

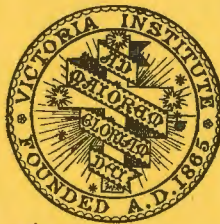
1972-3

Vol. 100

No. 3

# Faith and Thought

Journal of the Victoria Institute or Philosophical Society of  
Great Britain



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## ABOUT THIS JOURNAL

**FAITH AND THOUGHT**, the continuation of the **JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE OR PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN**, has been published regularly since the formation of the Society in 1865. The title was changed in 1958 (Vol. 90). **FAITH AND THOUGHT** is now published three times a year, price per issue 80p (post free) and is available from the Society's address, 130 Wood Street, Cheapside, London, E.C.2V 6DN.

**FAITH AND THOUGHT** is issued free to **FELLOWS, MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES** of the Victoria Institute. Applications for membership may be accompanied by a remittance which will be returned in the event of non-election. (Subscriptions are, **FELLOWS** £3.15; **MEMBERS** and Library Subscribers £2.10; **ASSOCIATES** aged 25 or under, together with certain other categories, £1.05. **FELLOWS** must be Christians and must be recommended by a **FELLOW**). Subscriptions which may be paid by covenant are accepted by Inland Revenue Authorities as an allowable expense against income tax for ministers of religion, teachers of **RI**, etc. For further details, covenant forms, etc, apply to the Society. The Constitution and Aims of the Society were last published in **FAITH AND THOUGHT**, vol. 98, No. 1.

### EDITORIAL ADDRESS

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# FAITH AND THOUGHT

*A Journal devoted to the study of the inter-relation of the  
Christian Revelation and modern research.*

1972-3

VOL. 100

NUMBER 3

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Held in the Heringham Hall, Bedford College,  
Regent's Park, London, N.W.1  
on Saturday, 19th May, 1973.

The President, Professor R. L. F. Boyd, C.B.E., F.I.E.E., F.R.S.,  
in the chair.

Following the adoption of the Minutes of the previous Annual General Meeting, the Chairman moved that resolutions be passed, carrying into effect the proposals listed in the Notice of Meeting and accordingly, by unanimous vote:

The appointment of Mr. Paul Helm to the Council was duly ratified.

The retiring Officers and Members of the Council were re-elected.

The annual accounts and report presented by the Secretary were duly adopted.

Messrs. Metcalfe Blake & Co., having indicated their willingness to continue to serve as auditors to the Society, were re-elected.

The meeting was declared closed and was followed by the Symposium on

### HUMAN AND ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR

chaired by Professor D. M. Mackay.

Papers (which we hope to publish later in **FAITH AND THOUGHT**) by George S. Cansdale, B.A., B.Sc. ("*Human understanding of Animals — A Historical Survey*"); Dr. David Young ("*Ethology and the Evolution of Human Behaviour*") and Dr. Trevor B. Poole ("*Human and Animal Aggression*") were read.

A lively discussion followed.

## MEMBERSHIP

The roll at Friday, 18th May, 1973, includes the following new Fellows, Members and Associates.

### FELLOWS

Dr. T. N. Addiscott (Harpenden, Herts.); G. R. Barratt (Kingston-upon-Thames); Prof. A. J. Day (Baboyne, Victoria, Australia); J. R. Dibb (Nottingham); J. H. Gillespie, B.A. (Belfast); Dr. P. J. C. Hawkins (Crawley, Sussex); Dr. I. C. Johnson (Harefield, Middx.); Dr. G. Mackay (Sunderland, Co. Durham); W. R. C. Myers (Belfast); Rev. Dr. A. P. F. Sell (Walsall, Staffs.); K. J. Smithson-Downes (Teddington, Middx.); Rev. M. G. Tucker (Brentry, Bristol).

Transferred from Membership:

Dr. J. D. Harte (M. 1950, Bedford); R. S. Luhman, B.D. (M. 1965, Gt. Wakering, Essex); Dr. D. H. Trapnell (M. 1948, London, N.W.2).

**MEMBERS**

Dr. J. D. Bales, Sr. (Arkansas, U.S.A.); I. Barns, B.Sc., B.Ed. (Fitzroy, Victoria, Australia); C. E. Bazlinton (Billericay, Essex); R. I. Beaton (London, S.E.17); Wm. D. Burrowes, M.A. (Victoria, B.C., Canada); G. H. Duffett, B.Sc., M.Phil. (Ely, Cambs.); S. J. W. Evans, B.A. (London, E.1); C. C. Hemsley, M.A. (S. Merstham, Surrey); Miss R. E. Ings, B.A. (London, S.E.14); Dr. J. B. Millar (Canberra, Australia); Mrs. R. V. Oakley-Hill (London, S.E.9); F. J. Peachey (Sudbury, Suffolk); Dr. B. M. T. Rowat (Montreal, Canada); Dr. D. A. Stafford (Cardiff); Dr. K. M. Waddell (A.I.M., Uganda); Mrs. C. M. Webb (Hertford).

**ASSOCIATE MEMBERS**

R. O. Angood (Princes Risborough); J. G. G. Anson (Cheltenham); R. G. Armstrong (Isleworth); Miss R. A. James (Carshalton Beeches); Revd. T. Trent-Lyon, B.A., B.D. (New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.).

*Deaths.* During the year the Society has lost two members by death; T. C. Denton (M. 1945, Sydney, Australia) and S. H. Flook (M. 1934, Orpington, Kent).

\* \* \*

The VI has lost touch with the following members and would be grateful for any information as to their present whereabouts.

*Fellows.* Mrs. C. H. Greenleaf (Maine, USA); D. M. McCallum (Edinburgh); Prof. J. C. Smith (Arizona). *Members.* G. S. Armstrong (Los Angeles); A. J. Belcher (Petts Wood, Kent); I. H. Bensted (Blackheath); Dr. R. J. Bibby (Manchester); H. Billingham (Australia); J. A. Fitzgerald (NSW, Australia); J. Graham (Victoria, Australia); R. Harrison (Blackheath); J. T. Krook (Sweden); W. A. McGilton (Co. Down, N. Ireland); Mr. Chor Hin Ong (London, S.W.10); D. A. B. Owen (Sutton Coldfield); J. A. Thompson (NSW, Australia); V. R. Trout (Texas); Prof. A. F. Wilson (Queensland, Australia). *Associates.* R. M. Alewine (Lubbock, USA); Dr. D. J. Atkinson (Bristol); O. Charalampos (Rome); Miss M. Cunningham (Phillipines); S. N. Downs (Congo); M. E. Fuller (Panama); R. Jefferyes (Glasgow); Rev. C. M. Parker (Oklahoma); E. L. Ward-Petley (Cape Town); Rev. R. A. Webster (Formosa). *Life and Honorary.* Rev. H. Bechert (California); R. C. Edwards (NSW, Australia); Rev. E. de L. Lucas (Lahore); M. Pittam (I.O.M.); A. Pool (Oldham).

**The Victoria Institute or Philosophical Society of Great Britain**  
**Balance Sheet as at 30th September, 1972**

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1971							
55	Prepaid Subscriptions	105	431	Subscriptions in arrear	400		
166	Sundry Creditors	198	103	Office Equipment	103		
	General Fund :		117	Sundry Debtors	5		
	Balance 1 Oct. 1971	1,078	648	Cash Balances	-		
	written off	29					
		1,049					
	Excess of						
	Expenditure / Income	995	54				
1,078	Income / Expenditure	—					
	Cash Balance Overdrawn	151					
		508					
1,299			1,299		508		
	<i>Special Funds</i>						
234	Life Composition	211	680	<i>Special Fund Investments</i>			
508	Gunning Trust	508	1,744	Cash and Bank Balances	742		
200	Langhorne Orchard Trust	200		Investments at cost	1,744		
220	Schofield Memorial Trust	220		(Market Value, £1,102)			
400	Craig Memorial Trust	400					
862	Prize Funds	947	2,486				
		2,486	2,424				
£3,723		£2,994	£3,723		£2,994		

FAITH AND THOUGHT 1972-3, Vol. 100 (3)

We have audited the account of the Victoria Institute and have obtained all the information and explanations which we have required. Stocks of stationery are held which do not appear in the Balance Sheet. In our opinion, the arrears of subscriptions will prove substantially irrecoverable, to the extent of £250. Subject to these comments, in our opinion the Balance Sheet shows a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Institute, and is correct according to the books and records thereof and information at our disposal.

**6 Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, WC2A 3HP**  
**24th January, 1973**

**METCALFE BLAKE & CO.**  
**Chartered Accountants**

**The Victoria Institute or Philosophical Society of Great Britain**  
**Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended 30th September, 1972**

<b>1971</b>			<b>1971</b>		
324	Papers, Lectures, etc. and Printing	1,712		Annual Subscriptions :	
	Administration :		232	Fellows	281
333	Salaries	400	332	Members	367
—	Cleaning and Sundries	18	34	Associates	35
109	Postage	123	157	Library Associates	196
1	Bank Charges	1			879
30	Audit Fee	60	121	Life Subscription Proportion	22
		602	346	Sales and Donations	543
83	Net Cost of Meeting	48	28	Dividends Received	28
—	Editorial Expenses	40			
—	Professional Fees	—			
—	Income Tax not now recoverable	65			
		—	1,250		1,472
880		2,467		Excess of Expenditure over	
370	Excess of Income over Expenditure	—	—	Income for the Year	995
		—			
<u>£1,250</u>		<u>£2,467</u>	<u>£1,250</u>		<u>£2,467</u>

## EDITORIAL

*Prof. F. F. Bruce.* We congratulate Professor Bruce on his election to a Fellowship of the British Academy.

*Subscriptions.* To save expense we appeal to members, where it is at all possible, to arrange for subscriptions to be paid by Bankers' Standing Order, payable in advance on 1st January each year.

*Membership.* With rising costs it is becoming increasingly difficult for the VI to pay its way. The raising of subscriptions inevitably tends to bring resignations and if the VI is to continue a substantial increase in membership will be necessary. The Society is deeply conscious of its debt to those who, by generous gifts, have enabled it to continue its work hitherto and also to our present printers, Messrs. Cambridge Aids to Learning Ltd. for their unflinching help in keeping printing costs down to the lowest possible level. Nevertheless, as examination of the balance sheets will show, average costs over the past two years (printing bills were distributed unequally between them) are considerably in excess of income.

The Society will gladly forward a free sample issue of **FAITH AND THOUGHT** with a Form of Application for Membership to any friend or friends of a Member if application is made to the Secretary. It is hoped that all Members will do their utmost to assist the Society to gain new Members.

*Open University Course.* Dr. Colin A. Russell (see this **JOURNAL** 100, 143) of the Open University draws our attention to the half-credit second-level 1974 Course AMST 283 (designed as a complement to AST 281, *The Rise of Technology since 1800*) on *Science and Belief: from Copernicus to Darwin*. There are 16 course units and there will be 11 TV Programmes and 11 Radio Programmes. All the titles look interesting. Details will be available from the Arts Department, Open University, Milton Keynes, Bucks.



