Did Jesus Really Live?

A DEBATE

Held in Orchestra Hall, Chicago, January twenty-first nineteen hundred eight

Louis Harrison

NOTE

Kind Reader:

We are preparing a companion volume to "Did Jesus Really Live". The title of which will be "After Thoughts on the Great Mangasarian-Crapsey Debate." This volume will contain questions and arguments by representative educators, ministers and thinkers of this country and Europe. We want YOUR co-operation. As you read the present volume, make note of, and send us your personal QUESTIONS or ARGUMENTS, and thereby assist us in making this coming volume all that it should be.

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YES! Contends Rev. Crapsey
NO! Contends Mr. Mangasarian

GREAT DEBATE SERIES. Vol. I

Under the auspices of
ORIGINAL RESEARCH SOCIETY
London CHICAGO Paris
Steinway Hall

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To The Public

Being well aware of the importance of obtaining a full and correct report of this discussion, the Publishers have spared no pains nor expense to effect this object.

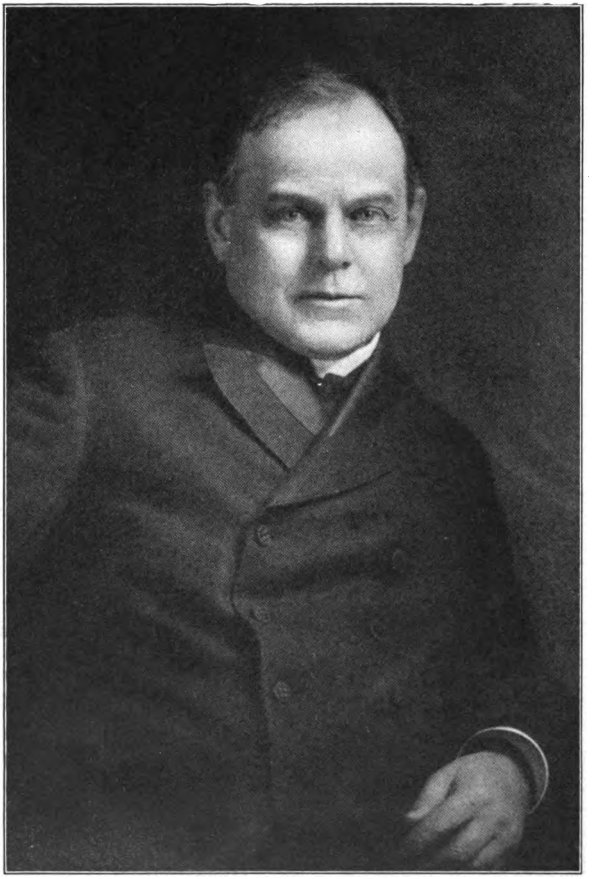
Two competent court reporters, well qualified for their work, were employed. From the joint notes of these, each contestant was furnished with a report of his part of the debate for revision, with the express understanding that nothing should be added to nor subtracted from their speeches as originally delivered.

And here follows, approved by the debaters, sealed by the reporters and confirmed by the auditory, an authentic report of the discussion. It speaks for itself. Nothing is added, nothing deducted, nothing amended.

After being thus revised, and before being put into permanent form, the whole report was transcribed, and the speeches of each interchanged, and when printed, proof sheets of all were sent to each for his last corrections. The work is now commended to an inquiring, intelligent and reading public.

THE PUBLISHERS.

Chicago, January, 1908.



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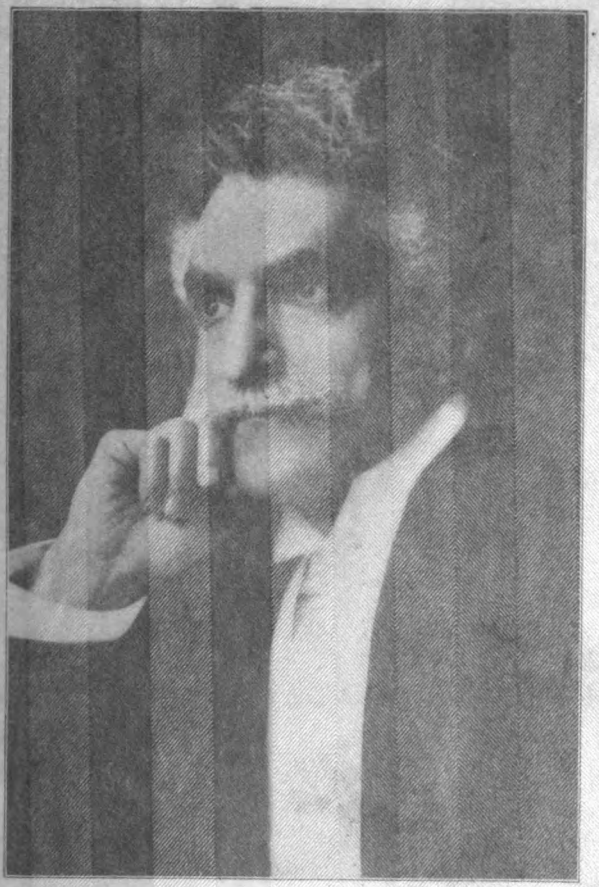

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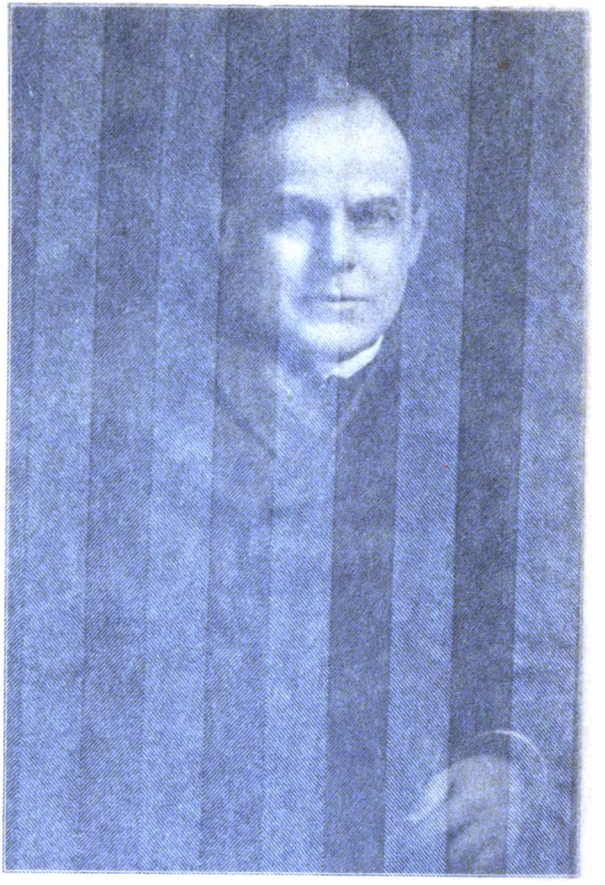

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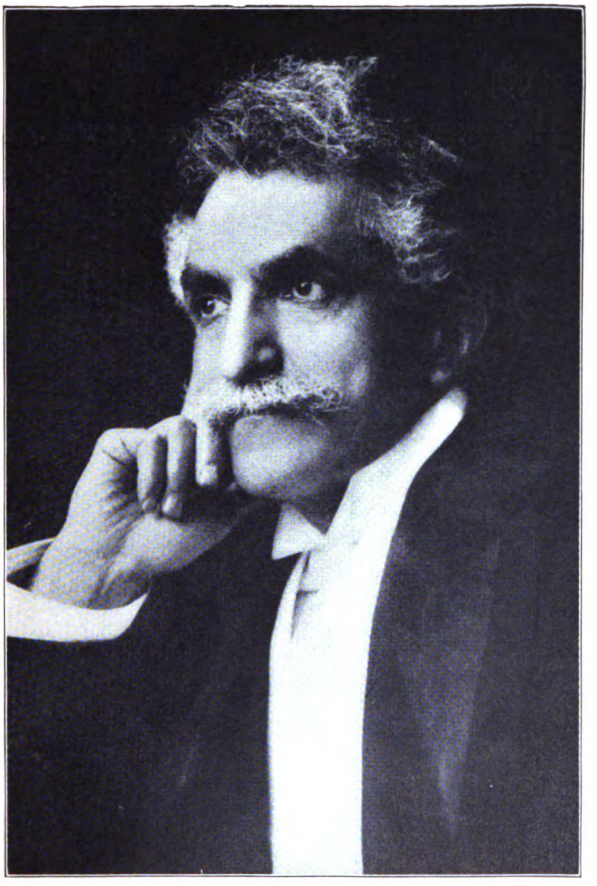

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Mr. Mangasarian's Challenge To The Christian World

Extracts from Mr. Mangasarian's challenge which circulated several years throughout the Christian world before Dr. Crapsey accepted the same.

Gentlemen: This letter is addressed to you in the same spirit in which you, when you have an important truth to communicate, appeal to your fellow men.

You do not wish the world to turn a deaf ear to your message. You are earnest, and in your earnestness, you press upon others the necessity of their accepting or answering your message. That describes also the state of my mind. I believe I have a vital truth and I present it to you in the hope that you will answer it if you cannot accept it, or accept it if you cannot answer it.

That the question whether Jesus is an historical or a purely mythical character is an important one, you will not deny; and a clear, strong, and at the same time a courteous word from you on this discussion could not fail to be sincerely appreciated. * * * * * * *If any of your number, who is a pastor of a church or a professor in college or seminary, should wish to answer my position, an opportunity will be given him to do so. The platform of the Independent Religious Society meeting at Orchestra Hall, Chicago, will be placed at his disposal for public reply to the arguments advanced.*

Yours fraternally,

M. M. MANGASARIAN.

INTRODUCTION

Wm. T. Stead, Editor of *The English Review of Reviews,* in a recent editorial, says "It has long been an amazement to me that so little use is made nowadays by any political or religious party of that most potent instrument of propaganda, a public debate between the champions of opposing views. Forty years ago public debates used to be carried on sometimes night after night before crowded and enthusiastic audiences, who often never went home till morning. But for many years past public debates have been almost unknown. Now there is a welcome indication of a reversion to the healthier practice of an earlier time. I rejoice to see a beginning is to be made in this more excellent way."

If it is not by earnest, honest, free and frequent discussion that men arrive at the truth, what other way is there? If the truth in the Bible is so simple and easily understood that it can be comprehended without discussion, why do not two people find the same meaning there? And if the business firm or bank which fears publicity is sure to forfeit the confidence of both the government and the people, what shall we think of a religious organization that when challenged defends itself, as Gladstone expressed it, "by railing

or reticence"? Therefore it appears to us that Dr. Crapsey has performed a timely and lasting service in accepting Mr. Mangasarian's challenge.

