from far-away India.

The striking value of the Bible literature is that the attitude of mind in the portions which came later, do not accord with the attitude of mind which came first. You observe that the very point which the old school would have thought most destructive to the value of this literature, is the one which I put forward as most emphasizing its value. The significance of it all is that we see the gradual development of mind, the coming in of more and more light.

We traced this feature for you with regard to one of the great problems of history, dealing with belief in God. But if there were time or space it would be possible to do it with some of the other great problems on the more practical side.

Take, for instance, the problem of the Family, and see the wonderful discoveries made by the Hebrew race on that score, and how those discoveries are recorded. In the primitive pictures of the prehistoric times, which are presented to us in the first portions of the Bible, in those stories of the Patriarchs, we see the nomad family life, where perhaps the children

could be traced only through the line of the mother and where the Patriarchs may have had many wives. It was what I should call the "nomad" family life—without unity, without coherence, without spirituality. The family had not found itself, or found its soul.

As soon as you get the books of the Old Testament arranged in their chronological order you see how the Hebrew race began to find more and more light on this subject of the family, until by and by their whole attitude changed and they came to believe in the family of one husband and one wife, the Monogamic Family. They had found out by experience what was the true family life, and the striking fact is that they saw the point from its spiritual side. It was connected with the religious beliefs of the people; it grew with the growth of the belief about gods or God, until the prophet could illustrate polytheism and its effects as like the influence of polygamy. Having many wives was like having many gods, and so the favorite though sad figure employed by the prophets in pointing out what it meant to lose one's supreme devotion to the one God, Jehovah, was like being careless with regard to the spiritual significance of sex. And the result was to throw a spiritual element into the family life, to dignify its unity, so that when the Bible came to its close its whole weight was thrown on the side of an ideal, monogamic, family life. By that means such a family life was established as the only true family, for the rest of the history of the human race.

If I had the time I should like to point out to you likewise the evolution of the idea of justice as you watch it through the Bible. You can see how the Hebrew race got light more and more on this subject, and you can trace up the stages of the light as it grew and expanded. You see the primitive attitude of the wandering hordes of the earliest times, to whom practically "might made right." And then you see how the higher law comes in and the ethical code is laid down: "Thou shalt not lie; thou shalt not kill;" but holding for the most part only among the members of the tribe.

You observe later on, when those historic books went through their final revision, a new attitude of mind had come, which led the last authorities to change the tone of the old records and to interpolate explanations or excuses that are wonderfully significant. We know beyond any doubt that the Israelites undertook to conquer Palestine and slay the Canaanites, in just the same spirit that the savage hordes from the north and east of Europe swept down over the higher civilization of the Roman Empire and conquered it. It is recognized that there was more civilization among the Canaanites at first than among the Israelites.

But when the sense of justice had advanced further, you see how the more enlightened ethical mind of the Hebrew race wanted to show that their forefathers did all this because of the wickedness of the Canaanites and because their God, "Yahweh," had commanded them to root out the wickedness from Palestine by exterminating the people who had dwelled there.

Do you call this falsifying history? I think that name would be a mistake. As a matter of fact, we are more than glad that it was done, because in the very fact that such a step was taken we have the record of the ethical advance of the Hebrew mind and the new light which had come on the subject of justice. The people of Palestine had come to see that justice with its rules held between one race and another race, and was not merely an affair of the tribe, and that aggressive warfare was only to be carried on according as the people had justice for it. When they came to see or to feel that justice applied to it, then they said that their God commanded it.

So, too, you can trace the new light which came in, regarding the true spirit of fellow feeling or of brotherly love. We see it prevailing only at first perhaps within the family; afterward only within the tribe; then only within the race.

The idea that the code of justice applied between one race and another, came a long while before the standpoint was adopted which asked that there should

be fellow feeling or love between one race and another. Hundreds of years elapsed before this further standpoint began to apply. I showed you how it developed in the book of Jonah, but coming to its full form perhaps only in the last and greatest of the prophets of the Hebrew race, when, as I told you, Judaism expanded into a universal religion.