*Dr. Cleobury's Book.* Dr. Cleobury's *Study in Christian Apologetic* was sent to all readers of **FAITH AND THOUGHT** with **100** (1). Would any who wish to do so send comments to the author at 3 Conesford Drive, Norwich, NOR 29B. The book raises some interesting points and it may be possible to publish a short discussion in **FAITH AND THOUGHT**.

## IN THE NEWS

**Determinism and the Flap of a Seagull's Wing — Uprooting the False Theory — Biological Revolutions — Jacques Monod's God — Aleister Crowley 666 — Evolution: Polarization of Views — Parapsychology — Iodine Cycle — Brief Notes — In The News Updated.**

### DETERMINISM AND THE FLAP OF A SEAGULL'S WING

What are the limits of prediction in science? In a recent mathematical paper J. G. Linhart (*Il Nuovo Cimento* 1973, **13A**, 355 – 372, see also *New Scientist* 1st March, 1972, p. 470) studies the interaction of moving particles. If we know the positions and velocities of the particles to a certain degree of accuracy, we shall be able to predict what they will be at a later time not too far ahead. But because our knowledge is not absolutely accurate, our prediction will become less and less reliable the more distant the future we have in mind. After the lapse of a certain time a condition of total ignorance about the positions and velocities commences, the errors however small having so mounted up that no prediction whatsoever (other than statistical) is possible.

Suppose however that we could know with perfect accuracy the positions and velocities of all the molecules in a bottle, what then? The answer comes out that the perturbations caused by

a *single* atom in a distant star would be sufficient so to upset our calculations that the "time of total ignorance" (i.e. the time for total ignorance to commence) would be reached in less than a thousandth of a second.

For a gas the time is small, for a planetary system large, but it must *always* be possible (in principle) to say that no prediction beyond such and such a date is possible. The solar system, in particular, is very stable, but that does not imply that we can predict eclipses of the sun indefinitely ahead. Even if we could know the present velocities and positions of the planets with infinite precision it would be impossible to prove that perturbations, arising from the influence of distant stars, would not build up until the system became unstable. Linhart quotes Born (1925): "An initial error in the description of a system of  $N$  particles spreads, through their mutual interaction, in the way that epidemics spread . . . after a finite time (called the total ignorance time) only statistical predictions are possible."

If a small change occurs in a single unit member then, as a result of collisions, the perturbations soon infect the rest: Linhart uses Born's analogy of an epidemic in the title of his paper ("Uncertainty Epidemics among Interacting Particles"). He cites E. N. Lorentz (*Tellus* 1969, 31, 289) who applies similar reasoning to meteorology. Lorentz proves that accurate long range forecasting is impossible: it transpires that a single flap of a seagull's wing can alter the world's weather!

### UPROOTING THE FALSE THEORY

The now widely accepted theory of how science advances (*vide* Popper) is that a theory is put forward and tests are made to disprove it. If results agree with the theory all is well till another test of the theory can be made; if they go ill, then the theory is withdrawn or modified.

For a theory which lies at the fringes of research there is little wrong with this picture. But if the theory has become

widely accepted and especially if it has been reproduced in text books and taught to generations of students, the situation is very different.

In this connection Professor Herbert C. Brown in a series of Lectures at Cornell University has recently told of his own experiences. (*Boranes in Organic Chemistry*, Cornell UP, 1972, 463 pp., £11.10). Herbert Brown, it should be noted is a world famous chemist. An account of some of his wonderful discoveries in the synthetic applications of boranes (boron-hydrogen compounds) appeared in *Chemistry in Britain* (1971, 7, 458).

Briefly the story which Brown tells is as follows. In 1922 the well known chemist Meerwein suggested that certain reactions involve a carbon atom with a positive charge (*carbonium ion*) and in 1939 C. L. Wilson and his associates suggested that the positive charge was not always confined to one carbon atom but could hover between several (usually three) of them in such a way that there was no longer a proper bond joining any two of the atoms (*non-classical ion structure*). Though based on little experimental evidence, indeed Brown pointed to a simpler explanation of the facts such as they were, this idea caught the fancy of the chemical world, and non-classical structures proliferated! For decades they were taught to students to regurgitate in examinations while a sizeable proportion of the physical organic chemists in U.S.A. researched in this area.

For Brown this created an agonizing situation: he felt it his duty to declare "But the Emperor is naked!" At a Symposium in 1961 he pointed out that non-classical ion structures "rested on exceedingly fragile experimental foundations" expecting, thereby, to inculcate a more critical attitude. The result was staggering. He was dubbed a self-confessed heretic and a "holy war" to prove him wrong was triggered off!

How are scientists led astray in this way? Brown suggests that it happens like this. A young man, any one of a thousand young men, commencing research is charmed by the non-classical ion theory and resolves to make it his field. "He makes a

prediction based on the theory and subjects it to experimental test. The non-classical theory is qualitative: consequently even on a purely statistical basis the chances are 50 : 50 that the results will support his prediction" (p. 141). If this happens "he is happy as a lark"; his paper is submitted to a journal, expert referees chosen from those who like the theory (for there are few others to chose from) are delighted and the work is published.

Suppose, however, that results confound expectation. The young man is puzzled. Nature does not conform to what he was taught in college. He puts his MS in a drawer to permit his ideas to "mature": there is a good chance that the MS will never come out of that drawer!

If he is brave enough to submit his paper, the referees recommend that it should not be published until additional experiments have been carried out — they will outline some of these making good care that they will take *years* to perform. Because promotion in science depends on the number of papers published prospects for the young man begin to look bleak: he learns that bravery does not pay off. Meanwhile paper after paper continues to be published supporting the popular theory that has taken peoples' fancy.

How *can* the wrong but successful theory *ever* be demolished? The question troubles Brown a good deal. No individual workers, not even a whole university department, can even hope to examine all the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of papers which purport to support the theory: even if they could do so hundreds more would have appeared by the time its would-be critics were ready to publish better explanations of the observed facts. It will *always* be impossible to catch up! Brown describes his stratagem. He takes the best example (norbonyl) which seems to support the theory and, to avoid troublesome polemic, reports each experimental test in Communication form. (Results are given in Chapter 10; the boron chemistry comes later). We wish him every success, but alas the high price of this volume, by no means a large one, will effectively stop students and even many libraries from buying it.

In his fascinating book Brown has underlined the peril of qualitative science: it is evident that there is no real check that such a science is progressing in the right direction. When we reflect that non-classical structures have no political or religious overtones, it should make us decidedly wary about those theories of which this cannot be said. Psychological theories and social sciences come to mind as well as much biological theory where evolution can be pressed to explain almost anything. At the present time vast academic resources are being devoted to theories about the origin of life and we may fairly surmise that what does not fit the materialistic theory in vogue is left to "mature" in drawers.

The Brown story reminds us of Faraday. He too, as Joseph Agassi reminds us in his fascinating book *Faraday as Natural Philosopher* (Princeton UP, 1972) found himself fighting what he believed to be false conventional ideas throughout his working life. He tried one method after another to obtain serious consideration of his views but in the end broke down, or so Agassi thinks, under the strain. This is a side of the Faraday story about which little has been said in the past. Our Lord of course was confronted with the same difficulty.

### BIOLOGICAL REVOLUTIONS

An interesting study of the growth of science is to be found in a pleasing little book by John Maynard Smith (*On Evolution*, Edin. UP, 1972, £0·75 and £1·50). A convinced 'evolutionist' himself, Professor Smith nevertheless speaks of "a widespread conviction that there is something rotten in the state of evolutionary theory, and that profound changes in the theory are immanent". He reflects that geneticists "tend to hold views similar to those held by physicists at the end of the last century: the fundamentals are known, and all that remains is to work out the details". Is their pride the prelude to a fall? Smith is not sure but inclines to orthodoxy.

One point that worries him is whether evolution is a truly scientific idea — is it falsifiable as Popper says it ought to be?

He thinks it is in principle: it ought for instance, to be possible to falsify the doctrine that acquired characters cannot be inherited. (However, there would seem to be many aspects of what goes by the name of 'evolution' to which Popper's criterion does not apply.)

Turning to T. S. Kuhn's analysis of scientific advance (see this **JOURNAL** 99, 167) Maynard Smith considers the two great 'revolutions' in biological thinking in modern times, the Mendelian and the molecular revolutions. The incorporation of Mendelism into biology affords a paradigm of Kuhn's theory. Karl Pearson's biometric school said that minute changes accumulated in evolution: the Mendelians claimed that discontinuous 'sports' were the important factor. For a while the two sides fought hammer and tongs often without even understanding one another's language — how true to the Kuhnian picture !

With the molecular revolution it was different. The Watson-Crick spiral was immediately accepted uncritically by geneticists. "I did not then (and do not now) follow in detail the methods which led to a solution of the problem. But I accepted the solution at once, because the phenomenon of complementary base pairing provided a mechanism for gene replication."

According to Kuhn you know when a revolution is impending because you become aware of an accumulation of facts which 'normal science' will not explain. Soon rebels enter the field and explain these facts with their new theory. In the case of the molecular revolution there were numerous anomalies, but the DNA spiral did not solve the puzzling character of any of them. The 'revolution' proved to be an addition to what was already known, not a new formulation of knowledge.

### JACQUES MONOD'S GOD

On 11th September, 1972, Jacques Monod, author of the controversial book *Chance and Necessity*, appeared on BBC2 in the series *Controversy*, chaired by Sir George Porter. Towards the end of

an interesting discussion the topic turned to the limitations of science. Most scientists, said Monod, do not relish the idea that science as exemplified by the objective attitude has limits, but limits there must be. Porter pointed out that present opposition to limits was due, firstly to the fact that limits had been set up in the past and had proved false and, secondly, that even if one were to reach a limit there would be no indication that one had done so, so scientists would continue to attempt to go beyond it. Monod also argued that limits to scientific understanding must exist if only for the reason that the human brain contains a limited number of neurones. Nevertheless he did not like the idea of a limit and felt that one could avoid the dilemma by hypothesising a super-brain with an infinite or indefinite number of neurones which would then be able in principle to gain a scientific understanding of the whole of nature.

The idea is immediately reminiscent of Laplace's conception of God as the great intellect who, in a deterministic world, can calculate what the future will bring in any and every part of it. It is interesting that Monod, professedly an atheist, can find it necessary to think in terms of a mind vastly greater than man's. Though he would certainly not admit it, the idea of God, or of something akin to God, seems natural enough to him.

Monod also drew attention to the fact that in human experience there are severe limitations to the objective attitude of science. When he joined the Resistance Movement in WW2 France he was unable to work out his inner motivation for doing so. Today he is troubled by the seeming lack of relationship between art and science. He can see no relationship between them at all but hopes that if ever he discovers the relation he will write a book about it.