It is our conviction that the debate is the most desirable medium for the promotion of truth. In every department of intellectual or business propaganda, the personal contact of joint discussion has ever held and must ever hold first place. The directors' meeting of a bank or large corporation; the House of Commons or our State Legislature and House of Representatives; the municipal court; the decision of a justice court or the decisions of the Supreme Court; the trial for life, crime or property; the general conference of a Methodist Church, or the synodical gatherings of other religious bodies; the board meetings of a college or university faculty, or the general discussion in the Professor's class-room, all remind us how indispensable is joint discussion in the solution of any problem.

And even when we turn to the editorial page, the lecture platform, pulpit work, or the written book, we find the same spirit dominating—the only difference being that here the propagandist, however sincere and honest he may be, uses a medium that too often prevents clearness and directness, and makes it impossible for the questioner to answer back. For it is not such a difficult thing for a man, however ignorant he may be, who studies on a question all the week, to convince an audience of practical business men that his position

on a certain abstract question is correct; but to have a representative man, standing for a certain important vital question, present his convictions in the presence of a representative champion on the other side, in the presence of people who can listen to the pro and con of both sides—this would be instructive and indeed helpful. Very few people have the time to wade through the thousands of volumes or magazine articles pertaining to certain questions, however important. When men write on vital themes they generally write with too much elaboration and cover too many pages, while discussion brings out the vital points with directness and clearness.

"Men are never so likely," said John Stuart Mill, "to solve a question rightly as when they discuss it freely." It is the property of truth to be fearless. No truth is trustworthy until it has been tested.

It is the mission of intellectual discussion to clarify the convictions that dominate our being, and as such it is the most indispensable thing in the world. The age is past when all but philosophers, mystics and scientists accept everything that is handed them. This is indeed a very busy age in which we live, but the number of thinking people who want to know upon what authorities our thought leaders depend is daily increasing, and we no longer believe that philosophers and scientists should sit in their studies and devote

themselves to the abstract questions that pleasc their esoteric fancy.

Must the professional educator step upon the same platform with the mountebank? Must all meet without distinction, and must the sage reply to the incoherent fool as to an equal? Yes! replies a leading American philosopher—for the simple reason that "Injudicious notions cannot be ignored in a republic, where every man has the same vote." We agree with him. If they are ignored, they will do harm, for errors are mental diseases. We believe in liberty and universal suffrage; in a government of the people by the people and for the people. Governmental laws are no longer dictated by the kings. The times are changing. People are beginning to think that they themselves should make the laws. If this be true, should we not realize the profound importance of the ideas of the people?

It is the purpose of the ORIGINAL RESEARCH SOCIETY to develop and establish in Chicago and other metropolitan centers throughout the country a platform on which, from time to time, the *real representatives of opposite convictions* will be invited to meet and calmly, candidly and courteously present and thoroughly discuss their views and give to their fellow men the first hand results of their researches.

This is a new and distinctive educational work which we propose to accomplish. It is our purpose to dignify

as well as popularize joint discussion. We propose to lift it out of the low wrangling and vulgar debate, where party challenges party with a view of party victory. But as moderator and as disinterested *third* party, we shall bring together the real champions of opposite views. To get these recognized champions to condense, select and arrange the vast heterogeneous mass of authoritative scholarship; then let it pass through the sieve of joint debate so to speak, which, while permitting the details to run out, shall preserve the essentials in direct argument form, is a more valuable service to the inquiring mind than that which is rendered by the ordinary one-sided treatment of a subject, whether the medium be that of book, lecture, editorial, magazine or pulpit.

This is not a University movement in the technical sense, although we have the sympathy, support and co-operation of progressive University men throughout this country and Europe. It is our mission to carry the results of technical scholarship and University research to the people in a language they understand.

The question herein discussed is a most important one because it grapples with the most vital problems underlying our Christian Philosophy and our Christian Institutions. And this must be true whether the attitude of mind underlying our institutions be constructive or destructive; orthodox or heterodox;

higher criticism or lower criticism; conservative or radical.

The problem of the historicity of Jesus is the tap route, the bed rock, underlying all the other problems of dogmatic Christology, practical Christianity, or systematic Theology.

The names of Renan, Baur, Pierson, Naber, Harnack, Pfleiderer, Loman, Bauer, Steck, Völer, Holsten, Clemen, Gloel, Zahn, Holtzmann, Robertson, Kalthoff, and a host of others testify that since Strauss wrote his "Life of Jesus" in 1835, this fundamental problem has been the special field of debate among all schools of Biblical criticism, and all professional students of historical research.

"Let truth and falsehood grapple," said John Milton, "who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and fair encounter with error?"

"Others I doubt not, if not we
"The issues of our toils shall see;
"And, they forgotten and unkonwn.
"Young children gather as their own,
"The harvest which the dead hath sown."

E. MILTON JONES.
Vice President University Research Extension.

Chicago, January, 1908.

A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian Spring:
Where shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
And drinking largely sobers us again.

—*Pope, Essay on Criticism.*

The Debate

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the subject of the debate this evening will be: *"Resolved, That the Jesus of the New Testament is an Historical Personage."* Nothing that the Chair might say would add anything to the prestige of the distinguished gentlemen debaters of the evening. The first address will be by Dr. A. S. Crapsey.

DR. CRAPSEY: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: When I was a student of theology in the General Seminary in the City of New York, we had a facetious professor who was always [Cries from the galleries and balcony of "Louder! Louder!"]

DR. CRAPSEY (Continuing): I was saying —gentlemen of the gallery, can you hear now? —[Cries of "Yes, yes." Laughter and applause.] I was saying that when I was a student of theology I was under a facetious professor who had a regular joke for us. Quoting the scripture, he would say: "Gentlemen, it is written in the scriptures that, without controversy, great is the mystery of god-

liness. Now, let us have controversy, and get rid of the mystery." By this play upon a passage of scripture he indicated the fact that all controversy is for the discovery of truth, and for the purpose of clearing away the mists that surround the form of truth, and by clash of argument bring forth the facts. And any other use of controversy is a misuse and a perversion of the mental faculties of man.

I, therefore, take it for granted tonight that both here upon the platform, and yonder in the auditorium, we have a single purpose, and that is to discover, if we can, the truth of the matter in hand. We are not here to gain a dialectic victory; we are not here to appeal to any passion, but by calm, clear, and keen discussion, if you please, to set before these assembled intelligences the matters germane to the argument in hand.

And we have a very simple matter to discuss. It is whether or no a certain name is the name of a person who actually lived on this earth. Whether he who has been called in history Jesus, or Christ, was a real man, living a real life. That is the question at issue, and it is purely historical. It is, therefore, to be judged by the canons of historical science; and let me say here that history is just as

much a science as geology, and it has its canons of reasoning as clearly outlined as any other science in existence. Therefore, we are dealing tonight with matters of historical science; and as our question is historical, we will take our departure from a point in history.

We read in the *fifteenth book of the 44th chapter of the Annals of Tacitus* that the Emperor Nero, in order to relieve himself from suspicion, laid the blame of the burning of the city upon certain wretches, as he considered them, whom the common people called by the name of Christians. Tacitus tells us that this superstition had its origin in the work of one in Judea, in the work of one *Christus* who was crucified under the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, and that the death of the leader brought to an end for a little while the superstition, but that it broke out again with great violence and spread over the earth.

Now Tacitus wrote these Annals in the reign of Trajan, about forty years after the event which he recalled, which event occurred in the year 64, about thirty years after the common date assigned to the crucifixion of Jesus. Tacitus was himself a youth when the burning of Rome occurred, and he carried

through all these years a hatred of the Christian, and a like abomination of the cruelty of Nero. Now here we have an historical statement made concerning the origin of Christianity, namely, that it had its beginning in the work of a certain man, who was known by the name of *Christus,* which, we know, is shortened into the English word Christ.

Here we come at once to a great canon of historical criticism, which we call the canon of *antecedent probability.* This canon of antecedent probability is such that it unconsciously guides all of us in our judgment concerning historical narrations. It is simply that this or that event tallies with our common experience of like events. You know when the man read the Arabian Nights he said, after finishing the reading, that he didn't believe the book was more than half true, and he came to that decision simply by means of the law of antecedent probability. His experience of the ways of the world had led him to see that this was not how things happened in this world. The canon of antecedent probability is the one that underlies Hume's argument against miracles, and it is antecedently improbable that such events as are called miracles happened, because they are contrary to

the common experience of mankind. Therefore, in order to establish a miracle we must have an overwhelming amount of evidence, and evidence sufficient to overcome prejudice engendered by this great common experience of all men in all times.

And so we say, in the first place, the origin of such a religion as Christianity is apt to have its foundation in an individual leader, an historical personage from whom it begins. He starts in motion the great forces which create that religion; and then this brings us to another law in history, which is *the law of religious variation.*

Now religious variation occurs constantly in the history of the world. Great religions grow up and become established, take possession of whole nations, and become the religion of the people and this religion continues to exercise its power over the people from generation to generation. But as soon as it is well established, there begin to spring from the movement variations, coming from that religion, and almost without exception—indeed it is a great law of religious variation—every such variation has its origin in a single individual. Some one man, or some one woman, thinking deeply upon all the problems

which the religion presents, comes to have a variant view, comes to have an inspiration that leads that person to antagonize in some respects the prevailing religion, and then that starts a new movement. Now, I say this is the great law of religious variation, that in almost every instance, indeed, I think, in every single instance in history, all such movements begin with a single personality, and that personage is the impinging force that starts the movement.

Now I hardly think any one will question the historicity of the man who started the great movement which was a variation from Brahmanism in the East, Siddhartha Gautama, or Buddha. Call him by what name you will, he is conceded to be an historical personage, a man beginning a given work at a given time. And we have, again, in the great religion of middle western Asia and eastern Europe—we have that beginning with whom? Why, with one single personality; with the man Mohammed. And when we come down to our own religion, why, the same principle of religious variation works constantly. It is here working in our midst today. We are in the presence of the beginning of a new religion, which may go on and increase, and be-

come one of the great religions of the world. The latest of all the religious variations is Christian Science, which owes its origin to one single person, to a woman, and that woman is today venerated as the "inspired of God" by her devoted followers. Hence you cannot account for any great religious sect in the world without going right back and finding it in the mind of one single person. All religions begin not in the outward world, the great events of religion never occur there. They always happen in the inward world. Their origin is psychological or spiritual. It is in the thought of man that the great religions are conceived, and one single man, or woman, first conceives the thought and gives it expression and force. He may gather it from all around, but it is brought to a head in this one person.

So, ladies and gentlemen, if we had no such person as Jesus of Nazareth in our view, we would still expect to find such a personage, having the phenomena of Christianity before us. We would be in the same position that the astronomers were when they discovered the great planet Uranus. They saw the confusion of the heavenly bodies in a certain region of space, and from their knowledge of

the movements of these bodies they were convinced that their perturbations could be occasioned by nothing less than a great planet lying outside of the view of mankind, and the great and marvelous discovery of astronomical science was to find that planet just where the laws of astronomy declared it would be.