The Bible, one might say, closes as a growth, in that beautiful chapter from the Apostle of St. Paul on "charity," which was the old English word, as you know, for "love."

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.

"And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.

"And although I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.

"Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.

"Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil.

"Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth.

"Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

Charity never faileth; but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.

"For we know in part, and we prophecy in part.

"But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.

"When I was a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

"For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face; now I know in part; but then I shall know even as I am known.

"And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity."

In only one respect, perhaps, can you see that toward the end the Bible grows reactionary. In the last portion of it we get no light or almost none, on the ethical or spiritual attitude to be taken toward that

great institution which was to assume such importance in the later times, the political organism, or the State.

In this direction the literature of the Bible does not give us a great deal of help, because there were two theories almost from the outset with regard to the State, prevalent among the thoughtful Hebrews,—one of which looked upon the State as a theocracy, assuming that God only was the King, and the Church the only real State; the other divided Church and State as two separate institutions. Nowhere during the thousand years while this literature was developing can we see those two attitudes fusing into one, and in that way giving us a clear light on what now is perhaps the greatest problem of the world.

The New Testament ignores this subject, for the simple reason, as I explained to you, that the expectation was strong that the world was soon to come to an end. Hence the attitude of mind among the earlier followers of Jesus was to ignore the State as an institution altogether, watching for the time when the Judgment Day should come and the State should become the "Kingdom of God."

We do not put forward this literature to you as if it contained all the light or the wisdom needful, or as if the light ceased to grow when the Bible came to an end.

Nor do we ask you to believe all that you find there, to accept all the theology contained in that literature. You cannot do so, for the simple reason that the theology at the end is not the same theology as at the beginning. As far as the theology-side is concerned I leave you to your own attitude of mind concerning it. I study the Bible for the light it may throw on the pathway of the true life, rather than the light it may throw on what is beyond or outside of life.

In another sense the Bible did not come to an end when the literature was completed. Human experience has gone on just the same. More and more light has come to the world, and we have to search

the scriptures for later times as well as of the times of old, for all the light to be had. But our beginning should be made in our study with these so-called Sacred Scriptures.

Yet there is a charm in these Scriptures apart from the light they shed on the pathway of life. It is as with the light of the sun; it may come in one form or another; sometimes in rainbow hues or sunset tints; sometimes only in the clear, steady noonday glare. The additional charm of the Bible is that a great deal of the light comes in such beautiful forms and that what we have here is not merely abstract precepts, but literature or poetry.

The Bible, in another sense, is the literature of the Hebrew race for about a thousand years. All of it is not alike beautiful in form. Some of it is rather dry and tame. Then again, there are portions of it as fine as anything in Shakespeare.

On the whole, there is less poetry or real literature in the New Testament than in the Old Testament. The trouble is, as I told you, that so much of the New Testament is second-hand. Nowhere do we have the continued language of Jesus. And even where we have his sayings, they are not in what was his mother tongue. The Sermon on the Mount, as we know, was only a collection of precepts which he had made from time to time and which were brought together after his death. Here and there, to be sure, there are parables which seem to read as if coming pretty near to what he must have said, and those parables have a simplicity and beauty about them which will make them immortal even as literature. Was there ever a drama put on the stage by any playwright since the world began, which has more struck home to the human heart than the simple story of the Prodigal Son? How that story tells the whole life experience of many a mortal creature! Perhaps the finest literary gem in the New Testament is the celebrated speech attributed to Saint Paul and supposed to have been made on Mars Hill at Athens. I might quote this to you in order to bring out the simplicity of style. No philoso-

pher to-day could use such a style. He would want to twist in and out with all sorts of side lights, or run off on by-paths. But in this one short speech, made on Mars Hill by Saint Paul, you see practically all the growth of the Hebrew race in its idea of God:

“Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars’ Hill, and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, “To the Unknown God.” Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. God that made the world, and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men’s hands, as though he needed anything, seeing, he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of earth; and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; they that should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, for we are also his offspring. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man’s device. And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent: Because he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.”