### **ALEISTER CROWLEY 666**

Books on the occult appear never-endingly; among more recent ones are several, either new or reprinted, concerned with Aleister Crowley (1875 - 1947). One of these, the *Confessions*,<sup>1</sup> of nearly

1,000 pages is an autobiography written in immaculate style which includes a great deal about his mountain climbing. A second<sup>2</sup> summarises his story but is briefer on his crucial years; it is less readable and of course much shorter, nevertheless it is an able piece of work. A third<sup>3</sup> is a revolting diary of how Crowley seduced women to perform sexual magic, only to throw them aside when it pleased him: it is not pornographic being written in his magic code which is deciphered in learned footnotes by his Editors. The last two are reminiscences. Burnett-Rae<sup>4</sup> let a flat to him in pre-war days when Crowley was impoverished but full of a hair-brained scheme to restore his fortune. Mrs. Cammell knew him too and writes<sup>5</sup> in an understanding way, disapproving of his over-reaction to his upbringing but finding something to love in him to the end. She reproduces some of the violent abuse directed against him in the popular press.

Edward Alexander Crowley (self-styled Aleister Crowley) was reared among the Strict Brethren. His father who came of wealthy Quaker stock joined the Brethren in their early days: he was a brewer and prominent preacher but died of cancer when his son was 11. Aleister always revered him and testified to the last that despite his Christian beliefs he never let them interfere with family affection.

Aleister was an odd child of uncouth manner but sensitive. From early years torture and blood aroused his feelings and he liked to think of himself in agony. On hearing that a cat has nine lives he tried it out on one with arsenic, chloroform, hanging, stabbing, cutting its throat, breaking its skull, drowning it and letting it fall. "The operation was successful. I was genuinely sorry for the animal. I simply forced myself to carry out the experiment in the interests of pure science."

It is little wonder that his mother, perhaps half in fun, called her boy 'the Beast'. Nevertheless Aleister was an ardent Christian until the time of his father's death. At 8 or 9 he played in the garden and, returning to the house and finding no one around, he was terrified lest the Rapture had taken place and he had been left behind. He was always scared lest, were the Rapture to occur



while he was wasting time even for a minute or two, he would be left.

Religion dominated the affairs of the home. At family prayers each person above the age of four would read a verse in rotation. Philip Gosse, the biologist, was an Open Brother and young Aleister was sure that he would be damned in consequence. Christmas was not celebrated in the home, the annual turkey was eaten on 24th or 26th of December, never on the 25th. Much of the teaching he received seemed bizarre to his youthful but critical mind. At the sinking of the Titanic his mother told him that the Lord had prepared a great iceberg to sink the ship because its makers had boasted that it was unsinkable. A parallel with the tower of Babel was drawn but the boy was unable to understand the connection. Gradually he came to despise and then to hate his mother.

There was a strong element of apocalyptic in all the Christianity Aleister absorbed, yet he was happy at school and loved to sing the hymns from the Brethren hymn book.

Aleister saw his father's death in a dream before it happened (as he did his mother's also at a later date). Both times, he says, "the quality of the dream was entirely different from anything he had known". After his father's death he was in trouble at school within three weeks and his character reversed suddenly. "I had been perfectly genuine in my ambition to live a life of holiness; the idea of intimate communion with Jesus was constantly present in my mind. I do not remember any steps in the *volte face*." (*Confessions*, p. 66). At the time he had no intellectual difficulties whatever.

After this his encounters with Christians were singularly unfortunate: a well known evangelical, an uncle (on his mother's side) with whom he stayed, treated him harshly and, he says, drove him in the end to atheism. Soon he was sent to a school for the sons of Brethren at 51 Bateman Street, Cambridge, (later the premises became the Perse Junior) where he was punished excessively (a term and a half in quarantine) for what he had

not done. From there he went to Malvern, where bullying was rife, thence to Tonbridge and finally to Cambridge in 1895. He passed his exams, he says, but left without a degree for he saw no point in possessing a piece of paper to prove graduation. His father had left him £40,000 and rich aunts left him more later: he did not have to earn a living. At Cambridge he read widely in literature, his mind "sterilized by the suffocating stupor of preoccupation with sex". (Hardly surprising perhaps for he lost his virginity at 15: he now despised women and often stole from his paramours.)

At first Crowley's abandonment of God and Christ was not rebellion against God and Christ as such, but against the God and Christ of the Brethren and the Evangelicals whose teachings seemed too harsh. For some time Crowley even wrote religious poetry. One poem was published in the *Christian* and 50 poems dedicated to the Virgin Mary were cordially received by RCs, though there was consternation when the authorship became known!

Soon Crowley came to think of the Bible in a new and original way. A long war, he reckoned, is impossible unless the sides are very evenly matched. There was a good chance, then, that Satan and not God would prove the winner. In short you could choose sides! Now elders with harps and choirs singing repetitive songs in heaven were tame and dull, but the Dragon with his swishing tail, the False Prophet and the Beast were colourful and exciting. Aleister made his choice: he would serve the devil! Perhaps he really was the Beast, just as his mother had said. If so, he would make his mark in history.

His one consuming passion was now to discover what the unpardonable sin might be and to commit it well and truly so that his devotion to Satan would be sealed for ever. It proved a difficult task. Religious people were not too sure about the sin. And how was he to contact Satan? His early efforts to conjure the devil and then to invoke Undines from the sea with a circle of sand and incense (he hoped to see one emerge from the foam; the performance was watched by a bewildered policeman!) proved abortive. But he persevered, writing letters to all and sundry who

were reputed to know something about Satanism. It was a long and slow apprenticeship . . . in the end he became, or so he imagined, an adept at black magic: certainly he was notorious in his day. His reputation was such that in WW2 William Joyce (Lord Haw Haw) suggested in a broadcast that as intercession services in the UK were not doing much good, Crowley might be invited to celebrate Black Mass in Westminster Abbey . . . Poor Crowley. Friendless, his last years were spent in Brighton where his landlady could only wish he would die for there was something evil about him, she said.

Psychologically the story is sad but fascinating and instructive. We Christians need to understand the young: how miserably some of us have failed.

#### REFERENCES

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#### EVOLUTION: POLARIZATION OF VIEWS

Controversy concerning the teaching of evolution v. creation in Californian schools continues unabated in the USA. (*Bible-Science Newsletter*, Box 1016, Caldwell, Idaho 83605 provides us with useful up-to-date coverage). Christian parents have had every cause to be worried. "My children come home and they have been taught that man came from an amoeba [instead of the monkey as in the famous Tennessee trial in 1925]. And I say, that's not true. God created you." (*Times*, 11 Jan. 1973).

The Californian State Board of Education ruled on 13 Nov. 1969 that both evolution and creation should be mentioned in textbooks. When extreme fundamentalists then demanded *equal*

coverage for the two views, to be presented antithetically, reaction was inevitable. Dr. Thomas Jukes bluntly told the State's Board of Education that this was tantamount to granting equal status to such teachings as "the moon is made of green cheese or that babies are brought by storks". Nineteen winners of Nobel Prizes were mobilized to sign a letter rejecting the principle of equal time and stating that "the creation theory is not based on science and does not belong in a science textbook". The Board thereupon retreated but something was gained. The present (June 1973) position is that no mention of creation is demanded but that a statement that evolution has not been proved must appear. The controversy is also raging in other States, notably Georgia, Michigan and Washington, and also in Alberta, Canada. A less dogmatic way of presenting evolution to the young is certainly to be welcomed warmly and Christians generally are indebted to those in California who have worked so hard to raise these issues at the Education Board, even though all do not share some of the extreme views of their fellow Christians.

The controversy quickly spilled over into England. The juicy carrot of a free subscription to *Nature* was dangled before university teachers who supported the fundamentalist position (1972, **239**, 420). Several rose to the occasion and lively correspondence ensued. (**239**, 483; **240**, 365-7, 429, 518, 577; **241**, 150, 225, 360; **242**, 73, 214, 284. A summary of the letters will be available from the *Evolution Protest Movement*, Santhia, Hayling Island, Hants.) Many interesting points were made. For example, though it may plausibly be argued that creation is unrepeatable and therefore outside the scope of science, the same must be said of the theories which make out that life arose as a rare chance event; for this also is unobservable and unrepeatable. Though creationists all hold to a polyphyletic view of the origin of life, even evolutionists like G. A. Kerkut argue that this is scientifically tenable (**240**, 365). Anti-Darwinism views are quite common in Universities, says A. T. J. Hayward (Glasgow) but there are many "power seekers and career men" and people suffer if they speak up. Most accept prevailing views as did Russian biologists brainwashed into accepting Lysenko's teaching (**249**, 577). One champion of orthodoxy (D. Solan) feels that the saddest feature in the whole affair

is that fundamentalists "are undermining the self-confidence of young minds by teaching them that they can never be sure of any conclusion they might reach on any subject: there might always be some (unspecified) facts they have missed" a view calculated to "destroy the scientific spirit in our young children" (240, 366). With this we feel much sympathy but who is more to blame? Those who dogmatically bring God into the picture or those who dogmatically leave Him out?

There has been little sign of open warfare between science and religion in England in recent years. The letters to *Nature* remind us that signs of an impending polarization are now appearing. On the one hand many books are being published on, for example, the origin of life in which it is taken for granted that materialistic explanations are adequate; on the other many Christians are reacting strongly the other way. The anti-scientific (or anti-orthodox-scientific) *Genesis Flood* by Whitcomb and Morris appeared here in 1969. More recently the popularly written *Journey away from God* by R. P. Benedict (Pickering and Inglis, 1972) appeared. This book quite deliberately aims at contrasting what science teaches (or is supposed by the author to teach) with the Bible, the chosen topics being Creation, Evolution, the Flood, Times and Dates. Here are two typical quotations. In the Flood, "certain *avant-garde* scientists and religionists take a compromising middle ground in a futile attempt to harmonize these two great areas of thought, and maintain that a local flood will satisfy both schools — almost that you can have your cake and eat it too . . . But clearly science and Scriptures are in conflict — nay, worlds apart — on the Flood account" (p. 120). "Young volcanic rocks . . . only a few hundred years old give the usual ages of millions and billions of years when tested by radioactive dating methods. Enough said about the vaunted radioactive dates of geology" (p. 138).

### PARAPSYCHOLOGY

Though psychical research was long in the doldrums it has recently entered upon quite an exciting phase. In addition to Schmidt's astonishing claims (see this **JOURNAL** 99, 180) experiments on

animals are being reported. Duval and Montredon (1968- ) use a box with a low internal barrier dividing it into two parts: once per minute an electrical stimulus is applied to one or other side, entirely at random, and any creature that chances to be there receives a shock. The ESP-powered mouse who deftly jumps out of the shock area *before* the shock comes scores a point. (Animal lovers have protested: let us hope the shocks are *gentle*.) Yes — even mice score higher marks than the laws of probability permit !

W. J. Levy (*Jour. of Parapsychol.* 1973, **37**, 1-12) applies the same principles to humans. However, as our fellow species do not like imprisonment in cages, a maze was used with alleyways, exit from which was made possible or impossible at random. Positive results again.

Other curious experiments are reported with plants. (See *New Scientist*, 9 Aug. 1973, p. 347.) Clive Backster uses a lie detector and claims that a plant reacts in advance to the *thought* that Clive is about to burn one of its leaves, even before the match is lit ! Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose (1858-1937) created a sensation in his time with theories about the emotional life of plants and even claimed to detect their hearts beating: today's claims put him in the shade.