And so, if we did not have this personality, we would expect,—upon careful examination, penetrating through the mists and obscurity of the past—we would expect to find just such a personage as is described to us as the founder of Christianity.

Now, when we turn from Tacitus, who in this classical passage declares to us the common belief of the Gentile world in the second century of Christian history, and go to the Christians themselves, we find that they give exactly the same account of their origin as he did. They tell us that their Lord and founder was one to whom they gave the term of "Christ." That term was not his name, that was an official title conferred upon him by his followers, but it became in common speech the ordinary name of the man. But they tell us that the personage to whom they owe their existence was one Jesus; and they tell us also who his father was, and who his mother was.

Here we have, then, first the law of antecedent probability, leading us to suppose that there must have been such a person as Jesus, or some one like him, lying behind the great movement which we call Christianity, for Christianity is a variant religion. It is not an original religion. It is in its origin purely and entirely Jewish. All of its great conceptions are brought with it out of its Jewish home. The very term Christ, applied to Jesus, is a Jewish word, expressive of certain Jewish ideas, and therefore this is a variant religion; and like all such religions, we should expect to find there a personal founder, one in whose mind was conceived the thought, and who by his personal character gives impulse to the movement, and we find that the Christian gives this account of his religion. He tells us that it was one Jesus who founded that religion. And that is the most reasonable account of the origin of the religion that we can have. So we go on now and ask ourselves whether this person called Jesus has been presented to us in such wise as to make him to be, to our mind, a real person.

Every man and every woman born into this world is unique. All of us are unique in countenance; all of us are unique in character.

We all face the world in a given way. We all have certain expressions of thought, certain modes of feeling, certain ways of looking at the world that are our own. In order to have a personality we must have that personality defined in terms of character. And when the person is so defined, then we begin to have before us a clear, distinct notion of a given person; and when we come to Jesus we find that there has been deposited the expression and representation of a very decided character.

If you will take the trouble to study carefully those documents which approach as nearly as possible to the time of Jesus, if you make yourself acquainted with them, steep your mind in them, you will begin to have forming before your mind as distinct a character as any you know, and you will come to have a clearer conception of that character than you have, perhaps, of your next door neighbor. A photograph of that character has been made upon the minds of men, and that photograph has been reflected for us in their description.

Now there are certain characteristics to which I wish to call your attention for your own future examination. In the first place, *Jesus was a man who knew men.* He assumed

a certain attitude toward mankind. He differed very decidedly in character from the man who immediately preceded him in the great work in which he was engaged. John the Baptist was a man who knew great moral principles, but he didn't know men. But Jesus was the eldest son of a large family, according to his story; he lived in a small town, and, because of his trade, he was constantly brought in contact with men. And so he came to have a knowledge of the motives that move mankind, which helped him to be the great man that he was. I will give you one single incident of this—and it is a most remarkable incident—and it has upon it the stamp of reality in such wise that you cannot help believing that it actually occurred. It is said that he was one day going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and it was at the time, according to the account, when he was at the height of his popularity, when the people were drawn around him, and there was a certain man who belonged to the outcast class, who was like a saloonkeeper of today—that is, he would be looked upon by respectable people in the same way,—and he had no notion that he could come near and have any communication with the great prophet of whom he had heard; but he

wanted to see him, and so ran ahead and climbed up in a sycamore tree, and when Jesus came along, surrounded by a great crowd of disciples, he looked up into the tree and saw this man, and he called to him and said: "Come down." Why? "Because I must dine with you tonight." He knew the fact that this man was of the class of the publicans and he made himself at once the friend of that man, and it was that knowledge of men which we find all through, which was one of the great traits of his character.

And then we find that he had a certain way of looking at nature round about him. *He was in perfect accord with the great natural world, and all the expressions of his thought come from the very heart of the world,* and you can feel that they do. When he was comparing the life of man, and man's anxieties and anxious cares, he made reference to the sparrows that are sold for a farthing. Now you do not find any such way of looking at nature and making use of it in any of those around about him. Not, certainly, among the great men who followed him in the Christian church. But here you find a man in keen sympathy with the great natural world round about him. And then you also find a certain

self-assertion, a belief that he is a man ordained of God, a conviction that he has a mission from God which gives him the right to command men. He makes these assertions all the time. You may use them either to depreciate or exalt his character, as you believe, but he stands in the midst of the world and he says "I am," and "Come unto me." I would not have you think that he used the words "I am" as they were ascribed to him by others, but the fact that he had this self-assertion is a part of his character. Now I only instance these in order to show you that we are dealing here with a clear, definite character, and one *as clearly defined as any character that we know in history,* as clearly defined as the character of Julius Cæsar, as clearly defined as the character of Socrates; and this definition of his character was made by simple men.

The earliest document which we have in Christian history, that is, the earliest document embodying a tradition of Christian history, is undoubtedly found in the gospel of Mark, and the gospel of Mark is the one that gives the cleanest, clearest perception of the character of Jesus. In that gospel we find things that never would have been put there after Jesus had been made the God of the Christian

church. But there in that gospel we have a deposit of human character as clear and distinct as the deposit of the bones of the mastodon in the earth, and you can from that gospel, together with the words of Jesus which you find in Matthew, reconstruct the character of Jesus with as much precision, it seems to me, as a naturalist can reconstruct the mastodon, having found his bones. So we have here *a fact and a reality; a man who lived on earth.* And it is this force of personal character that impresses itself upon us, as we study simply as historians.

Now I am not here to defend in any wise this man, to say whether he is good or bad. I am here simply as a student of human history. As one who has devoted at least thirty years of his life to that department of human science and who has made the acquaintance, the intimate acquaintance, of a large number of those men whose characters have been preserved to us from out the past—such men as Socrates, such men as Cæsar—and I find, in my study of the deposit that has come down to us concerning Jesus, just as clean and clear a character as I have found in the study of any other character in human history. Therefore, to my mind the argument is incontrovertible; you

cannot gainsay it. We are in the presence of a great reality, because here is a deposit, here are the bones of the character, and any man who will inform himself and take them up and exercise those powers whereby we are endowed for the work, and will do it according to the principles that guide us in all similar investigation, will find himself in the presence of a reality.

And there is this further fact, that we have of this man *a very distinctly outlined history.* There is nothing vague about him. There are a great many things in his history that are not historical. With them we have nothing to do at this present moment. But we have of him a history just as distinct as we have of him a character. We can follow his history from the time that he entered upon his public career until the time that career closed, just as easily as we can follow Cæsar from the time that his legions marched from Gaul until the day that he fell at the foot of Pompey's pillar stabbed by the knives of Brutus, Cassius and his fellows. It is perfectly open history to any one who will read it with the historical sense. This man was of the working class. And let me call your attention to this fact also, that all great religious variations have

as their beginning the thought and work of some man who is not in the great organization, either political or ecclesiastical, of his time. He is always on the outside. We may except from that the Buddha, a prince of India who fled from his palace because his heart was oppressed; but with that one exception every great reformer of religion has been an obscure man or woman. What was Mohammed? A camel driver of Kadijah. And Joseph Smith, the great Mormon saint? An epileptic farm hand. And who in all this world ever heard of Mrs. Eddy until she founded a great sect? A forlorn, unknown woman; this is the great marvel of religious history. So we have in the founder of the Christian religion the son of a carpenter. His father's name was Joseph. He lived in Galilee, in lower Galilee. The name of his birthplace is given to us. The town of Nazareth. We know nothing about his early life. He does not appear upon the stage of history until the time that he enters upon his public career.

There was at that time a great spiritual and political excitement abroad in his native land, and the last vestige of political power had been taken from the Hebrew people. As long as the Idumean kings reigned they could per-

suade themselves that Herod was the king of the Jews, and that the Jews were a free, independent and separate people.

But with the end of that reign and with the reduction of Judea simply to a province of the greater jurisdiction of Syria, the last vestige disappeared of that sovereignty which the Hebrew looked upon as the sovereignty of God, and at the time the whole people were astir with the thought that now, if ever, that great God in whom they trusted, and whom they looked upon as their king, should come to their assistance; and there had grown up among that people a certain conception of how that God would come, and because of the misery of the times they thought he must come soon.

Then there arose up another like unto the old prophets and preached the doctrine that the Kingdom of God was at hand, and all Judea went out to hear him; and then this young man of Galilee went up to hear him likewise. There is in the gospel of the Hebrews a passage that tells us that when his mother and sisters and brothers were going up they asked him to go along, and he said: "Why should I go? I am not conscious of any sin." And then he said again, according to this account, "But I will go, because it is

possible refusal to go might be sin." And he went up and a great change took place in him. He was powerfully affected by this teacher. He himself laid hold of the great spirit of the man, and the great thought under it expressed by the prophet. He had doubtless himself been thinking out all these questions, and then after that great event in his life he retired for a little while into seclusion. Now all this is told by Mark with the brevity of harshness, and we have simply the very outline of the history; and coming out from that obscurity, he goes at once—not following his master John—but going at once from the wilderness, and following his own social instincts, he goes right back into the country to which he belongs, and he begins his work there, and he makes the center of his work one of the largest towns on the lake that he is perfectly familiar with. He begins his work by simply taking up the creed that he had already heard, and thus his spiritual genius responds to that of John and he begins to teach concerning the Kingdom of God and tells what it is like, and in that teaching we have his great genius; the penetrating in and below the common thought, the laying hold of the fundamental principles. And he continued that teaching, beginning in

the synagogue, and when the synagogue would have no more of him, or was too small for him, going out and doing his work upon the lakeside and mountainside, he went from village to village; and he at once excited the antagonism of the men in power. He was a new man. An interloper, he was teaching people when that was the province of those who were educated for the purpose of teaching, and this aroused against him their hatred; this is a great fact in his history that is significant and stamped with reality, this antagonism springing up immediately. Why, it is the commonest of all experiences in the religious history of mankind. The new man. The man comes with some statement that is not in accord with that which has been received. Such a man instantly becomes the object of hatred to all who are in seats of authority, and they proceed against him at once.

And so this antagonism grows between Jesus and the ruling power, and at the same time he has a marvelous influence over the common people, and that increases the intensity of the enmity between himself and his opponents. And we can not only follow his history, but we can follow his spiritual moods.

I have studied this man Jesus; I have found in him that which was never taught in schools. I have found, for instance, that he was a man of moods, apt to make very sudden decisions, apt to be very highly exhilarated, and then to be depressed down to the very earth. We can follow his moods. We can see how he starts out with the supposition that the world is going to come his way at once, and then he very soon discovers the prevailing enmity of the leading men, and the fickleness of the multitude; that his mission is not going to be so plain a matter as it seemed. That was a great crisis in his life, and there comes a moment in his life when it seems that his mission is to fail utterly—but this is simply a conclusion of my own—there comes the thought that he will abandon that mission. He is again and again brought face to face with the fact that what he himself had been taught—that God was only for the Jews—was not true. He finds faith among the Gentiles. But remember, this man confined his mission from the first to the last to the Jews. He refuses again and again to go outside and make any appeal to the Gentiles.