I ask you, could a modern man go to a strange people to proclaim a new religion and do it in simple language like that? Saint Paul himself did not know that his speech was to go into a Bible; more than that, he did not know himself that his own race had also at one time thought of the God-head as “like unto gold or silver or stone graven by art and man’s device.” He did not know that he was a crowning feature of a thousand years of a race groping after light on the subject of God-head and God.

When it comes to the New Testament as a whole, the literary quality of it is not so high as with the earlier portions of the Bible.

My experience has been that when I wanted to indulge in the charms of literature as a feature of the

Bible, instinctively I turned to the Old Testament. Nothing in "Hamlet," for instance, is finer than what you come upon in the book of Job. Neither of these two tragedies offers a solution to the problems which are raised. They just show the soul of man beating with its wings against the walls which hide the inscrutable. And in either of these works we are sure to find in exquisite language what has been more or less seething in ourselves in chaotic form. We all think, and down in our souls we all have huge interrogation points. But only the great artists or the geniuses find a way of putting these interrogation points into immortal language. Was it strange that Job should have raised the question why the sun shines alike on the just and on the unjust? And in the way he and his comforters tossed the arguments to and fro, you find reproduced the same old questions and answers we may give to-day. What you have, therefore, is a record of heart experiences in such literature. So, too, if you find the time to read the Psalms, you can run the whole gamut of hope and disappointment there. It all takes more or less of a religious character; but whatever character it may assume, every soul runs through that gamut at one time or another.

I wish I could induce you to turn to your Bible and read the book of Genesis straight through from beginning to end, omitting, however, the genealogies. I fancy that many of you have not done this, who have read translations of the "Iliad" of Homer. And why have you read Homer? Because, you will tell me, it is great literature and it gives us rare pictures of the primitive world, of the human race in its childhood.

Now I must remind you that you have in the book of Genesis an equally great classic, and far more entertaining as literature than anything which you will find in Homer. If only you will go to it, not from a sense of duty, but with the same motive with which you turn to your "Iliad," you may be surprised at the charm of the book of Genesis.

There, too, you will find pictures exquisitely told, of the childhood of the human race. You will find

human nature showing itself with a naive frankness, the good and evil right on the surface just as you see it in children to-day, save that the persons described there are "children of a larger growth." You read how great men may have lifted up their faces and wept. You read of family joys and family troubles; of the life of fathers and mothers and of the fathers' and mothers' disappointments. The story of the world or of the human race is written there in those chapters in a simplicity that is marvelous, and which no modern man to-day could ever imitate or reproduce.

If only you would be willing to read those stories of the Patriarchs just as pictures, in the way you read your Homer! See how the people of those early days felt toward their gods, as toward "Zeus" or "Pallas." The time had not yet come when self-consciousness was so strong that grown men sought to hide their feelings. Their ideals had not shot far ahead of their practice, and you see, therefore, the naive human heart as it actually was in those days. What a picture you have in that speech of Jacob punished for all his mistakes, and seeing that he was to lose his dearest child, as he lifted up his voice and said:

"Joseph is not and Simeon is not and ye will take Benjamin away. All these things are against me. My son shall not go down with you to Egypt, for his brother is dead and he only is left. If mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave."

A part of this matter reads like the stories an aged mother would tell to her children, of bygone things as she had heard them from her aged grandmother.

Much indeed of this beautiful literature has become so classic that we quote it as we quote Shakespeare, scarcely knowing where the words came from. I wish I could induce you to read over again that charming tale called the book of "Ruth." Who has not heard and remembered that straightforward speech of the daughter of the Gentiles, to Naomi:

"Entreat me not to leave thee or to return from following after thee. For whither thou goest I will go; and where

thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people and thy God my God; where thou diest will I die and there will I be buried. The Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me."