In the field of parapsychology Pete Russell of the University of Bristol reminds us that scientists generally are probing their consciences to see whether what they are doing is for the benefit of mankind. Have the parapsychologists got around to thinking about this ?, he wonders. What a disaster it would be, in a dishonest world, if criminals learned the knack of reading the bank manager's mind or the secret codes of the computers which would enable them to draw cheques from other peoples' accounts *ad lib*. "Already we are witnessing a growing public concern over the liberal use of physical surveillance devices without the threat of mental ones as well" (Letter, *New Scientist*, 28 Dec. 1972, p. 764). Plausibly this may be the reason why God in His wisdom prevents man from realising some of his powers.

## IODINE CYCLE

Modern methods of chemical analysis are becoming increasingly interesting. At the turn of the century it was only very rarely indeed that one part in a million of an impurity could be detected: today the field is much wider and one part in a billion (a million million equal to a thousand American billions) or better is often possible.

Some of the most interesting work has been conducted by Dr. J. E. Lovelock (of the MRC, Mill Hill). Lovelock liberated electrons in a gas containing traces of various compounds. He noted an enormous variation in the ease with which the electrons stuck themselves on to the molecules of the substances he had added (*Nature*, 1961, **189**, 729, etc.). For example taking chlorobenzene as standard, the electron affinities of benzene and carbon tetrachloride respectively are in the ratio of less than 0·01 to 7,000.

Once attached to molecules electrons are less mobile in an electric field. By passing the gas between charged plates it is therefore quite easy to remove unattached electrons. Based on this fact an analytical tool, the *electron capture detector*, was developed. It is now possible to take a sample of ordinary air and look for the trace impurities it contains and the same can be done for the surface waters of the sea (*Nature*, **241**, 194; **242**, 37).

Results are surprising. The losses of organic fluids from dry cleaning establishments and refrigerators throughout the world are collecting in the atmosphere and their concentrations are easily measured. (These are fluorine compounds too stable for removal by natural processes. No danger is suspected!) Dimethyl sulphide is present (*Nature*, **237**, 452) and probably helps to circulate sulphur in nature. (However, it is now known that sulphur dioxide also circulates sulphur, for in very low concentration it is utilised by plants: *Nature*, **241**, 47; **243**, 479).

The most interesting newly discovered constituent of air is methyl iodide, present to the the extent of one part per billion

(1,000 billion across the Atlantic). This is highly unstable, being decomposed by light and its half life in the atmosphere is estimated at around only 50 hours. It is calculated that to maintain this concentration methyl iodide must be produced in nature (probably by sea weeds, etc.) to the extent of 40,000,000 tons a year. It therefore provides a natural carrier of iodine between the sea and the land. Iodine is vital for higher forms of life but few minerals contain it and previously it was not known how the supply on land areas was replenished. Here, then, it would seem, is yet another example of the wonderful Providence so obvious in our world — methyl iodide, volatile, easily produced and easily decomposed so that land areas are not left too deficient in this uncommon but indispensable element.

### BRIEF NOTES

*Solar Energy.* Aden and Marjorie Meinel were featured in the *New Scientist* (10 May 1973, p. 337). They are pioneers in the utilisation of solar energy plants. Both are “Lutherans with a strong belief in the Bible as the living source of help and guidance for our lives today”; they have joined the Jesus people. Aden made his name in science by his discovery that the aurora is caused by a proton stream striking the atmosphere and he was also the first to show that the brilliant sunsets and reduction in direct sunlight following volcanic eruptions are caused not by fine particles as was assumed but by sulphur dioxide injected into the upper atmosphere where it reacts with ozone to give a light-scattering smog of sulphur trioxide. But “to work on the same topic for 20 years — that would be terrible” says Aden and both are now convinced that the job God has called them to do is to find ways and means of utilising the sunlight that falls on the waste desert of Arizona.

*St. Paul's Shipwreck.* A. Acworth (*Jour. Theol. Studies*, 1973, 24, 190) argues cogently that St. Luke's Melita is not Malta but Mljet off the Dalmatian coast. The island was little known at the time and inhabited by barbarians (i.e. it had not been colonised by Rome) and, until this century, by snakes! A careful reading of



*Acts* strongly supports this identification which, however, is not a new idea.

*Bachelors.* Certain sensation-loving writers, assuming that it was abnormal for a man of 30 to be unmarried, argue that Jesus was homosexually inclined. In this connection a paper by T. C. G. Thornton ("Jewish Bachelors in NT Times", *J.T.S.* 1972, **23**, 444) is of interest. Josephus married at 30, Philo states that 40 is the right age for a wise man to marry. Traditionally Levi is said to have married at 28 and Issachar at 35. In NT days men of 30, it appears, were often unmarried.

*Slavery.* Aggressive atheists (e.g. J. Kahl in his now notorious *The Misery of Christianity*, Penguin, 1971) make much of the fact that in the past Christians, even pious ones, often supported slavery. Unwittingly Christians sometimes lend substance to this argument by detailing perfectly true historical facts. Bishop Stephen Neill, after pointing out that not only Christians but everyone else too (e.g. Moslems) supported slavery aptly writes, "What is important is that every movement for the abolition of slavery was started, sponsored, supported and carried through by devoted and committed Christians, and by no one else. Why was this?" (Letter in *Christian Record*, 22 June 1973).

*CRS.* Recent issues of the *Creation Research Society Quarterly* contain some interesting articles, E. L. Williams reviews recent literature (over 100 refs.) on the use of thermodynamic arguments in discussions concerning creation and evolution (1973, **10**, 38). Though some exotic ideas (e.g. that the second law started to operate as a result of the Fall) are included, the survey is of value. Dr. Arthur Jones gives scholarly lists of clean and unclean animals of the OT (**9**, 53, 114). There are many papers on geology, C-14 dating, etc., interpretations often being unorthodox.

### IN THE NEWS UPDATED

*Speaking in Tongues.* The book promised earlier (see this JOURNAL **99**, 6) is now available. Dr. J. P. Kildahl, *The*

*Psychology of Speaking in Tongues*, Hodders, 1972, 110 pp., £0·40. However, it is right to add that certain Christians for whom we have great respect believe that speaking in tongues is sometimes at least a genuine manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

In this connection we received from the Souvenir Press, Haniel Long's short book, *The Marvellous Adventures of Cabeza de Vaca*, (Pub. Oct. 1972, £0·75). Nunez Cabeza, a Spaniard, left home with 580 others in 1528 for America: he was then 38 and lieutenant of the expedition which was of the usual murderous kind. He was shipwrecked and, with others, washed ashore in the Gulf of Mexico. Not until eight years had passed did he again make contact with white men and by then only he himself and three others remained alive. Often he reached the depths of human suffering and privation. Sometimes poor disease-ridden Indians whom he had come to rob and enslave, were kind to him and his friends but sometimes they were cruel, making slaves of the white men. At last Nunez, reared a Christian, saw the wickedness of his countrymen, was converted and resolved to live a Christ-like life: "I shall teach the world to conquer by gentleness not by slaughter" became his ambition.

Nunez and his companions knew nothing of the difficult art of jungle life. Of what possible use could they be to the natives? At one point this was put bluntly to them by their captors who threatened them with death unless they healed the sick! Then a wonderful thing happened. Nunez found to his amazement that in answer to his prayers natives were healed, even a dead man came back to life. It seemed that the gifts of the Holy Spirit had been bestowed . . . In the end it was not easy meeting Spaniard again. "I was compelled to face the Spanish gentleman I myself had been eight years before."

*Earthquake Prediction* (99, 91). The water level in wells changes suddenly in jerky movements within 1-8 hours of small quakes. This may make possible the prediction of earthquakes (*Nature*, 242, 16).

*Ball Lightning* (99, 8 ; 100, 125). A survey of the many theories of ball lightning appeared in the *New Scientist* (N. Charman, 14 Dec. 1972, p. 632). More recently in a letter to *Nature* (243, 512) attention was drawn to an old story of balls of fire appearing in a church while the bellringers were at work. The bells grew so heavy that ringing them became impossible, suggesting the presence in the belfry of a magnetic field of perhaps 150 oersteds.

*Gravity Waves.* The gravity waves recorded by J. Weber seem a great deal stronger than can easily be accounted for (99, 175) assuming that the radiation leaves the source uniformly in all directions. The possibility that they may be focussed in some way has been considered. J. C. Jackson (*Nature*, 241, 513–515) has developed a theory according to which they are flattened in the plane of the galaxy, so that their strength as received on earth is around 30 times what it would otherwise be.

The existence of the waves has not yet been proved or disproved. A team at the Bell Laboratories (*Physical Review Letters*, 1973, 30, 1006) suggest that the effect noticed by Weber may be due to changes in solar activity which changes the current intensity in the upper atmosphere. Weber's detectors at Maryland and Argonne are well shielded from magnetic effects, but is the shielding efficient at very low frequencies ?

*Symmetry.* Prof. Alan Stuart, commenting on R. Caillois's article (summarised 100, 114) points out that dodecahedra and icosite-trahedra (12 and 24 sided figures) are well represented in minerals despite the assertion to the contrary. With regard to the statement about pyrite the term 'pentagonal' must not be taken to mean that the mineral has 'odd' (five-fold) symmetry, but that certain faces are five-sided, the crystal itself displaying cubic symmetry. Odd symmetries, other than three-fold, are unknown among crystals.

*Astronomy, Astrology and the Reformers.* Referring to our review of his recent book (100, 205) Prof. Hooykaas writes to say that it has recently been discovered that Calvin, in one of his sermons, rejects the hypothesis of the daily rotation of the earth. In doing so he makes no reference to the Copernican system, his aim being to illustrate the perversity of certain medieval philosophers who put forward absurd theses, such as that which claims that snow is black. He does *not* reject the earth's rotation on Scriptural grounds. Luther held the same view, the earth's rotation is against common sense, but he does not refer to the subject at all in any of his authorized works. Zwingli died before Copernicus' work was published. Only Melancthon opposed the Copernican system on biblical grounds but, particularly later, his opposition was very moderate.

On the subject of astrology there is much interesting information in F. J. Stopp's Sanders Lectures for 1972 (*Monsters and Hieroglyphs, Broadshets and Emblems in 16th Century Germany*; at present available only in BM and Cambridge University Library). Melancthon accepted mathematical astrology but Luther totally rejected it. The *Table Talk* contains many mocking reference to the casting of nativities. A visiting Italian astrology recommended that Luther's birthday should be changed from 10 Nov. 1483 to 22 Oct. 1484 to achieve appropriate conjunction of the main ruling stars Jupiter and Saturn in the House of the Virgin (= religion)!

*Karl Popper* (99, 106, 107f; 100, 221). Bryan Magee (*Popper, Fontana / Collins, 1973, 109 pp., PB, £0.40*) has published a superbly written summary of Karl Popper's writings. Though some of us may feel a little irritated at times with Popper's over-emphasis of the quantitative aspects of science at the expense of the qualitative, all Christians are deeply indebted to him for his debunking of (1) deterministic and supposedly scientific views of history (e.g. that of Karl Marx) and (2) logical positivism which declares *inter alia*, that "God exists", because not verifiable by crude observation, is meaningless. This little book is one to buy and treasure.