(Chairman sounds his gavel.)

DR. CRAPSEY: Is my time up? I will sum up as follows: First, The point of antecedent probability; second, the religious variation; third, the deposit of a distinct character, and, fourth, a definite history of the life of Jesus.

JUDGE THEODORE BRENTANO: Mr. Mangasarian will have forty minutes in which to reply.

MR. MANGASARIAN: To this friendly debate I came with the quiet confidence that even should Dr. Crapsey succeed in proving that the Jesus of the New Testament really existed, it would be impossible for him, or for any man, to prove that we possess a trustworthy account of his life and teachings. Further, should even that point be established, it would still remain to be shown that what a young Jewish teacher said two thousand years ago is binding upon us of the Twentieth Century.

Before we proceed to describe the character, or to give the history of Jesus, as friend Crapsey has done, we must examine the sources of our information. Before we assert that Jesus did this and that, or that he said this and said that, we must prove the relia-

bility of the witnesses, but for whose testimony there would have been no Jesus at all. Let it also be remembered that the majority of these witnesses disclose to us only one year of Jesus' life—only *one* year, while seventy years of Socrates' life is spread before us.

Let us begin then by examining, first, the testimony of the so-called sacred books of the Old and the New Testaments; this done, we shall then examine such testimony as is said to be furnished by profane writers.

The name of Christ is mentioned in the Old Testament, not in the text, but in the short notices or editorials at the head of each chapter in the Bible,—put there by the Protestant and Catholic translators. These editorials are only about three hundred years old, and it is in these that Christ is mentioned. He is not in the Old Testament, but we are told to imagine him there. An imaginary evidence for an imaginary Christ. Let me give you an illustration: "Thou art my servant, O Israel," says Isaiah, and another writer, Soloman, perhaps, is describing the personal charms of his spouse or sweetheart. The little editorials slipped into the Bible tell us that "Israel" is Christ, and the "spouse" is the

Christian church. Such is the first evidence for the historicity of the Christian Saviour.

But the chief witness to the reality of Jesus Christ is the New Testament, of which Dr. Crapsey had very little to say. As we open this part of the Bible the first book we come to is the gospel according to St. Matthew. It is in English. We ask the translators for the manuscripts or manuscript from which they have made their translation, which let us suppose, is placed in our hands. Upon examination we discover that the manuscript is not signed. It is anonymous. We ask: Do you know why this manuscript is not signed? If it was written as is claimed by St. Matthew, an apostle of Jesus,—a man willing to die for his faith, a man who is said to have actually suffered martyrdom,—was there any reason why he should not have signed his testimony? But the fact is patent, the manuscript is not signed. Why was it not signed? Why? Christianity began with anonymous documents.

We examine the manuscript further and we find that it is not dated. How can we tell the value of a document or the reliability of a witness who neither signs nor dates his copy? How near was he to the times or to the man he

is describing? The Jesus story began with an unsigned and an undated manuscript.

On examining the manuscript again we discover that it is written in Greek. Dear me! Jesus was a Jew. Every one of his apostles was a Jew. How came this manuscript to be in Greek? It may be answered that it was translated. Where then is the original from which it was translated? Where is it? Moreover, the ablest scholars from the day of Erasmus have told us that it is not a translation. But granting that it is a translation we ask again where is the Hebrew original? Can this audience, or can any jury, decide without the original whether or not this is a faithful and reliable translation? An unsigned, undated document, written in a language foreign to the man whose name has been attached to it! Such is the character of the sources without which there would surely have been no Jesus.

We examine the manuscript once more and we find that, whoever the composer of the story was, he could not have been an eye-witness. We have indeed absolute proof of that, and the proof is furnished by the New Testament itself. The author of the third gospel, for in-

stance, begins his story with these words: "Forasmuch as *many* have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning these matters which have been fully believed among us, even as they who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word *delivered them unto us.*" He confesses that he was not an eye-witness himself, nor were any of the others. He says many gospels existed. He also admits that the gospel writers were considerably removed from the time of Jesus and his followers. The words "as they from *the beginning*" show that he is speaking of events which happened many years before. Dr. Pfleiderer, of the University of Berlin, a theologian, by the way, commenting upon this admission by St. Luke, says: "The author of the third gospel makes clear that others who wrote the gospel story were no more eye-witnesses than he was." We have clearly established then that the writer of the Gospel of Matthew was not an eye-witness. Let me quote Pfleiderer once more: "It is evident then that the author of this gospel could not have been the Apostle Matthew. We do not know who he was. It was scarcely the work of a single author. It is the work of various hands. Generations of early Christians worked at it.

We have no historical knowledge of the childhood and youth of Jesus, for the narratives in Matthew and Luke are of no *historical* value."*

As far as possible I am going to confine myself this evening to quotations from the scholars of the Christian Church, and shall rarely count upon the Rationalist writers to prove my thesis.

Of John's Gospel the *Encyclopedia Biblica,* written by the leading scholars of the Church of England, Drs. Cheyne, Driver, etc., and by Dr. Schmiedel, of Berlin, an eminent theologian, says this: "The Gospel of John is the least trustworthy source for the words and acts of Jesus." Dr. Crapsey himself says of this gospel: "The Gospel that goes by his name (John) is undoubtedly not of his authorship." It follows then that before we make any assertions about the story of Jesus, or his unique character, we must make sure of our sources. This Dr. Capsey did not undertake to do in the first part of his address. He told us what kind of a man Jesus or the Christ was, without first trying to assure us that his information came from reliable sources.

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*"Christian Origins", p. 222.

Before we pass on to another phase of this discussion let me quote the words of a Doctor of Divinity who is preparing young men for the Congregationalist ministry in the University of Yale, Prof. Bacon. This is what he says of the value of the documents on which Dr. Crapsey bases his belief in the reality of Jesus: "Most of the New Testament writings really come to us without a title page, destitute of date or author's name, save such as an ambiguous and even contradictory tradition has supplied. Some lack a beginning and others an ending." And yet clergymen continue to speak of "the Gospel according to St. Matthew," or "St. Mark," or "St. John," when they have absolute proof that these Gospels were not and could not have been written by the men whose names have been attached to them! Let the conclusion from the above facts be stated, not in my words, but in those of a respectable English publication, friendly to the cause of Christianity—*The London Spectator*: "It is evident that a very critical point has been reached in historical criticism. If Prof. Cheyne and Schmiedel are right all that the world has hitherto understood by the religion of Jesus Christ has practically disappeared. The Gospels do not represent what

he said and the Epistles were not written by his disciples."

Having examined the Gospels let us for a moment consider the Epistles, and particularly those of St. Paul, whom we may describe as the star witness of the opposition. St. Paul is supposed to have lived in Jerusalem at a time when Jesus himself was living there, and yet St. Paul admits that he never saw Jesus, and never heard of his miracles or his teachings. I am not going to question St. Paul's existence. Not because I believe he is historical, but because my argument can afford to admit his historicity. Let me, however, quote what an English scholar, also a clergyman, writing in the *Britannica,* says of Paul: "We have no means of knowing when St. Paul was born, how long he lived, or at what dates the several events of his life took place." But, as already intimated, we will grant his existence, and will also assume that his works are authentic. What then are the facts? St. Paul tells us that he lived in Jerusalem at a time when Jesus must have been holding the attention of the city; yet he never met him. The only Jesus that he saw was the one that appeared to him in a trance or in a dream. Paul's Jesus was not a man who lived with him in

the same city, whom he had met and seen, but a "dream" Jesus, a phantom Christ.

Is it not wonderful that in all the thirteen Epistles attributed to St. Paul there is not one quotation from any of the many reputed sayings of Jesus? Dr. Crapsey will please explain that to us. What would you think of a missionary who went to India and lived there for twenty years or more without ever quoting a single passage from the Gospels—without once referring to the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer—or to any of the miracles or parables? If Jesus actually performed and uttered the things attributed to him in the Gospels, they must have become the common property of the community, and Paul could not possibly have been ignorant of them. Yet throughout his Epistles not once does Paul quote from the sayings of Jesus, nor does he refer to a single one of his many miracles or parables. The only explanation we can offer is that Paul was not acquainted with the gospel Jesus, and he was not, because the gospel Jesus was not yet put together. This position is strengthened by a quotation which I will now give you from Dr. Crapsey's defense of himself at his recent heresy trial before the bishop of his church. Dr. Crapsey

argued at that trial that St. Paul could not have known of the virgin birth of Christ, for if he was aware of it he would certainly have spoken of it in his many Epistles. "It was Paul's bounden duty," said Dr. Crapsey forcibly on that occasion, "to give to the Christian community all the knowledge of the great Master that he possessed." This is comprehensive and conclusive, "It was Paul's *bounden* duty to give *all* the knowledge of the great Master that he possessed." *All the knowledge.* We say so too. If Paul did not quote from Jesus or refer to any of his teachings or miracles, according to the reasoning of Dr. Crapsey, it was because he was not acquainted with them. He had never heard of a miracle-working or teaching Jesus. He had only heard of a crucified and risen Jesus. The Jesus of Paul was another Jesus. It was the Jesus he saw in his dream. The gospel Jesus was later than Paul.

Before we pass on to the examination of what has been described as profane evidence, let me say that the gospel story in itself, aside from the reliability of its reputed authors, seems to be intrinsically improbable. The character of Jesus, which Dr. Crapsey describes as unique or consistent, has all the

marks of having been artificially put together. Do you think, for instance, that one man could have been the author of the different and contradictory sayings attributed to Jesus? At one time, for instance, he is made to say "Love your enemies," and at another, "Hate your father and mother." Is this consistent? At one time he says "Resist not evil," and at another he advises his disciples to sell their cloaks and "buy a sword." He says "Come unto me," and then "Depart from me, ye cursed." "Forgive a man seventy times seven," and then, if a man will not listen to the church "let him be to you as a heathen and a publican." In one sentence he speaks of peace, and in another he declares, "I came not to bring peace; but a sword." In one breath he announces good-tidings, and in the next that, if people will not believe in this good-tidings, "it will be easier on the last day for Sodom and Gomorrah" than for them. We have here evidently two different persons. A mild and militant Jesus is compounded into one, and the result is unlike the natural and consistent character Dr. Crapsey attributes to Jesus.