Do you recall anything anywhere in the world literature more perfectly expressive of fealty or absolute devotion, than this speech of Ruth to Naomi?

And even when the childhood of the race was passing away, when a sterner atmosphere was abroad and a higher sense of justice was awakened, when the race was coming to a fuller sense of its mission or destiny, even then the straightforward simplicity of speech is there and the rare literary qualities to which we have alluded.

Fully five hundred years had passed away from the time of the Patriarchs to the time of David. And yet the truth and realism which goes with the best literature is before us in reading the stories of David and his experiences. David, too, in a way was a child—a "child of nature," as we should say—but not living quite in the "childhood of the world." A stern sense of ethical judgment had grown up and was practiced in his time. We know the awful act of crime he had committed when he envied the wife of one of his officers, and then in order to secure her for himself had that officer placed at the head of the ranks of battle that the man might fall at the edge of the sword. It all happened as David planned and David got the wife he wanted; and in the boldness of his heart he cared naught for any dawning sense of justice in the world.

But I ask you whether you can find in Buddhism or the literature of Greece or in Shakespeare anything finer than this description of the meeting of David and the prophet Nathan after the crime had been committed:

"And the Lord sent Nathan unto David. And he came unto him and said unto him: There were two men in one city; the one rich and the other poor. The rich man had exceeding many flocks and herds; but the poor man had nothing, save one ewe lamb which he had brought and nourished up. And it grew up together with him and with his children; it did eat of his own meat; and drink of his own cup, and lay in his

bosom and was unto him as a daughter. And there came a traveler unto the rich man and he spared to take of his own flock and of his own herd, to dress for the wayfaring man that was come unto him, but took the poor man's lamb and dressed it for the man that was come unto him. And David's anger was greatly kindled against the man and he said to Nathan: As the Lord liveth the man that hath done this, is worthy to die. And Nathan said to David: Thou art the man."

This is literature; but it is more. It is a picture of a human heart, a sketch of a condition of an age. Many a man has fairly trembled to the very core of his being when he has heard this story read and come upon those words, "Thou art the man."

I am suggesting to you the literary elements to be found in the Bible. You come upon prose and poetry alike there—the bad passions and the good passions, the love feelings and the feelings of hate; aspiration on the one hand or despair on the other.

But more than that, you have Nature poetry. There is something else besides the mystery of the human heart; there is the mystery of the mighty Nature-world, which the man of science probes and discusses and works at, but never wholly unveils. Poetry revels sometimes in the passions of the human heart and its mysteries. But now and then it turns away and revels in the mystery of the Nature-world. You have both these elements in the Bible.

I know of no pictures of Nature in English poetry finer in their way than what you have in the Old Testament. You will find these pictures in the Psalms, and in the writings of the prophets. You see what a sense the Hebrew race displayed through their literature, for the mystery of the sky and of the earth and of the sea. You notice how fond they were of Nature's beauty, and see the eye they had for the simple things of beauty around them. The last of the prophets, Jesus, could talk of the "lilies of the field" and of their charm. He, too, had observed the grace of the swallow's movements when on the wing. But long before his day the thoughtful man of Israel had watched that same beauty and talked of it.

I wish I could persuade you to turn to the last chapters in the book of Job and see whether you do not come upon Nature-poetry there, as great or greater than anything in your Wordsworth or your Goethe. Many of you know these chapters, but you cannot know them too well; they are worth committing to memory, like great passages from the English or German poets. It is the heart of man you have here, voicing his sense of the mystery of things, especially the mystery of Nature—the mystery before which the man of science to-day must bow down, like the prophet or priest of those years long ago.

“Then the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind and said: Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?

“Gird up now thy loins like a man; for I will demand of thee and declare thou unto me.

“Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare if thou hast understanding.

“Who determined the measures thereof, if thou knowest? Or who stretched the line upon it?

“Whereupon were the foundations thereof fastened? Or who laid the corner stone thereof?

“When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy?