I. HOWARD MARSHALL

## The Jewish Dispersion In New Testament Times

**In this fascinating and authoritative article, Dr. Howard Marshall of the Department of New Testament Exegesis, King's College, Old Aberdeen, summarises our present knowledge concerning the Dispersion in New Testament Times. The sheer magnitude of the Jewish witness to the one true God throughout the Græco-Roman world in those far off days will come as a surprise to many readers.**

There is a well-known scene in the Gospel of John in which the chief priests and Pharisees sent officers to arrest Jesus, but the officers were so impressed by the words of Jesus that they returned without having fulfilled their commission. What Jesus had said was, "I shall be with you a little longer, and then I go to him who sent me; you will seek me and you will not find me; where I am you cannot come." These words utterly mystified and amazed His audience. They did not realise that Jesus was speaking of His return to His Father in heaven, and some of them asked, "Where does this man intend to go that we shall not find him? Does he intend to go to the Dispersion among the Greeks and teach the Greeks?" (Jn. 7: 32-36).

This question by the Jews reminds us of the existence of many of their compatriots outside Palestine in the Dispersion or Diaspora.<sup>1</sup> When we read the Gospels we can easily forget that

there were far more Jews living outside Palestine than within its boundaries ;<sup>2, 3, 4</sup> but as we turn over the pages to the Acts and Epistles we at once become aware of Jews in every part of the world to which Christian missionaries travelled.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, there was constant coming and going between the Dispersion and Palestine, as Acts 2: 5-11 bears witness, so that some knowledge of the Dispersion is absolutely essential for the student of the expansion of Christianity and by no means unimportant for the student of the Gospels, written as they all most probably were in the lands of the Dispersion.

### I. *The Lands of the Dispersion*

From their earliest days the Jews have been a wandering and scattered people. An early creed found in the Book of Deuteronomy makes the Israelite confess, "A wandering Aramæan was my father" (Dt. 26: 5), and throughout the Old Testament we are aware of both the threat of exile from the promised land and the hope of the reunion of God's scattered people. Two large scale deportations from the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah by the Assyrians and Babylonians respectively brought the life of these tiny states to an end (for the former see 2 Ki. 15: 29; 17: 6; 18: 11; for the latter see 2 Kings 24: 14-16; 25: 11; Je. 52: 28-30). Although a number of Jews returned to their own land and set up a state there, their life from now on was that of a dispersed people.

Even Palestine itself must be regarded as a place of dispersion. Except for short periods it was never again in purely Jewish hands; it was ruled by foreign overlords and was partly occupied by foreigners. In the time of Jesus there was a very mixed population in the land, a fact of which we tend to be ignorant because Jesus confined His ministry mainly to His fellow-Jews and rarely entered Gentile territory.<sup>6</sup>

The reasons for the increase and spread of the dispersion are various. The mass deportations already mentioned were followed by others, especially that made by Pompey when he

intervened in the civil wrangles in Judah in 63 BC. But the main reason for the continued growth of the dispersion was undoubtedly the troubled and unsettled state of life in Palestine from the Maccabean period onwards. The numerous wars and the bitter persecution of various sections of the people combined to make the unknown difficulties of life abroad more attractive than the known hazards of remaining at home. Nor was the land of Palestine itself rich enough to support a large and characteristically prolific population. There was also the urge to carry on trade and commerce overseas. In addition to these factors which explain the wholesale exodus of Jews from their own land, the growth of the dispersion was greatly increased by the success of Jewish missionary endeavour and possibly also by the assimilation of other Semitic peoples to the Jewish race.

The greatest area of Jewish settlement, which is at the same time the one about which we are most scantily informed<sup>7</sup> and which is of the least significance for the student of Christian origins in the first century AD, was in the east, outside the borders of the Roman Empire in the Parthian Empire. Here Jews had settled after the great deportations which gave rise to the exile. Josephus, whose history of the Jewish war was originally written in Aramaic for the Jews of Mesopotamia, recounts two notable incidents from their history. The first concerns two Jewish adventurers, Asinaeus and Anilaeus, who set up a stronghold near Nisibis and rose to become satraps under king Artabanus before they each came to a sticky end (*Jos., Ant.*, 18: 310ff.); the other is about the conversion of Izates, the king of Adiabene, to the Jewish faith (*Jos., Ant.*, 20: 17–96). Both of these incidents fall within the Christian era. More recently, new light has been shed on the later history of the Jews in this region by the archæological discoveries at Dura-Europos which have uncovered a Jewish synagogue with interesting wall paintings. The Judaism of this area was strongly orthodox, and here the Babylonian recension of the Talmud was produced.

Syria also had a strong Jewish population (*Jos., War.*, 7: 45). There was a Jewish colony in Antioch from an early date, with an estimated strength of 10% of the total population of about

300,000 inhabitants.<sup>8</sup> We also know that there was more than one synagogue in Damascus (Acts 9: 2), and Josephus says that 10,000 Jews were massacred here in the Jewish war (Jos., *War.*, 2: 559-561; in 7: 368 the number is said to be 18,000).

The Jewish settlements in Asia Minor are well-known from the account of Paul's journeys in Acts. About 200 BC Antiochus III transplanted 2,000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia to Lydia and Phrygia (Jos., *Ant.*, 12: 148-153), and by the time of Paul there can scarcely have been a town of any importance without its quota of Jews. They were even to be found across the Black Sea in the Crimea.<sup>9</sup> Many lived in Cyprus, where there was a powerful uprising in the time of Trajan and Hadrian, and they were naturally to be found in the principal towns in Macedonia (Philippi and Thessalonica) and Achaia (*i.e.* Greece); the remains of a synagogue have been discovered in Corinth, with the inscription "Synagogue of the Hebrews" written in *Greek*.<sup>9b</sup>

As early as 161 BC Judas Maccabeus entered into an alliance with the Romans (1 Maccabees 8). This was renewed by Jonathan and by Simon (1 Maccabees 12: 1-4, 16; 14: 24; 15: 15-24); the account of this last renewal (140-139 BC) states that the Romans sent copies of the treaty to a number of places at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, obviously so that the religious freedom of the Jews in these places might be preserved. It was apparently on this occasion that the Praetor Peregrinus forced certain Jews to leave Rome because they were attempting to impose the worship of Jupiter Sabazius upon the Romans. These accounts do not necessarily imply that Jews were already settled in Rome.<sup>10</sup> They were certainly present in large numbers by the first century BC. When Pompey held his triumph in Rome after his victories in the east he brought numerous Jewish prisoners of war with him. They were sold as slaves, but many were allowed to gain their freedom because their refusal to give up their customs, such as refusing to work on the Sabbath and to eat ordinary Gentile food, made them poor servants.<sup>11</sup> Their chief settlement in Rome was on the west side of the Tiber. Evidence of their numbers and influence is given by Cicero; speaking at a trial in 59 BC he pretended to hush his tones so that the Jews



present on the outskirts of the crowd of spectators might not hear him (Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28).

When Julius Cæsar died in 44 BC large numbers of Jews mourned both by day and by night at his pyre (Suetonius, *Cæsar* 84), and when a Jewish embassy came to Rome after the death of Herod to plead against having Archelaus as ruler 8,000 Jews resident in Rome are said to have turned out in support of it (Jos., *Ant.*, 17: 300; *War.*, 2: 80). Both Cæsar and Augustus favoured the Jews, and they continued to prosper at Rome during the Christian era, apart from a number of incidents which will be mentioned later. Excavations have unearthed the names of some 13 synagogues and revealed six Jewish catacombs, and the Jewish population in Rome has been reckoned at upwards of 40,000 souls.<sup>12</sup> Outside Rome Jews were resident in Puteoli (cf. Acts 28: 13f.). They may possibly have lived elsewhere in Italy and further west; one may speculate whether Paul's desire to visit Spain (Rom. 15: 24, 28), coupled with our knowledge of his normal policy of beginning missionary work in the synagogue, indicates that Jews were already to be found in this region.

On the south shore of the Mediterranean the Jews were well established in the Christian era. They settled in Cyrenaica in considerable numbers and were frequent disturbers of the peace (Jos., *Ant.*, 14: 114). But undoubtedly the principal area of Jewish settlement in the Empire was in Egypt.

We are exceptionally well informed about the history of the Jews in Egypt from a variety of sources, including the voluminous works of Philo and that immeasurably valuable witness to contemporary events which Egypt is almost alone in providing for us: the papyri.<sup>13</sup>

As far back as the time of Jeremiah, if not earlier, Jews had settled in different parts of Egypt. Jeremiah himself was taken forcibly by Johanan and other refugees to Tahpanhes (or Daphne), and we learn from him that other Jews were settled at Migdol (also in the north of Egypt), Memphis (central Egypt) and Pathros (southern Egypt) (Je. 41-44; cf. 24: 8; 26: 21-23); they

took up pagan religion, worshipping the queen of heaven. About the same period there were "colonies" of Jewish soldiers with their families at Elephantine (Yeb) and Syene (modern Aswan); from about 515 BC they were in the employ of the Persian conquerors of Egypt. Their religion was definitely unorthodox by Jewish standards. Not only did they build their own temple to Yahweh, but they also worshipped alongside him a regular pantheon, including Anath, the queen of heaven. No information is available for the period after 404 BC, when Persian rule ceased, and it is probable that the Jews were liquidated.<sup>14</sup>

Elephantine is more relevant to Old Testament study. Our real interest begins with the considerable infiltration of Jews into all parts of Egypt, including Alexandria, possibly in the life time of Alexander and certainly from the reign of Ptolemy I onwards (Jos., *Apion* 2: 33f.; *Aristeas* 12-14). In the second century BC the flow of immigrants increased, and c. 160 BC Onias built a temple at Leontopolis. Philo was able to estimate — no doubt with considerable exaggeration — that there were 1,000,000 Jews in Egypt (*In Flaccum*, 6), making up one-seventh of the total population (cf. Jos., *War.*, 2: 385). Alexandria was their chief centre, where they lived throughout the city and especially in two of the five wards into which the city was divided (Philo, *In Flaccum*, 8).

Such was the spread of the Jewish dispersion. In terms of numbers it was a force to be reckoned with. Its economic strength was perhaps less than might have been expected. The familiar picture of the Jew as a prosperous money-lender and wealthy business man belongs to a later age, and the Jews in the Roman Empire generally belonged to the middle and lower classes. On the other hand, the satirical picture of the Jew as a pauper and beggar found in Juvenal is not to be taken as typical (Juvenal, *Satires* 3: 10-17; 6: 542f.). The principal occupation of the Jews in the Dispersion was farming, but they were also engaged in a host of other trades. In some occupations they almost held a monopoly; these included textiles in Babylon, and the dyeing, glass and jewelry industries in the Empire. In a town like Alexandria there was a number of more wealthy people engaged in money-lending, ship-owning and trade, but such a man as

Tiberius Julius Alexander, a renegade Jew who rose to be Prefect of Egypt, must have been exceptional. By and large, therefore, the Jews did not occupy a position of exceptional economic strength in the Roman Empire.<sup>3b</sup>

## II. *The Legal Position and Organisation of the Jews*

The Roman Empire in the first century AD consisted of a number of provinces each in the hands of a Roman administration responsible to the Emperor and Senate in Rome. The inhabitants of Rome and Italy were ranked as Roman citizens, and there were of course many people living outside Rome who for one reason or another possessed Roman citizenship during their lifetime. But the great mass of people living in the Empire were members of national groups and not Roman citizens. This general principle applied to the Jews scattered through the various provinces. A number, like Paul and the freedmen of Pompey, were citizens, but this was the exception rather than the rule. There were also a number of cities which had their own rights of citizenship, usually Greek cities whose special rights had been granted to them before the Roman conquest and were then confirmed by the Romans, and in certain cases the Jews were entitled to these privileges.