Again: Do you think it possible that a man like Jesus, who went about doing good, who preached daily in the synagogues—whom

great multitudes followed to the seashore and the mountainside, who is supposed to have entered Jerusalem at the head of a parade, with cries of hosanna and the waving of palm branches—is it conceivable that to arrest so public a character the authorities were compelled to bribe one of his disciples? Did such a man have to be pointed out to the authorities? And is it conceivable that at his trial in a Roman court, Pontius Pilate, the Judge, said: "I find this man innocent, but if you wish to kill him, you may do so." Is it believable that a Roman court in the age of Augustus Cæsar handed over an innocent man to be lynched by a mob? Is this history? Can we believe that a young man who had opened the eyes of the blind, cured the leper, fed the hungry, raised the dead,—was nailed to the cross by a hoodlum crowd without any one attempting to rescue him from his persecutors? Do you not think that if the people knew that Pilate had pronounced Jesus to be innocent, that they would have, out of gratitude for all his miracles for their sick ones, rushed upon the rioters and saved Jesus from death? Is it conceivable, again, that in the midhour the sun was blackened and the earth quaked,—the graves opened and the dead arose and walked

through the streets of Jerusalem? Is that history?

But in this improbable narrative from which Dr. Crapsey quotes to prove the historicity of Jesus, though he quotes from it with great discrimination and sparingly, we find certain telltale texts to which I now call your attention. Let me say that this portion of my address constitutes perhaps the most important part of my contribution. The Apostle John, supposed to be a bosom friend of Jesus, writing to his group of followers—to his little church, which he has just organized, complains that "many deceivers" have entered into their midst who "confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh." Ah, this is significant! Even at this early stage, and in this little apostolic group, there were those who denied the historical Jesus. Is not that remarkable? Such a text is like a window opening upon the subject under discussion. Even in the apostolic circle there were men who did not believe that Jesus Christ *came in the flesh.* The natural meaning of these words is that Jesus was not a flesh and bone man. That he was not human at all, that he was an idea, a principle, a manifestation. In short, a phantom.

I will quote another telltale text: In the

Book of Acts we read that Paul and Barnabas, who were co-workers, had a falling out, and "the contention was so sharp between them that they had to depart one from the other." What could have been the trouble? Barnabas it is supposed wrote a gospel of his own, which the church has suppressed,—of all the lost gospels, we can say they were suppressed. But at one time it appears that the gospel of Barnabas was as much in vogue as any other gospel, of which there were a great many, as St. Luke admits. From this gospel it is inferred that Barnabas denied that Jesus Christ was ever crucified. Is it conceivable that if Jesus Christ was really crucified at Jerusalem, in full daylight, and a record of the event made by the authorities, as well as the public, that Barnabas, an associate of the apostles and a contemporary, could or would deny it? What will the audience say to that? How could Barnabas, or anybody else, fancy that it was somebody else and not Jesus Christ who was crucified?

The great ecclesiastical historian of Germany, Dr. Mosheim, writes: "The prevalent opinion among early Christians"—mark you the word "early"—"was that Christ existed in appearance only." The *prevalent* opinion

among *early* Christians! What was this prevalent opinion?—that Christ was not real?

We know also from the Epistles of St. Paul how at times he lost his patience with the men who were preaching *another* doctrine and another Jesus. "If any man should come and preach to you another doctrine (or Jesus) (evidently there were more than one) let him be accursed," says Paul. Barnabas was preaching another Jesus. Nicholas, who is also mentioned in the Bible as one of the seven deacons appointed by the apostles, was preaching another Jesus. I have called this part of my contribution important because it is an argument drawn from the Bible itself. Why should there be more than one view of an historical personage immediately following the supposed disappearance of that personage?

Milman in his "History of Christianity," a book which is known to you all, says: "The Gnostic sects denied that Christ was born at all or that he died." Consider the significance of these words. During the lifetime of the Apostles, who had supposedly seen Jesus, there are sects among the very first Christians denying that the New Testament Jesus was ever born or that he had ever died. Is not

that significant? These Gnostics, although for a different purpose, were evidently the first to raise the question of the historicity of Jesus.

Irenaeus, one of the Christian Fathers, denounces the Gnostic sect by admitting, however, that they regarded that "neither Christ nor the Saviour was made flesh."

It was not until the Eighth Century, not until after the Council of Trulo, that Pope Adrian called upon the Christian world to think of Jesus as a man. Until then Jesus was only a lamb on the cross. In the Eighth Century he became a man. "Jesus should hereafter be represented by the figure of a man" was the order of Pope Adrian. How true the words of the author of the "Intellectual Development of Europe,"—Draper: "For several centuries the church was engrossed with disputes respecting the nature of Christ." Was he a man or a phantom? Real or an apparition? Of what other historical man has there ever been such confusion and contradiction?

Nor is it yet decided how old Jesus was when he died. The New Testament says that he was about thirty or thirty-three years old. Irenaeus, an early Christian Father, already quoted, insists that he was an old man when

crucified, which he proves by quoting the testimony of fathers who had conversed with the Apostles. To say that Jesus was not an old man when he died was a heresy according to Irenaeus. By being a child, this Christian Father argues, Jesus saves the children, by being a youth he saves the young men, and it was only by going also through old age that he could save the old. Fanciful arguments for a fanciful Christ!

Here I may also call your attention to the belief of the early church in Anti-Christ. The Apostles believed in Anti-Christ, Jesus believed in Anti-Christ. His coming was predicted, his character was described. There was a belief that he would be born of a wandering virgin, and that he would be a descendant of the house of Dan. But does Dr. Crapsey believe in the historicity of Anti-Christ? In all probability Christ and Anti-Christ belonged to the same family of myths.

In examining the evidence from profane writers we must remember that the silence of one contemporary author is more important than the supposed testimony of another. There was living in the same time with Jesus a great Jewish scholar, by the name of Philo. He was an Alexandrian Jew, and he visited Jeru-

salem while Jesus was teaching and working miracles in the holy city. Yet Philo in all his works never once mentions Jesus. He does not seem to have heard of him. He could not have helped mentioning him if he had really seen him or heard of him. In one place in his works Philo is describing the difference between two Jewish names, Hosea and Jesus. Jesus, he says, means saviour of the people. What a fine opportunity for him to have said that at that very time there was living in Jerusalem a saviour by the name of Jesus, or one supposed to be, or claiming to be, a saviour. He could not have helped mentioning Jesus if he had ever seen or heard of him.

Josephus is the next important writer. We have no hesitation in saying that Josephus, like Philo, maintains a significant silence. Being a scholar, Dr. Crapsey knows that the passage in Josephus referring to Jesus is a forgery. That is the reason Dr. Crapsey has not mentioned the Josephus passage. The spiritual ancestors of the people who slipped the word Christ into the Old Testament slipped the word Christ into the Jewish books of Josephus. We have to imagine Christ in Josephus as we have to imagine him in the Old Testament. Gibbon calls the Josephus pas-

sage: "A consummate forgery." Bishop Warburton calls it: "A rank forgery." De Quincey says that the passage is admitted to be "a forgery by all men not lunatics." Of one other supposed reference in Josephus Canon Farrar says: "This passage was early tampered with by Christians." The same writer says this of a third passage: "Respecting the third passage in Josephus, the only question is whether it be partly or entirely spurious." Lardner, the great English theologian, with whose works Dr. Crapsey is well acquainted, was the first man to prove that the important passage in Josephus was a forgery.

What does it mean to commit forgery? Do you know of any other historical being to prove whose existence it was necessary to resort to forgery? And is it not known to you that to prove the existence of Jesus a thousand forgeries were committed? To prove which I shall not quote what Rationalists say on the subject, but what theologians themselves have confessed. According to Mosheim, the Christian Fathers "deemed it a pious act to employ deception and fraud in defense of piety."* The same writer says: "The greatest and

*"Ecclesiastical History", Vol. 1, p. 247.

most pious teachers were nearly all of them infected with this leprosy." Once more he says: "The whole Christian church was in this century overwhelmed with these disgraceful fictions."

Milman states that: "Pious fraud was admitted and avowed."

Bishop Ellicott writes: "It was an age of literary frauds."

Dr. Giles: "There can be no doubt that great numbers of books were then written with no other view than to deceive."

Robertson Smith, who was tried for heresy by the Church of Scotland, says: "There was an enormous floating mass of spurious literature created to suit party views."

I ask again, why resort to forgery to prove the existence of Jesus? Why? There is only one answer: Because there was not enough evidence to prove the existence of Jesus without forgery.

We come now to Tacitus, the man upon whom Dr. Crapsey bases his hopes. The quotation from Tacitus is an important one. That part of the passage which concerns us is something like this: "They have their denomination from *Christus,* put to death as a criminal by Pontius Pilate during the reign of Tiber-

ius." I wish to say in the first place that this passage is not in the *History* of Tacitus, known to the ancients, but in his *Annals,* which is not quoted by any ancient writer. I wonder if Dr. Crapsey is aware that the *Annals* of Tacitus were not known to be in existence until the year 1468. An English writer, Mr. Ross, has undertaken in an interesting volume to show that the *Annals* were forged by an Italian, Bracciolini. I am not competent to say whether or not Mr. Ross proves his point. But what is the value of a Fifteenth Century testimony to the historicity of Jesus? Is it conveivable that the early Christians would have ignored so valuable a testimony had they known of its existence? The Christian Fathers, who not only collected assiduously all that they could use to establish the reality of Jesus—but who did not hesitate even to forge passages, to invent documents, and also to destroy the testimony of witnesses unfavorable to their cause—would have certainly used the Tacitus passage had it been in existence in their day. *Not one of the Christian Fathers* in his controversy with the unbelievers has quoted the passage from Tacitus, which passage is Dr. Crapsey's leading proof of the historicity of Jesus.

We know that it was contrary to the policy of the Romans to persecute people for religious reasons. The Jews even were permitted to live in Rome and to practice their religious ceremonies in freedom. The Romans tolerated every superstition, and even imported gods from Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and Gaul for their Pantheon. What other religion did they ever persecute? The Tacitus passage by describing horrible persecutions, contradicts the well known policy of Rome toward the religious beliefs of her subjects.

Dr. Crapsey evidently believes in what the Tacitus passage states, namely, that the Romans rolled up the Christians in straw mats and burned them to illuminate the streets with and to entertain the crowd—that they were thrown to the lions, outraged, and tortured to death. But let us reflect a moment: This is supposed to have taken place in the year 64 A. D. According to the New Testament Paul was in Rome from the year 63 to the year 65, and must, therefore, have been an eye-witness of the persecution under Nero. Let me quote from the Bible to show that there could have been no such persecution as the Tacitus passage describes. The last verse in the book of Acts reads: "And he (Paul) abode two whole

years in his own hired dwelling, and received all that went in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, *none forbidding him.*"

At this point the chairman announced that the speaker had exhausted his time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Crapsey will have thirty minutes to reply.