“Who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth;

“When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness the swaddling band for it, and prescribed for it my decree, and set bars and doors, and said:

“Hitherto shalt thou come but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.

“Hast thou comprehended the breadth of the earth? Declare if thou knowest it all.

“Where is the way to the dwelling of light, and as for darkness where is the place thereof;

“That thou shouldest take it to the bound thereof and that thou shouldest discern the paths to the house thereof?

“Hast thou entered the treasuries of the snow or hast thou seen the treasuries of the hail?

“By what way is the light parted, or the east wind scattered upon the earth?

“Who hath cleft a channel for the water flood or a way for the lightning of the thunder, to cause it to rain on a land where no man is; on the wilderness wherein there is no man;

“To satisfy the waste and desolate ground and to cause the tender grass to spring forth?

"Hath the rain a father? Or who hath begotten the drops of dew?

"Canst thou bind the cluster of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?

"Knowest thou the ordinances of the heavens? Canst thou establish the dominion thereof in the earth?

"Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds that abundance of waters may cover thee?

"Canst thou send forth lightnings that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?

"Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts?

"Who can number the clouds by wisdom?"

This is as fine a piece of work as the statues of the ancient sculptors of Greece or as great a work of art in its way as the Parthenon.

I do not mean to say that all the Old Testament is of this character. Some of it may be dry and wanting in literary merit. But anyone who knows how to read, can find the poetry and literature there.

In turning to the hymn music of the Psalms you will find passages there of exquisite beauty and the loftiest sentiment. There are portions of the Psalms, to be sure, which were not inspired in that way, and where the spirit is stern and almost vindictive. But there are other passages of tenderness and poetry speaking of the best that is in the human heart.

More than all else in the whole Bible I sometimes feel as if I liked the great Hebrew prophets. They may have been wanting in tenderness. When the times are evil the judges have to be stern rather than tender; and in those days the times were evil.

But if the prophets were stern in their judgments they used unconsciously oftentimes a magnificent art-form. The images which they draw in order to bring out their thought, are fully up to the best figures of speech or images in your Shakespeare. Perhaps the finest portions, however, to be found in the prophets, as regards the poetry or literature, are in those passages where the element of sternness is subdued and you have a foretaste of the millennium. The darker the cloud was, which hung over the earth and shut out even the horizon, the more intense became the visions of the prophets as to what was behind the cloud.

I wish I could induce you to turn to Isaiah and read from the fortieth chapter straight through to the end. It was not all by one writer. A number of passages from other authors have crept in there. But in those pictures you have visions of immortal worth. Even in the first Isaiah there are indications of it.

I read for instance:

"Behold a King shall reign in righteousness and princes shall rule in judgment. And a man shall be as an hiding place for the wind and a covert from the tempest;

"As rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.

"And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall harken.

"The heart also of the rash shall understand knowledge, the tongue of the stammerers shall be ready to speak plainly.

"The vile persons shall no more be called noble nor the churl said to be bountiful."

But further on in the second Isaiah it is, where we come upon the loftiest strain:

"Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.

"For behold the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall rise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.

"And nations shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.

"Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so that no man went through thee, I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations.

"Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, destruction within thy borders.

"The sun shall no more be thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee. But the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light and thy God thy glory.

"Thy people shall be all righteous; they shall inherit the land forever."

I do not say that this is the culmination of the whole ideal, or that you have the Perfect Picture in the prophets. No; the light had to go on expanding after the prophets had ceased to speak and after the Bible had closed. Even the vision of Isaiah is not of the millennium of the whole human race, but merely a picture of a glorified city for those who were to dwell at

Jerusalem. It has taken two thousand years or more for the human race to come to a conception of a millennium that was to include all the races of man. And even now our visions are seldom quite so broad. Down in our heart of hearts we make some exceptions. Even we to-day have not quite passed beyond the childhood of the past.

But I have done enough in these lectures if I have given you some idea of the worth of the Bible of Christendom. Again I repeat: Read the Scriptures!

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