Thus the Jews in Rome were for the most part Roman citizens.<sup>15</sup> According to Josephus the Jews in the cities founded by Seleucus I in Syria possessed citizen rights in the cities where they had settled (*Ant.*, 12: 119–121). The same privilege is also asserted by Josephus in the case of the Jews living in Alexandria, but this assertion has been disproved by the evidence of the papyri. There were certainly some Jews who shared in the citizen rights of Alexandria along with its Greek citizens, but it now appears that in general the Romans regarded the Jews as being on a level not with the Greek citizens of Alexandria but with the Egyptian native population, and that it was extremely difficult to obtain admission to citizenship.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless the Jews did possess certain rights and privileges.

In Greek cities before the Roman conquest it was not uncommon for a body of resident foreigners to form an officially recognised group (*politeuma*) with various rights, including that of pursuing their own religion. The citizens themselves could also form groups to follow religious practices other than those sponsored by the state. This was the situation of the Jews in Alexandria and in Berenice in Cyrenaica, and it was upheld by the Romans when they took over the administration. In Roman times there existed a number of clubs (*collegia*) which were voluntary organisations for some religious or social purpose.<sup>17</sup> The Jewish groups in Roman towns occupied a position similar, but not identical to that of these *collegia*. They differed in that membership was by birth and the association exercised a much wider influence over the lives of its members. A number of special edicts regulated the position of the Jewish groups and gave them freedom to practise their religion and (subject to certain restrictions) to follow their own customs and laws.<sup>3c, 7f</sup>

The privileges which were thus granted to the Jews by the Romans were on a scale unequalled in their treatment of other religions. Above all, the Jews were allowed to keep their Sabbath, and special arrangements were made to free them from fulfilling any duties which conflicted with their observance of that day. Exemption of Jews from military service was sporadic, but Jews in the army were apparently free from duties on the Sabbath.<sup>18</sup> They were allowed to have their own markets for food, and they had full freedom to carry on their religious ritual in the synagogues. This freedom included the right to raise funds for local use and the very unusual privilege of being allowed to send money overseas; this particular privilege was concerned with the temple tax of half a shekel which every Jew over twenty years of age was required to send to Jerusalem (*cf.* Mt. 17: 24-27).<sup>7g</sup> The Jews were also allowed to live according to their own laws as far as religious and civil cases were concerned; for criminal matters they naturally came under the Roman jurisdiction (*cf.* Acts 18: 12-17). Jews who were not Roman citizens were allowed to practise polygamy and follow Jewish laws of hereditary succession, but those who were Roman citizens had to observe Roman law in these matters. Finally, the Jews were spared from taking part in pagan

festivals and ceremonies to which they had conscientious objections. This privilege arose particularly in connection with the imperial cult, and in return for it the Jews were expected to show their devotion to the Emperor in other ways, such as by praying regularly for him and dedicating synagogues to him.

In granting these privileges to the Jews the Romans were not moved wholly by a disinterested affection for them, although it is true that by and large the Jews took care to cultivate good relationships with the Romans throughout the Dispersion; in this respect they copied the political wisdom of Herod the Great rather than the rashness of the Jews of Palestine who eventually broke out in open rebellion against the Romans with disastrous consequences to themselves. The Romans were moved more by their traditional conservatism in provincial administration and above all by questions of political expedience. During the first century AD Parthia was a standing menace to Roman security on the eastern border of the Empire, and the Romans realised that it was vital to maintain friendly relations with the Jews in the Empire both because of their own strength and because of the danger of any alliance between the Jews and the Parthians.

Within this situation of tolerance and protection by the Roman government the Jews carried on their own way of life. Their set-up was essentially religious and centred on the synagogue and its worship. The synagogue was the governing body in each group of Jews. Two main types of organisation existed. In Rome the Jews were organised around independent synagogues, each of which had its own governing body or *gerousia* with a president and a small executive group of rulers. In Alexandria, on the other hand, the synagogues were organised into one group governed by a council consisting of 71 elders. This latter type of organisation of all the Jews in a city into one group appears to have been characteristic of those places where the Jews were already well established before the advent of the Romans.

The various synagogues and Jewish communities were not independent units but were joined together by strong unofficial links. Before AD 70 the sanhedrin in Jerusalem possessed some

kind of influence over the Dispersion, although its precise legal powers, if any, are uncertain.<sup>19</sup> All Jews were linked with Palestine by the payment of the temple tax, and those who were able to do so went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the occasion of the great festivals (Acts 2: 5-11; 8: 27f.). Through trade and commerce there must have been a considerable amount of coming and going between all the more important Jewish settlements, so that the Jews everywhere were conscious of being one unified people.

### III. *Religious Life in the Dispersion*

The most conspicuous and characteristic feature of Judaism in the Dispersion, as also in Palestine itself, was that it was a religious community. The Jews owed their special religious position to two facts, the special choice by God of their nation and their possession of the law of God. Apart from observance of the law a man's privilege of Jewish birth was religiously valueless. It was true that not all the observances required by the law could be upheld outside Palestine — nor within Palestine itself after AD 70 — but nevertheless the Jews of the Dispersion sought to honour the law according to the best of their ability. For all his love of things Greek and his desire to expound the law in terms of Greek philosophy, Philo of Alexandria was at heart an orthodox Jew who kept the law punctiliously, and it was a group of Hellenistic Jews from Asia who led the attack against Paul for, as they alleged, bringing Greeks into the temple (Acts 21: 27-29). The various modifications which required to be made in the law by Jews living under Greek or Roman governments were of slight importance in comparison with their fundamental loyalty to it.

The basic character of worship in the Dispersion followed naturally from this veneration of the law. Its content was that of the ethical monotheism of the Old Testament and Palestinian Judaism, a religion free from the use of images and idols with a lofty moral emphasis. There was of course no sacrificial temple worship outside Jerusalem (except at Leontopolis in Egypt), synagogue worship being the universal custom. A description has come down to us of the great synagogue in Alexandria, built like

a basilica with a double row of pillars and golden seats for the elders; the various trades sat in their own areas, and when the time came for the congregation to say Amen the attendants had to signal by waving flags (Tosefta Sukkah 4: 6).<sup>6b</sup> There is little information available about the nature of synagogue worship in the first century AD, but in Acts 13: 15 we have a glimpse into a typical Dispersion synagogue with its order of service containing prayers, readings from the law and prophets and an address. H. Lietzmann notes that the prayer of the high priest in 3 Maccabees 2: 1–20 reflects the kind of prayer used in Alexandria, and also draws attention to the Jewish prayers found in the later Christian work, the Apostolic Constitutions. These reveal a worship that is essentially based on the Old Testament with great emphasis on God's creative power and His mighty acts in history, but also shows certain traces of Hellenistic modes of thought.<sup>4b</sup>

The synagogues were the centres of a vigorous missionary movement. Jesus said of the Pharisees that they "traverse sea and land to make a single proselyte" (Mt. 23: 15), and this comment on the fervour of proselytism in Palestine is echoed by the Roman poet Horace with regard to the Dispersion: "like the Jews, we will force you to come over to our party."<sup>20</sup> There was a considerable longing at this time among the pagan peoples of the Empire for a satisfying religion, and it has often been remarked that Christianity profited by this situation, being able to offer a form of religion which lacked the disadvantages inherent in Judaism while preserving all that was best in it. But this should not blind us to the fact that the Jews themselves were markedly successful in their missionary enterprise, as is witnessed by the numbers of proselytes whom we meet in the pages of the New Testament. A very large part of the Jewish literature which has survived from this period has clear apologetic tendencies, even when it is not specifically addressed to the outsider. Attempts were made to remove the obstacles in the way of conversion to Judaism. The ritual aspects of the faith were toned down, while the moral and philosophical side was emphasised. Circumcision was naturally the chief obstacle in the way of men, and this helps to explain why more women became converts, although circumcision was often accepted in the second generation of converts

(Juvenal, Satires 14: 96 - 106).

Hence there grew up around the synagogues considerable groups of Gentiles who were Jews in all but circumcision (but consequently deprived, at least in theory, of any share in the age to come) or who had taken even this decisive step and were fully incorporated in the Jewish people. The two classes were called God-fearers and proselytes respectively.<sup>2b, 7i</sup>

The Jews could not live in the Hellenistic world outside Palestine without being influenced to some extent by their environment. The differences which arose between them and their Palestinian brethren can easily be exaggerated, if we fail to remember that Hellenistic influences also operated in Palestine, but some differences certainly existed.<sup>21</sup> We should not pay too much attention to the syncretistic fringe of Judaism found especially in Asia Minor and testified to in the magical papyri; this was no more typical of Dispersion Judaism than the Protestant underground sects of today are of orthodox Christianity.<sup>22</sup> On the whole Judaism was an exclusive movement, intolerant of other religions and shunning social intercourse with non-Jews. The influences which played upon it consequently affected it only superficially and did not change its essential character.

The most notable effect of Hellenisation was that the Jews of the Dispersion learned to worship in the vernacular with an astounding celerity when compared with, say, the Roman Catholic Church. Greek was the language of the synagogue. The principal literary memorial of the Dispersion which has come down to us is the Old Testament in Greek which was of course the *lingua franca* of the eastern Roman Empire. This must inevitably have produced some differences in the understanding of the Old Testament, but these were merely superficial.

Jewish daily life was also affected by the conditions of the Dispersion. The influence was of course not always towards Hellenisation; in the countryside of Egypt the Jews tended to adopt an Egyptian rather than a Greek way of life. There was certainly a 'liberal' movement in some quarters, and it was not



unheard of for Jews to be seen at the public baths or the games. We also know that the Jews shared to some extent in the artistic pursuits of their neighbours, as is witnessed by the various finds made by archæologists, particularly at Dura-Europos.<sup>23</sup> As far as Egypt is concerned, there is evidence that the Jews began to adopt non-Jewish personal names and to follow Hellenistic law in such matters as providing guardians for women in court and lending money at interest to fellow-Jews. It appears also that the Jews in Alexandria coveted a Greek education in the gymnasium (which was of course the equivalent of a modern school and not merely a place for training in athletics), but often found admission difficult until Claudius prohibited it; this was connected with the Jewish desire for citizenship in Alexandria, since a gymnasium education was the indispensable qualification for citizenship.<sup>13c</sup> In these ways Hellenisation had its effect on the Jewish way of life, but did not change its essential character.