DR. CRAPSEY: My friendly opponent seems to me to have confused two things which are very distinct. Namely: the Christ of theology, and even the Christ of history, with Jesus of Nazareth. Now, the Christ is an idea; always was an idea. It would take more than thirty minutes to give you the slightest notion of the origin of that idea. The Christ I admit to be purely mythological. I never had any question about that. Christ is an intellectual conception of the Hebrew people entirely formed by their notions of their God, and the way He would come, and of the end of the world. They expected the coming of that Christ. The word Christ, you know, means the anointed one. It is a translation of the

Hebrew Messiah. I repeat, to give you even an outline of the evolution of the conception of Christ among the Hebrew people would require a lecture of an hour and a half. But that is purely a mythical title. Christ is not the name of Jesus. It was his title. A title conferred upon him in all likelihood after he was dead. It is a great question whether he ever adopted this title, but it is certain that a little band of people were gathered together because they believed that this Jesus of Nazareth, who had been crucified, was the Christ, the one who was to come. Now they may have been altogether mistaken in that. But that conception, so far as this little crowd was concerned, was that historical personage, this Jesus of Nazareth. Now the Christ is one thing, and the Jesus of Nazareth, the historical person to whom that title was given by his little band of followers, is quite another thing, and so in dealing with that subject we must be careful to discriminate between the two. The historicity of Jesus of Nazareth is in question, not the historicity of the Christ. Because the word Christ is admitted to be by everybody a simple title, a simple conception in the minds of men.

My good friend himself gave away his

whole case. He didn't know it, but he did. [Laughter and applause.] I will tell you how he did it. My friends, he did it in the most unconscious way in the world. Why he said Christ himself believed in Anti-Christ. He said that Jesus himself believed in Anti-Christ. In that admission he gave away his cause. Because if Jesus believed in Anti-Christ, if Christ believed in Anti-Christ, then Christ is somebody who believed.

There is the confusion. We are now dealing with a very great and vast movement in human life. It requires most careful study.

Now all that the gentleman remarked concerning the authorities I entirely agree with. We have not anything like an original copy of any of the records. Not one of them. There are four hundred years between the earliest copy of the New Testament and the original document. The original documents have perished. And yet we are not without historical testimony, because human history has a way of preserving its annals, and we have these books handed down to us; and while we all admit that there are in them a vast accumulation of tradition, a great deal of what might be called myth, yet there is an historical residu-

um, because Christianity, everyone must admit, is a matter of human history.

Now, my dear friends, how do you account for this? You hear nothing in human history of anything that corresponds to Christianity prior to the time of Jesus of Nazareth. There is a limited space in history,—covered by one's little hand [indicating] that way,—that you hear nothing at all of. You hear all the time of other things. Among the Jews you hear of the expectation of the coming of Christ, who is purely imaginary; then you come to a certain point in history and at that point in history you meet with a certain personality. Now don't confound your Jesus of Nazareth, or Jesus Ben Joseph, with the Christ, which is simply a title given to him; and when you come to that point, and after that point, the world begins to be full of it. Now you have to account for that fact, because this is not an imaginary Christianity; it is not an imaginary thing; Christianity is today a great fact. It has been a great fact in human history. And now, my dear friends, dismiss from your minds tonight any question of good or bad; that has nothing to do with it. It is simply a question of fact. We have a great movement in human history. We have this move-

ment at a certain time, at a certain place, and there is a certain account given of this movement and how it began, and you cannot get away from the fact, and you have got to give some reason, to account for each great movement that occurs in human history.

Now my friend has been entirely outside the question. He began his argument by going to the protestant edition of the Bible in Greek, where they undertook to comment on the Bible in their chapter headings, and they have no value whatever. Now these chapter headings are simply of Protestant manufacture. No book has ever been treated as has that which we call the Bible. The separation of it into chapter and verse destroys it. All of that work we have to go behind. Now he uses that to discredit the historical portion, but, of course, that does not discredit the historical portion at all. Misrepresentation does not discredit the book itself, nor does the presence in any document of unhistorical matter discredit the historical matter that is in it. And, indeed, historical criticism has for its very purpose the separation of the unhistorical from the historical matter. That is why men are trained in historical science, and in every document that comes down to us from the past

there is more or less of unhistorical matter. There is a great deal of matter in our New Testament that is decidedly unhistorical. The gentleman was entirely in the right in quoting me as saying that John's Gospel is not historical. John's Gospel is purely an interpretation. It is taking the history of Jesus as a background, and as a basis, and then interpreting this Jesus in the terms of the Greek philosophy of the time. That is what it is. That same thing was done with others. It was done in the case of Socrates. We take the case of Socrates and we have a representation of Socrates given you in the simple form of Xenophon, and we have an interpretation of Socrates in the very profound Dialogues of Plato. We have given these two interpretations, but behind them both there is that single personality that frequented the marketplace of Athens. You have the same thing in the New Testament. You have a simple individual interpretation given to you in the synoptic Gospels. The matter of authorship is not altogether germane.

There is a representation of a man given to you clearly and distinctly, and it is harmonious despite the differences which our friend sees in the utterances of this man. I have

no time in my thirty minutes to go into all the differences he gives you. There are very many sayings ascribed to Jesus which are undoubtedly not his. That would be the necessary condition of such manner of handing down tradition concerning him. But, in spite of that, you get back to that distinct personality of which I spoke to you in the beginning.

Now the separation of the unhistorical from the historical matter is a great department of historical criticism. That is what it is. And the question of the great authors whom my friend has quoted have had it for their very business to do that. I doubt if there is today any great scholar in Christendom,—I don't know of one, there may be one or two, I believe there are one or two in Germany, who question the historical existence of Jesus; but such great scholars as Harnack and a host of others whom the gentleman has named, why there is not one of these men who have devoted their whole lives to the subject who will doubt for an instant that behind all the tradition and all the imagination which played around his character we have the solid historical reality of the life of Jesus. Now I cannot answer the points in detail, because, of course, the time would not permit.

Speaking of the New Testament: Why, of course the New Testament was written in Greek. Greek was the literary language of the time. Everybody spoke Greek and wrote it. It is a question whether Jesus used the Greek. Greek domination had been over that country for centuries. It was just the same as the English language in Wales. Everybody spoke Greek; everybody wrote Greek, that is, everybody that could write. The Christian church became Greek almost immediately upon its entry into the world. The variation of Christianity from Judaism came from that very fact. The Christians, or Jews who became Christians, were called Hellenists; they had absorbed the Greek culture and the Greek language. Christianity was a Greek variation of the Hebrew. Now I think it quite doubtful myself whether Jesus spoke other than his own language, but his whole thought had been influenced unconsciously by the action of Greek thought upon the Hebrews. It was perfectly natural that the New Testament should be written in Greek.

Then the question of the anonymous character of these writings: Why, men did not care. Almost all writings of that time were anonymous. The authorship was not a mat-

ter that was considered important. The writings generally were anonymous, or were ascribed. It was very common to ascribe. It is hardly fair to use the word "forgery" in respect to it because it was a very ordinary and regular thing for a man to write and then to ascribe his writings to some great name. The book of Deuteronomy, for instance, to Moses,—to give it the importance of the great name. That was the literary habit. It was not a good habit, but there it was. Such a habit as that was not best adapted to bring out the truth. And of our New Testament all of the gospels undoubtedly are anonymous and the persons who wrote them never will be known.

Now, mind you, the historicity of Jesus does not depend upon this. It depends upon the fact that here is Christianity, and there is much to account for it, and you have got to account for Christianity, as reasonable men, in some way. And you cannot account for it by simply saying it was a vague thing, because it was a very definite thing. It was founded, in the first instance, upon the fact that this Jesus, whom we have crucified and slain, was both Lord and Christ. How it got into their minds I don't know, but there is the fact.

The argument from silence, my friends, we think is a very great argument. It is an argument which we must consider very carefully. That is the one argument in his argument that seems to me to be forceful. The argument of silence is this: If a man in writing up a book fails to take note of what is germane to that book, and especially if, in presenting an argument, he fails to take notice of what would give strength to that argument, then his silence is an indication either that the fact was not known to him, or else he didn't consider it established. One of the two, if the fact be very strongly in his favor. For instance, take Paul. Now Paul was arguing all through his Epistles for a certain exalted character of the Christ. And Paul's Christ was based,—as I shall show you in a moment, —upon a great historical fact. A fact that was as clean and clear in his own mind as any fact could be. Now he was arguing in favor of a very exalted character for that Jesus who was the Christ in his estimation. He failed in that argument to take any notice of the miraculous conception and birth of Jesus. Now, if that had been a fact in existence in the history of his time, he could not have helped but have taken notice of it.

Let us carry that argument of silence a little further. My dear friend says that the fact that Paul does not give us the teaching of Jesus is an evidence that he didn't know it. Now, I think it is quite likely concerning a great deal of the teachings contained in our Gospels, as we have them now, because we must remember that at that time the world was not as it is now. There were no newspapers. Things didn't spread very rapidly. What Paul had was the conception which he had gotten from coming in contact with the followers of Christ. And how does my friend explain the conversion of Paul, admitting his historicity? Paul was converted by coming in contact with those who had been under the influence of the Master. He had heard tell of this and that; and it was his conclusion that this life that was represented to him was the life really lived by Christ that led up to his great conversion. Paul in writing his letters, it is true, makes no quotation that we know of from our extant Gospels. Not one. There are two reasons, perhaps, for that. One is, that he was not familiar with the particular and verbal sayings of Jesus. Another is that Paul was writing a fraternal letter, and the point in dispute, for the most part, between

him and those to whom he was writing was not concerning what Jesus thought, but concerning the relation of the Gentile nations to Jesus. Jesus was taken for granted in every line, in every syllable, in every Epistle that Paul wrote. And the whole question was: Is this Jesus, he who is to come again out of the heavens and who is to set up the kingdom of God on earth, is he going to show favor only to the Jews, or to the Gentiles also? That was the great question. In arguing that question—and he argues it only in short letters—why he simply sticks to his argument from the beginning to the end.

And when we come to the Epistle to the Ephesians, when we begin to come into the exalted region where Jesus is passing out from the thoughts of men as a human being and beginning his great process of apotheosis, there is just one fact clear and distinct that you must lay hold of in your mind. It is easy to cloud a simple question, but there is just one thing that is the center of all Christian thought and teaching, and that is the crucifixion of Jesus.

I was not aware that Tacitus's Annals were in dispute. I never heard of it until this evening, and they have been published as the work

of Tacitus a number of years; and, as I was saying, I confess I never heard until this evening that the Annals were in dispute, but whether they are in dispute or not, it is a fact that the crucifixion of Jesus under Pontius Pilate was a fact attested throughout the world, and believed throughout the world,—and it was believed that the crucifixion of Jesus was the great central fact in the world's spiritual history by those who were his followers.

Now, my friend tells you that certain sects in the early Church believed that he was not Jesus at all. That it was not Christ who was crucified, but that it was an apparition. Well, this is true. And why? Because they would not believe that the emanation from God could be crucified. Of course now you are getting into a new region. You are getting into the region of theology and mythology. And all of that has to do with man's conception, not with historical reality. So that the story of the denial of the crucifixion came from those who believed altogether in Christ as an emanation of the Divine, who believed that his body was simply an apparition; but the solid sense of the church rejected that, and the solid sense of the church held fast that it was an actual

crucifixion of a man. My friend dwells upon the silence of Paul concerning the teaching of Christ. Paul's silence is there certainly; but Paul's whole literature is simply saturated with the thought of the crucifixion and death of Christ. Not as something that was visionary, but as something that actually happened, and because of that a great change had taken place. Now if Jesus was there to be crucified, if he could be put to death, why he must have been alive.

Putting all things aside, the history of the crucifixion of Jesus is just as clearly evidenced by historic testimony as the death of Julius Cæsar. You take those accounts and they have verisimilitude stamped on their face, and in reading any historical account you take into consideration the historical atmosphere of its creation. My friend gives you various incidents in relation to the crucifixion which we know are not historical. And why do we know it? Why we know it simply because we know things do not happen in that way. This is the law of antecedent probability. But because any one thing does not happen, that is no argument that another cannot happen. Why, the very commonest thing in the world is the martyrdom of such men as Jesus. And

the stamp is there. You cannot read it without feeling that it is there, and permeates the history of men, and becomes a great central force in the world. Paul is full of it. And, therefore, Paul, while he is silent and makes no particular quotations in his letters of the sayings of Jesus, yet he is permeated with the thought that this Jesus has died upon the cross. He gives it his theological interpretation. But there is a great central fact in the history of Jesus which is testified to by Paul, and that is a great human fact. The crucifixion is reasonable. It does not require an overweight of evidence to prove it.

Now let us just glance a moment at the historical evidence. I disagree entirely with my friend concerning the Gospel of Barnabas. I don't believe I ever knew of a scholar, who had ever given any attention to that document, who considered it authentic. Those Apocryphal works are far inferior in authority to the works that are contained in the authorized scriptures. The Apocryphal work began a little after the apostolic period, and the Christian mind was very active, and we have a vast volume of Christian literature.

I wish I had time tonight to give you the law of myth and legend, and to distinguish

for you myth and legend. It might interest you. My friend says Jesus is a myth. What is a myth? Of course, a myth, in the popular acceptation of the word, is an imaginary thing, something that is not so. But a myth, in the scientific conception of the term, is a personification of the forces of nature, giving unto those forces a God-like and divine attribute. The great mythological period of the world unites the legendary period with history. Mythology is the effort of the untrained man seeking to account for the great phenomena of nature, and he does so by arguing from the known to the unknown. The great myths of the world are the great beginnings of human history.

JUDGE THEODORE BRENTANO: Mr. Mangasarian will have thirty minutes in which to reply.

MR. MANGASARIAN: When I was in Princeton studying for the Presbyterian ministry, the question, how could Paul have lived in Jerusalem without ever seeing Jesus, or at least, without ever hearing of him, came up in the class, and the explanation offered by one of the professors was, that, temporarily,

Paul must have been absent from Jerusalem. But *was* Paul temporarily absent from Jerusalem? The question why Paul has not quoted a single saying of Jesus was answered this evening by Dr. Crapsey by saying that Paul was so permeated with the crucifixion of Christ that he had no time or occasion to remember or repeat any of Jesus' memorable sayings. What other answer could Dr. Crapsey have made? The argument is that Paul in his thirteen Epistles, some of them very long and occupying the larger part of the New Testament, never once quoted a single saying of Jesus, because Jesus had said nothing which Paul could use in his Christian work. Is not that remarkable? And yet in the gospels Jesus is reported to have said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." Was not that just what Paul needed with which to defend his preaching to the Gentiles? When the other Apostles were condemning his course for preaching to the Gentiles, and when he was constantly defending his position that the Jews were not the only people God meant to save, what other saying of Jesus could have silenced his harrassing critics or justified his innovation more effectively? But Paul did not quote this passage,

or any other, from the Gospels because he had never heard of a teaching Jesus. And if such a person existed, is it conceivable that Paul would not have heard of him?

Now as to Christ and Jesus: You know the subject is the Jesus of the New Testament, and when I spoke of Christ I sincerely felt I was making a concession to my friend, Dr. Crapsey, because he began by asking "Is Jesus or Christ a real man?" using the two names interchangeably, and also quoting Tacitus' reference to *Christus* as proving the historicity of Jesus. If Christ and Jesus are two different persons, as Dr. Crapsey states, how could Tacitus' supposed reference to *Christus,* which means *Messiah,* and is a title and not the name of a person, prove the historicity of Jesus? Dr. Crapsey does not believe in the historicity of Christ, who then was the *"Christus"* of Tacitus? From the phrase, the President of the United States, we cannot infer which president is meant, as the word President, like the word Messiah, is a title. The Jews had many Messiahs, and if the passage in Tacitus is genuine it only means that there was a Messiah who was put to death and who had followers. But what was his name? And which of the many Messiahs did Tacitus

have in mind? Tacitus only mentions *Christus*, which Dr. Crapsey admits is only a title and that Christ is not Jesus, although the doctor says that was his ordinary name. The only documents which mention Jesus are the New Testament writings, which Dr. Crapsey does not entirely admit as authentic. The profane author he has quoted only speaks of *Christus*, and Dr. Crapsey says that *Christus* is not Jesus. This narrows the evidence down to that furnished by the New Testament, in which Dr. Crapsey's faith is not very strong.

Nor do I see the force of the argument that by saying that Jesus believed in Anti-Christ I weakened my position. I should have said Jesus is *represented* as believing in Anti-Christ. If Anti-Christ is a myth, though even Jesus is made to believe in him, why may not Christ himself be a myth? But Dr. Crapsey says Christ may be a myth without disproving the historicity of Jesus. Aside from the fact that in the New Testament Christ and Jesus are the same person, we ask what then is the evidence that proves the historicity of Jesus?

It is in the historicity of Jesus, Ben Joseph —the son of Joseph, that Dr. Crapsey believes. But has be furnished any evidence that there was a Jesus Ben Joseph? He has

described his character without first proving his reality. All mythical personages have a character. Zeus, Jehovah, Hercules, Moses. Have any documents been produced to show that Jesus existed? There is no Jesus Ben Joseph mentioned by secular historians, and if the New Testament authors which we have examined are not reliable, how are we going to prove that there was a Jesus Ben Joseph? We can separate the historical from the unhistorical in the lives of men like Socrates or Mohammed because we have reliable sources to go to, but how are we to establish the truth of one portion of the anonymous Christian documents against the untruth of another? Dr. Crapsey is not inclined to believe in miracles, which is to his credit, but the New Testament Jesus is a miraculous personage, and I will try to prove to the Doctor, by quoting from Christian scholars alone, that if he does not believe in the miraculous Jesus he cannot consistently accept any part of the gospel story as reliable. "If miracles be incredible," says Canon Farrar, "Christianity is false. If Christ wrought no miracles, then the Gospels are untrustworthy."

Dean Mansel writes: "All Christianity in

short * * * is overthrown if the miraculous is denied."

Dr. Wescott: "The essence of Christianity lies in a miracle; and if it can be shown that a miracle is either impossible or incredible all further inquiry into the details of its history is suprefluous." Without the Gospels, which are untrustworthy if the miracles are denied, what is there to establish the Jesus Ben Joseph any more than the Jesus of the Holy Ghost? But like many progressive Christians Dr. Crapsey tries to separate the miraculous from the natural in the Gospels. He takes those passages which help his theory and rejects the others. He makes himself the judge of the true and the false in revelation; but as Cardinal Newman has shown, such a procedure would make man and not God the judge of what ought to be accepted as truth. "There is an appearance of doing honor to the Christian doctrines," says the Cardinal, "in representing them as intrinsically credible * * * They who are allowed to praise have the privilege of finding fault, and may reject as well as receive," which, this eminent author argues, leads to "supposing ourselves adequate judges of revelation." Cardinal Newman realized that man must choose between Rome and

Reason. He chose Rome. Between Reason and Rome there is no other position which can be consistently maintained.

Again, Tacitus does not mention Jesus Ben Joseph, the Jesus Dr. Crapsey is trying to prove historical. The Gospels alone mention such a Jesus, and the Gospels without the miraculous are untrustworthy altogether, say the Christian scholars I have quoted, and are in any case trustworthy only here and there, says Dr. Crapsey. I will now try to show that the *Christus* of Tacitus could not have been a reference to the New Testament Jesus. The Roman writer is made to say that *Christus* was put to death—does not state how—under Pontius Pilate, during the reign of Tiberius. But St. Luke informs us that Jesus was born during the Cyrenian taxation, which would show that Jesus if put to death by Pilate must have been at the age of nineteen or twenty, which again would involve a series of other contradictions. There was a Samaritan prophet, however, who, according to Josephus, was put to death under Pilate, for which act the Jews compelled the recall of Pilate, who reached Rome just as the death of Tiberius was announced. The *Christus* of Tacitus then could not have been the Jesus Ben Joseph of

the Gospels, who is supposed to have been at the age of thirty-three or fifty when executed. Pilate had been recalled long before this, and Tiberius was dead.

We know further that Josephus has mentioned a number of Jesuses. Let me read to you about a few of them. "So Jesus, the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already mentioned as the founder of a seditious band of mariners and poor people, took with him certain Galileans." Here we have some of the material out of which the New Testament story was developed. "Fishermen" and "poor people" and "Galileans" were the followers of Jesus. But Josephus says that this Jesus with his following set fire to buildings and plundered the people.

Another Jesus: "They went to Jesus, the captain of the robbers. * * * One of his followers deserted him. * * * Others when they heard that Jesus was arrested ran away." We have here other materials for the Gospel story of how one of his disciples deserts him and how the others ran away when Jesus is arrested.

Josephus writes again: "Moreover there came about this time out of Egypt to Jerusalem one that said he was a prophet and ad-

vised the common people to meet him on the Mount of Olives," and Josephus proceeds to tell that the prophet promised to tell the people how the walls of the city would fall of their own accord and so on. Then Josephus introduces a Jesus whom he calls a monomaniac, who went about Jerusalem crying: "Woe, woe, woe, unto Jerusalem." He is described as a poor peasant Jew, a mild and inoffensive man who made no remonstrance when he was reviled or beaten. On one occasion they laid his bones bare with whipping, yet he made no reply. For seven years he went about crying, "Woe unto Jerusalem." This Jesus, says Josephus, was killed by a stone, which hit him on the head at the siege of Jerusalem. This, then, was still another Jesus, and it seems that the anonymous authors of the Gospels borrowed from this mild Jesus, as well as from Jesus, the captain of the robber-band, who believed in a sword and in violence, in putting together the New Testament Jesus. Josephus mentions many false Messiahs who induced the people to follow them for a time, promising to deliver them by restoring the kingdom of God. A number of these were killed for political reasons by the Romans, as, for example, the Samaritan pro-

phet, whom Pilate put to death. It will help us to understand the importance attached to the crucifixion to remember that a Jewish king was nailed to the cross, and which left a deep impression upon the people of those days. Says Dion Cassius: "Antony now gave the kingdom to a certain Herod, and having stretched Antigonus on the cross, and scourged him, which had never before been done to a king by the Romans, he put him to death." It is also related that a crown of thorns was placed upon his head and that he was crucified under the inscription "The King of the Jews," which details may also have helped the Gospel writers in arranging *their* story.