Finally, in this section, something must be said about the Jewish literature produced in the Dispersion. It was of course written in Greek, and its interest lies in the evidence which it gives of assimilation to Hellenistic literary forms and ways of thought and in the light which it casts on the self-consciousness and missionary zeal of Judaism. But the remains of what was a great and rich culture are meagre and fragmentary, apart from what has been preserved as a result of Christian influence, and H. Lietzmann goes so far as to speak of a systematic annihilation of Greek-speaking Jewry by her Talmudic sister.<sup>4c</sup> The result is that, with the exception of such authors as Philo and Josephus, we possess little more than fragments, interesting only to the specialist, from the literature of the Dispersion. We may catalogue briefly the following types of literature.

First, there is the historical literature, written to satisfy the curiosity of the Jews themselves but also with a certain propaganda value. Here we possess in full the two great works of Josephus, the *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War*, which are our principal source for Jewish history in this period. Other writers who preceded Josephus are little more than names: Demetrius, Eupolemus and Artapanus; but we still possess the anonymous writings known

as 2 and 3 *Maccabees* which deal with the Maccabean revolt and the legendary attempt of Ptolemy to enter the Temple in 217 BC.<sup>24</sup>

Second, there are the writings of Jewish philosophers and theologians who attempted to present the Jewish faith in a Greek dress. In the second century BC Aristobulus wrote a philosophical interpretation of the Pentateuch, and his example was followed by Philo, writing in the first century AD. The *Wisdom of Solomon* in the Apocrypha is an example of Jewish wisdom literature written under Stoic influence: it probably comes from Alexandria and ante-dates Philo. To this same milieu belongs 4 *Maccabees* which discusses the Stoic and Platonic virtues and finds them taught in the Law of Moses.<sup>25</sup>

Third, we have a number of short fragments of Jewish works written in a Greek literary style. Epic poetry is represented by a poem in Homeric hexameters on Jerusalem by Philo the Elder (second century BC) and another poem dealing with the history of Shechem by Theodotus (second century BC). The poet Ezekiel (second century BC) wrote tragedies including a dramatic account of the Exodus.<sup>71, 2e</sup>

The fourth class consists of works intentionally apologetic in aim. Here we must include a series of works produced under Gentile pseudonyms in order to win an audience. Thus unknown Jewish authors added material to the Sibylline Oracles with a distinct missionary bent. One unknown Jewish apologist wrote under the name of Hecataeus of Abdera (a third century BC opponent of the Jews), and the well-known letter of Aristaeus to Philocrates describing the translation of the Septuagint is a pseudonym under the name of an official of Ptolemy II. Another Jewish author wrote a moralizing didactic poem under the name of Phocylides, a Greek poet of the sixth century BC. To these must be added a series of forged quotations from famous Greek poets.<sup>7m, 2f, 9e</sup> In addition to these pseudepigraphs there are a number of direct apologies and tracts for the Jewish faith. Philo wrote an apology for the Jewish faith, of which only a fragment is preserved. Fortunately the two books of Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, have been preserved and give us a valuable insight into

they had their share of ne'er-do-wells, and merciless scorn was poured upon the beggars and fortune-tellers, upon the petty thieves and the brawlers.<sup>3f, 2h</sup>

Some of the writers who developed these criticisms of the Jews are little more than names to us. They include Hecataeus and Manetho (third century BC) who gave a pro-Egyptian version of the Exodus, Mnaseas (an Egyptian historian in the second century BC) who was responsible for the story of the Jews worshipping the ass, Damocritus (first century BC), who spread the tale of the Jews sacrificing a stranger every seven years, and Apion, a first century AD grammarian whom Josephus considered to be sufficiently dangerous to warrant a refutation.<sup>70</sup> The Roman critics of the Jews included several famous names. They included not only professional satirists such as Horace, Juvenal, Martial and Persius, but the orator Cicero and the historian Tacitus whose account of the Jews shows how they appeared to a well-informed but admittedly cynical historian as an object of scorn.<sup>28</sup>

It is not difficult to read between the lines in these criticisms and to discount those which are to be taken no more seriously than political mud-slinging in our own day. The early Christians were accused of Thyestean banquets and Oedipidean intercourse with as little justification. Nevertheless, the contempt felt by Greeks and Romans alike is not to be explained away, and there is no doubt that considerable feeling existed against the Jews. The social tensions which were aroused, the political fear which was felt in some quarters, and the annoyance which was caused by official Roman tolerance of so intolerant a people led to persecution and bloodshed.

Persecution of the Jews in Egypt was rare in pre-Roman times, but when the first piece of serious trouble arose in AD 38 it represented the blowing of the safety valve rather than the first rise in pressure. On this occasion the Greek population in Alexandria took advantage of the visit of the Jewish king Agrippa to insult the Jews and then, in order to maintain favour with the Emperor, who was after all a friend of Agrippa, to demand that the Jews put statues of the emperor in their synagogues. When

the Jews refused to comply, the Prefect of Egypt, Aulus Avillius Flaccus, issued an interdict condemning the Jews as foreigners and interlopers. The Greeks immediately seized the opportunity to launch a pogrom in which insult, plunder and massacre were combined. Flaccus not only winked at these goings on but himself had 38 of the Jewish elders whipped. Shortly after he was recalled to Rome, thanks to the complaints made by Agrippa concerning an earlier dereliction of his duty towards the Jews, and he was condemned to death.<sup>29</sup> An embassy led by Philo was sent to Rome by the Jews to appeal to Caligula, but an Alexandrian embassy also arrived under Apion, and the Jews gained nothing. When Caligula died, the Jews attempted reprisals in Alexandria, but these were quelled by the Romans. The new emperor Claudius dealt with the situation in an edict which restored the old rights of the Jews; he also had two of their principal adversaries, Isidore and Lampon, put to death. This was not the end of the matter, however; a papyrus exists containing a letter of Claudius in which he sternly ordered both Greeks and Jews to behave themselves.<sup>30</sup>

No more disturbances are recorded until AD 66, the year when the Jewish revolt broke out in Palestine. When a meeting was being held to decide to send an embassy to Nero, perhaps in order to assure him of Alexandrian loyalty in view of the outbreak of the revolt, a number of Jews were found to be present and only escaped being lynched when their friends came to the rescue and threatened to burn the place down. They were restrained by the prefect, Tiberius Julius Alexander (AD 66–69/70),<sup>13f</sup> but the more hot-headed among them refused to listen to a renegade Jew, and the Roman troops were called out. For the second time the Jews were mercilessly slaughtered (50,000 of them according to Josephus, *War* 2: 487–498),<sup>13g</sup> and we hear of no more trouble from them until the later rising under Trajan which led to their almost complete annihilation in Egypt.<sup>13h</sup>

Trouble broke out in Rome in the reign of Tiberius when a number of rogues (including a renegade Jew) persuaded a lady called Fulvia who was a proselyte to make a valuable gift to the Temple and then absconded with it. When the lady's husband

complained, Tiberius ordered the Jews to be banished from Rome and the Senate passed a resolution sending 4,000 freedmen to Sardinia to quell the brigands there and be a prey to the unhealthy climate (Jos. *Ant.* 18: 84; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 36; Tacitus, *Annals* 2: 85).<sup>9h</sup> The banishment was only temporary, and we must indeed wonder whether it could have been carried out effectively. Caligula was of course opposed to the Jews — and to anybody who denied his divinity<sup>31</sup> — but Claudius showed a more favourable attitude. In his reign, however, there took place the famous riots “at the instigation of Chrestus”, and a consequent banishment of the Jews for a further period (Acts 18: 2). It remains uncertain whether these riots were due to disturbances among the Jews consequent upon the coming of Christianity to Rome.<sup>32</sup> Once again the banishment can have been neither long nor complete, and when we come to the reign of Nero we find the Jews well-established at court in such persons as Poppaea, the mistress and later the wife of the emperor, and Aliturus the actor.<sup>33</sup> Josephus himself lived in Rome with court connections, and later still Plotina, the wife of Trajan, may have been strongly pro-Jewish.<sup>34</sup>

These accounts of the situation of the Jews in Alexandria and Rome give some indication of the way in which anti-Jewish feeling showed itself and make it clear that the blame is not easy to apportion. They confirm that anti-Jewish feeling arose most readily among the neighbours of the Jews, and that in general the Roman government acted against the Jews only when it could hardly do otherwise.

#### V. *Jews and Christians*

The story of the attitude of the Jews of the Dispersion to the spreading Christian mission belongs to the history of the Church and hardly to an article which attempts to deal with the background of the New Testament.<sup>35</sup> It is sufficient, therefore, to note briefly at this point that the Jewish Dispersion effectively paved the way for the coming of Christianity in a number of ways, as well as providing opposition later to its advance. Its greatest

the polemic which the Jews found it necessary to answer. Mention must also be made of the tract, *Joseph and Asenath*, which describes the conversion of Joseph's wife Asenath (Gen. 41: 45) to the Jewish faith.<sup>26</sup>

Various common themes run through this literature. The writers are concerned to rebut the accusations made against the Jewish race and to establish the superiority of their race and religion over all others. They attempt to show, for example, that the best in Gentile thought was due to Jewish inspiration. Above all they attacked the polytheism which was typical of popular religion and stressed their own monotheism. They showed that true revelation was spiritual and that it found its home in Israel.<sup>27</sup>

#### IV. *Gentiles and Jews*

It will already have become apparent that there was a certain amount of ill-feeling against the Jews of the Dispersion. Although for the most part they attempted to preserve good relations with the Romans and did not rise in support of their compatriots in the Jewish war of AD 66–70, they were nevertheless regarded with a certain hostility by their neighbours, and mutual dislike at times broke out into scenes of violence and massacre.

A considerable amount of bitter criticism and scurrilous abuse is to be found in the pages of the Roman satirists and other writers. The Jews were attacked for their social exclusiveness and openly asserted attitude of superiority to other races. They were ready to help each other, but not other people. Their religion was dismissed as a barbarous superstition. Stories were handed down of how they worshipped an ass's head and indulged in human sacrifice, and at the best they were said to worship the air and the clouds. Their incomprehensible taboos, such as abstinence from pork, earned considerable derision, while circumcision made them a laughing stock. In an age of syncretism their uncompromising intolerance of all other religions and their aggressive proselytism were felt to be out of place. Like any other people

literary monument, the Septuagint, became the Bible of the early Church, although not of Jesus Himself. The mutual traffic between the Dispersion and Palestine promoted the assimilation of Hellenistic ways of thought in Palestine, so that the background to the teaching of Jesus must not be regarded as exclusively "Palestinian"; the days are gone when any Hellenistic-sounding text in the Gospels must promptly be pronounced "late" or inauthentic, and we have learned that Jew and Greek are both "Tutors unto Christ". Finally, the Jewish Dispersion undoubtedly facilitated the expansion of Christianity. The Christian missionaries began their work in the synagogues where they presented Jesus as the awaited Jewish Messiah and won a response from the God-fearers and proselytes, and to a lesser degree from the Jews themselves.