The idea of a god crucified was not of Jewish but of Pagan origin, as the following quotation from Frazier, the author of *The Golden Bough,* proves: "The solemn rites of Attis, including an effigy of the dead god tied to a tree like Christ to the cross, had been annually solemnized at Rome centuries before the establishment of Christianity." It is also a matter of history that the Portuguese Jesuit, Andrade, writing from Thibet to the general of his order, speaks of many crosses of wood and metal which on certain days are placed at the crossing of roads where all the people worship

them by strewing flowers and lighting lamps before them.* The Jesuit Giorgi describes the Buddhist cross as covered with leaves showing only head, hands and feet as though pieced with nails, with a mark on the forehead.*

But how account for Christianity without Christ? Just as we account for republicanism without a personal founder. Both republicanism and Christianity are the result of evolution and variation. Formerly people thought that just as the world was made by a god, religions were made by certain founders, but who was the founder of Paganism? Who made Brahmanism or Shintoism? Mithraism, or Judaism? Does Dr. Crapsey believe in the historicity of Moses? These religions grew just as the world grew, and more than one person or age had a hand in it. Since Darwin, we have a new method of explaining the origin of worlds or religions. Buddhism is as real as Christianity, yet there is almost as much doubt about the historicity of Buddha as there is of Jesus. As many rivers pour into the sea, so many currents of thought from many sources meet to produce a religion. The anonymous authors of the Gospels did much

**Histoire de ce qui c'est passe au Royaname de Thibet,* pp. 45 to 51.

toward giving Christianity its expression. The claim that nearly all the writing of the time was ananymous is not true. The practice of signing a great man's name to one's own writings was common only among the dishonest.

Nor is it necessary to suppose a founder or an inventor for Christianity, in order to account for its contents. There was nothing to invent. The virgin birth, the incarnation, the doctrine of immortality, the trinity—were all known before. Miracles and mysteries, such as Christianity presents, were a part of the religious furniture of the human mind long before the supposed birth of Jesus.

But we are asked were not the teachings of Jesus original? On the contrary every one of his sayings can be paralleled in the literature of his own people, but before I speak of that I wish to answer the doctor's words about the Greek manuscripts. I am sure that Dr. Crapsey will not assume the responsibility of having said that perhaps Matthew himself wrote his story in Greek. I was surprised to see the audience applaud that statement. We know positively, if the Gospels can prove anything, that the disciples were illiterate fishermen, which would be difficult to reconcile with the claim that they spoke and wrote in Greek.

Moreover, the tradition among the Christian Fathers was that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, of which tradition Dr. Crapsey is surely aware. There is not a scrap of evidence that either Jesus or any of his disciples spoke any other language than their own. Of course we can imagine all kinds of possibilities to get out of a difficult position. But is there any reason why we should not apply the ordinary rules of evidence to the question under discussion?

Dr. Crapsey says that Jesus knew men. I ask what is the evidence? If it is admitted that Jesus is made to say many things which he did not say, then let the doctor tell us of one thing that we can be sure Jesus did say. Speaking of the moral teachings of Jesus, let it be noticed that those who deny the deity of Jesus as a rule are quite enthusiastic over his moral perfections as a man. I do not wish to be understood as referring to Dr. Crapsey when I say that generally this exalting of Jesus as a man is for the purpose of reconciling the people to the passing of Jesus as a God. While the preacher is praising the man Jesus he is quietly putting away for good Jesus the God. To lessen the sense of shock the man Jesus is made to look almost like a God. The same method is pursued with the

Bible. It is exalted as literature in order to lessen the pain of the people who are compelled to give it up as the word of God. Dr. Crapsey believes only in a human Jesus, whom he regards as the teacher of great moral truths, but, as already intimated, every one of the supposed sayings of Jesus can be paralleled in the literature of his own country. The ideas in the Sermon on the Mount can easily be discovered in the following quotations:

"The meek shall inherit the land."—Thirty-seventh Psalm.

"He that followeth after righteousness findeth life."—Proverbs.

"Who shall come into the hill of the Lord? He that hath a *pure* heart."—Psalms.

"Seek peace and pursue it."—Pslams.

"Remember that it is better to be persecuted that the persecutor."—Talmud.

"Let your nay be nay, let your yea be yea."—Talmud.

"Let him give his cheek to him that smiteth him."—Lam. 3, 20.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."—Lev. 19, 18.

"If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink."—Proverbs.

"Do not unto others. That is the main part of the law; the rest is but commentary."—Talmud.

We know also that the golden rule was uttered by Confucius, by Plato, and by Isocrates. Seneca said: "He who means to do an injury has already done it." And, again; "Not only is he who does evil bad, but also he who thinks to do evil." Is there anything in the Gospels that is purer and loftier in spirit than that? "God is within you" wrote Epictetus. Did Jesus say more than that? "The temperate man is the friend of God" wrote Plato centuries before Christ. In what sense then was Jesus in advance of other moral teachers? What was remarkable in his life or teaching? And was his death as serene as that of Socrates, or as heroic as that of Giordano Bruno, or as pitiable as that of Joan of Arc, or as cruel as that of Hypatia? Was Jesus as practical or as universal as Confucius,—in whose name not a child has been hurt? Was he as gentle as Buddha? Was he as sweet-tempered as the slave, Epictetus? Was he as profound as Aristotle, whom Goethe has called the intellect of the world? Or was his imagination as vast as that of Shakespeare? Why then this glorification of a man to prove whose

reality Dr. Crapsey has not produced a single reliable document, nor has he quoted a single witness whom he was willing to put on the stand to be cross-examined and to be subjected to the severest tests a modern audience could propose. The Ben Joseph Jesus is even more of a myth than the Christ, for of the latter at least Tacitus is supposed to write, while of the former there is no mention outside the gospels.

We repeat that Dr. Crapsey believes in a human Jesus, but the Jesus of the New Testament is a god. And the Christian world has always believed that he was a god. There can be no two opinions of that. He is called "the only begotten son;" he is to judge the world on the last day. He says that people will address him on the last day as "Lord! Lord!" and that he will say to them "depart from me." Jesus tells his disciples that he was with God from all eternity; that he can forgive sins; that he and God are one, and that no man can come to the father except through the son, and that if people will not confess him before men neither will he confess them before God. That no one can know God unless he reveals him to them. Is that the language of a Jesus the son of Joseph? Is that the language of a

sensible, real, human being? Yet this is the Jesus of the New Testament. Does Dr. Crapsey believe in his historicity?

It seems to me to be clear that the Jesus of the New Testament was a god, and we have no evidence that such a being ever existed. I am willing to admit the existence of any man. Yes, even of any god provided there is evidence. For the existence of the Jesus of the New Testament we asked for evidence, but no evidence has been produced. Even if we were to grant that Christianity started by one man, we still have to be told who that man was. We ask for evidence before we will accept a belief or a proposition—evidence that can stand the severest strain. We ask for witnesses that when cross-examined will not collapse. We must have demonstration, not inferences. And such demonstration has not been produced.

I am willing to admit that the religion that goes by the name of Jesus has done its quota of good in the world. All institutions do more or less good, and this Jesus myth has done its share. But I am also of the opinion that the good which Christianity has done has been done under compulsion. The Christian church today allows its clergy more liberty than formerly, but it does so not willingly, but under

compulsion. The Russian czar allows constitutional changes in government, but under compulsion. Every one of our political and religious liberties has been wrested by force, or by the spirit of the times, from absolutism on the one hand and the church on the other. Where there is a king there is no liberty, except the people take it, and where there is a Lord Jesus there is no freedom of thought, except as heresy. In the days of their power both king and priest killed the doubter. Heine says: "When religion can no longer burn us it comes to us begging."

When Christianity was powerful it inspired the Spanish and Scottish Inquisition. What good has it done that can compare with that evil? It instigated the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Where is the good it has done that can compare with that atrocity? It kindled the flames of religious wars all over the world —and they are still burning. It brought into the world a new disease for which there seems to be no remedy, the disease of sectarianism. It burned the scholar at the stake; it broke delicate limbs on the wheel; it wrung helpless people on the rack, it tortured aged women as witches—an infamy unknown in Pagan times! It destroyed the magnificent civilization of

Greece and Rome, and gave us one thousand years of darkness. It made forgery and fraud pious. It made blind faith a virtue, and honest doubt a crime, and liberty a blasphemy. "He that believeth not shall be damned." Behold the text that made the hand of the church red with blood.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have one objection against Christianity—the Jewish-Christian religion! It is not true. And not until this phantasy which has been imposed upon the world for two thousand years as fact has been overthrown, will the world swing in earnest toward truth, toward justice, toward love, toward liberty.

CHAIRMAN: Dr. Crapsey will close the debate with a five minutes' address.

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a sign of the times that so many of you are willing to come and listen to the discussion of such questions as have been before us tonight. Now, you are the jury; you have heard both sides. Of course, you have heard both sides very briefly and inadequately, because the time is so limited we have neither of us been able to present a full argument.

I just want to call your attention to one thing. My friend wants me to give you a saying of Jesus which actually did come out of his mouth. We have a great number of such, and here is one of them. When the young man came and bowed to him and said: "Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" Jesus said: "Why callest thou me good? There is but one good, that is God." That would never have been put in his mouth by any one after he had been made a God of by the Christian Church. That is one thing he said, and I could give you quite a number of such if time would permit. This is a distinct impression given us that we are in the presence of reality.

You have heard both sides. Now don't go away thinking that we, either of us, wished to overthrow or depose a great religion. My friends, I am quite certain that the Jesus of history would have had nothing to do with my expulsion from the Episcopal Church. I certainly believe that he would not have had anything to do with much that has been done in his name.

There is a great and marvelous preservatory power in human tradition. When you can take the crown of glory from the brow of

Shakespeare and transfer it to the brow of Bacon, you can take from Jesus that which belongs to him as the originator in human history of a great forward movement, of a man who for the first time saw with distinctness of vision that human life was based upon moral force and not upon physical force. That was his great discovery. When you have done that, when you have given to Bacon Shakespeare's crown of glory—and you can give reasons why it should be done, and show why it is impossible that the wool comber's son could have written those great plays—still the heart of humanity, the great sense of humanity, the great preservative force of human tradition will go on, and will place on the brow of Jesus the eternal crown—that he did see, and that he lived and died for that great principle, that human life is based on moral force; and as our dear friend Emerson says, he has not so much written his name in human history as that he has plowed his name into human history.