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See also F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 1920, I, pp. 137–168; W. O. E. Osterley (and T. H. Robinson), *A History of Israel*, Oxford, 1932, II, pp. 400–424; T. Reinach in *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, pp. 560–574; E. Schürer in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V, pp. 91–109; H. Hegermann in J. Leipoldt and W. Grundmann, *Umwelt des Urchristentums*, Berlin, 1965, I, pp. 292–345; II, pp. 234–314.

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## REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. The word *diaspora*, used in Jn. 7: 35, is found a dozen times in the LXX and refers to the people of Israel exiled among the nations and to their state or place of exile. In the NT the word is also used with reference to Christians; they are scattered abroad in the world, away from their heavenly homeland (Jas. 1: 1; 1 Pet. 1: 1). See K. L. Schmidt in G. Kittel, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 2, pp. 98-104.
2. Within the Roman Empire, which had a total population of about 55,000,000, the number of Jews is variously estimated between 3,000,000 and 6-7,000,000 (See 2a; 3a). According to H. Lietzmann (4a), there were about 4,000,000 Jews in the Empire, of whom 500,000 lived in Palestine. There were also large numbers of Jews living outside the Empire in the Middle East.  
R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times*, 1963. (a). p. 189; (b) pp. 194-196; (c) pp. 200-210; (d) pp. 212-224; (e) pp. 210-212; (f) pp. 224-230; (g) pp. 197-199; (h) p. 191.
3. J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1914. (a). 1, p. 76; (b). 2, pp. 291-326; (c). 1, 413-424; (d). 2, pp. 265-279; (e). 2, p. 145 n. 5.
4. H. Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, 1953. (a). p. 76; (b) pp. 90, 101-103; (c) pp. 75f.
5. The ubiquity and numbers of the Jews are testified to by a number of ancient writers, including Strabo (quoted in Josephus, *Antiquities* 14: 115-118); 1 Maccabees 15: 16-24; Sibylline Oracles 3, 271f.; Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 36; in *Flaccum* 7; Josephus, *War* 2: 398; 7: 43-45.
6. F. J. F. Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 1920, (a). 1, pp. 137f., 147; (b). 1, pp. 152f.; A. Alt, *Where Jesus Worked*, 1961.
7. E. Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, 1885-1890*, (a). 2:2, p. 223 n. 10; (b). 2:2, pp. 233f.; (c). 2:2, p. 57 n. 44; (d). 2:2, pp. 276-279; (e). 2:2, pp. 271f.; (f). 2:2, pp. 252-270; (g). 2:2, pp. 288-290; (h). 2:1, pp. 184-190; (i). 2:2, pp. 291-327; (j). 2:3, pp. 195ff. (especially 200-208, 211-219); (k). 2:3, pp. 228-248; (l). 2:3, pp. 222-228; (m). 2:3, pp. 270-320; (n). 2:3, pp. 248-270; (o). 2:3, pp. 249-262.
8. C. H. Kraeling, *Jour. of Biblical Literature*, 1932, 51, 130-160.
9. C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background*, 1956. (a). No. 52; (b). No. 48; (c). No. 27; (d). Nos. 126, 179-191; (e). Nos. 207, 221; (f). Nos. 199-202; (g). No. 45; (h). Nos. 5, 6.
10. Valerius Maximus 1: 3. Jupiter Sabazius (the name of a god worshipped in Asia Minor) is evidently a misunderstanding of, or an attempt to find a Roman equivalent for, Yahweh Sabaoth. The Jews in question may have been part of the retinue of Simon's embassy; see 7b.
11. Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 23. The synagogue of the Freedmen in Jerusalem (Acts 6: 9) may have been for the descendants of these Roman Jewish freedmen (7c).
12. By the fourth century there were in existence synagogues of the Augusteans, Agrippians (i.e. of Jews belonging to the households of Augustus and his minister Agrippa), Herodians, Volumnians, Campesians, Syburesians (i.e. from the Campus Martius and Subura districts), Hebrews (i.e. Aramaic-speaking Jews from Palestine), Vernaculi, Calcarensians (i.e. limekiln workers), Sekeni, Tripolitans, Elaians (i.e. of the Olive), and (possibly) Calabrians. See G. La Piana, *Harvard Theological Review*, 1927, 20, 183-403, especially 341-393.



13. Earlier accounts of the Jewish dispersion in Egypt are now superseded by the brilliant picture given in the prolegomena to V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1957—64. (a). 1, pp. 1—111; (b). 1, pp. 39—41, 59—74; (c). 1, pp. 25—44; (d). 1, pp. 65—74; (e). 2, Nos. 153—156; (f). 2, p. 418; (g). 1, pp. 78—85; (h). 1, pp. 85—93; (i). 2, No. 157.
14. For the Elephantine papyri see A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923; extracts in D. W. Thomas, *Documents from Old Testament Times*, 1958, pp. 256—269.
15. See 7d and A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, Oxford, 1963.
16. The older authorities (7e) followed Josephus in holding that the Jews shared Greek citizenship in Alexandria. For the modern view see 13b; H. Idris Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924.
17. See "Clubs, Roman" in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.
18. Exemption from military service was granted to Jews in Asia in the time of Julius Cæsar (49 BC; Jos., *Ant.* 14: 223—240), but there is no evidence that this was the rule elsewhere (3d). For observance of the sabbath by soldiers see Jos., *Ant.* 14: 226f.; cf. 13: 251; here again the evidence is very meagre.
19. The authority of the sanhedrin outside Judaea was a moral authority, dependent on prestige rather than on legal position (7h). The historicity of the incident in Acts 9: 2, where the high priest sends letters to the synagogues at Damascus, requesting the extradition of Jewish Christians, has often been questioned (3e); see, however, J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, p. 74. While there is no supporting evidence for this authority of the high priest (or the sanhedrin), there is equally no evidence that would deny the possibility of the high priest using his moral authority in a special case, such as this one was, over synagogues in a town which was in close touch with Jerusalem.
20. Horace, *Satires* 1: 4: 142f. On proselytism see especially J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, 1958, pp. 11—19.
21. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1955, pp. 1—16.
22. On Jewish syncretism in Asia Minor see G. Johnston, *The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament*, Cambridge, 1943, pp. 15—18. For the use of Jewish terminology in the magical papyri see 9c, and for Jewish "magicians" see Acts 13: 6; 19: 13—16.
23. C. Roth, *Jewish Art*, 1961; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, New York, 1953—69.
24. For Josephus see the Loeb translation (9 vols.). For the other writers mentioned see 7j; 2c; R. Marcus, "Hellenistic Jewish Literature", in L. Finkelstein, *The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion*, 1961, 2, pp. 1077—1115; A. M. Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Quae Supersunt Graeca*, Leiden, 1970, contains all the Greek fragments mentioned in the text.
25. See 7k; 2d. On Philo see E. R. Goodenough, *Introduction to Philo Judeus*, New Haven, 1940; H. Lewy, *Philo: Selections*, Oxford, 1946; complete works in the Loeb translation (12 vols.) and extracts in 9d. For 4 Maccabees see R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1964, 2, pp. 653—685.
26. The fragment of Philo is preserved in Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica* 8: 11. Extracts from Josephus in 9f. Editions of *Joseph and Asenath* by P. Batiffol (*Studia Patristica* 1—2, Paris, 1889—1890) and M. Philonenko (Leiden, 1968).
27. See 7n; 2g; P. Dalbert, *Die Theologie der hellenistisch-jüdischen Missionsliteratur*, Hamburg, 1954.
28. See Horace, *Satires* 1: 4: 142f.; 1: 5: 100; 1: 9: 68—72; Juvenal,

- Satires* 3: 286-298; 6: 542-591; 14: 96-106; Martial, *Epigrams* 1: 41; 11: 94; 12: 57; Persius 5: 179-184; Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28; Tacitus, *Histories* 5: 1-13.
29. His death was probably for being involved in a plot concerning the Emperor and not as a result of this incident: A Momigliano in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v.
  30. See 13d and, in addition to the writings of Philo (*Legatio ad Gaium, In Flaccum*), the papyri in 9g, 13e.
  31. Despite this, Herod Agrippa was one of the friends of Caligula; *Jos. Ant.* 18: 236f.
  32. Suetonius, *Claudius* 25. The possibilities are: (1). that Chrestus was the name of an actual person who was responsible for the disturbances (it was in fact a common name among slaves); (2). that Chrestus was a wrong pronunciation of Christus (cf. Tertullian, *Apology* 3), and Suetonius misunderstood what he heard, the real cause of the riots being some form of Messianic excitement, or, (3). conflict caused by the spread of Christianity among Jews in Rome. See W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans*, Edinburgh, 1902, pp. xxif.
  33. *Jos., Ant.* 20: 195; *Life* 16. The picture of Poppaea given by Tacitus is somewhat different.
  34. See 13i; the writer is somewhat sceptical regarding the evidence.
  35. L. Goppelt, *Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert*, Gütersloh, 1954, gives the most recent account.

G. W. SCOTT BLAIR

## A Physicist's Reflections on the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ

**In this interesting and unusual article Dr. Scott Blair, internationally known as a leading authority on Rheology, tells us how he relates his knowledge of physical science to the Resurrection of Christ. He argues that although no full explanation is possible, because science cannot incorporate unique events, nevertheless some account, in physical terms, of what probably happened should be possible.**

“Do not think for a moment that it is the understanding of the ideas which moves mankind ; it is their faith in the ideas.” Thus wrote Vladimir Simkhovitch.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, so many books have recently been written and so much propaganda put out on the wireless, ‘explaining away’ the Resurrection of Christ as a mere myth, that there are people whose faith may be shaken by the idea that ‘Modern Science’ has made belief in the physical Resurrection difficult, if not impossible.

In the present article, an attempt will be made to show that, so far as the physical sciences are concerned (the author is not a biologist) the reverse is the case. The whole trend of modern thought, especially in physics and cosmology, would seem not, of course, to ‘prove’ the validity of the orthodox view, but to make it much easier to accept.

We shall try, therefore, to describe what *may* have happened, in so far as this is possible, in the terms of modern physical theory, leaving much unexplained.

We need not repeat here in detail what has been so well said by R. E. D. Clark<sup>2</sup> in a recent book about the limitations of science. Science is concerned with reproducible or reobservable phenomena. It seems incredible that quite a distinguished group of scientific philosophers believed (perhaps some still do) that any statement that does not depend on sensory data, or on postulates logically derivable from them, must be meaningless! Thus the statements "There is a God" and "There is not a God" would be considered equally meaningless!

All *scientific* information come through our senses. The sense organs transfer messages that are interpreted in the brain. The evidence for telepathy and clairvoyance, both experimental and observational, would seem to be overwhelming. With the famous 'card guessing experiments' highly significant results are obtained with a limited number of subjects, especially if the 'transmitter' and the subject are '*en rapport*', but the capacity fades after a time. Tests on the radio (a small number of tests on a large number of subjects having no connection with the 'transmitter') appear to give negative results. It is perhaps a pity that the term 'extrasensory' is used: all we mean by it is that the sense organ, probably in the brain, which picks up telepathic messages has not yet been located and that we have no idea how the messages are propagated through space. From reported observations on more primitive peoples, it seems likely that these faculties have weakened, in some cases to vanishing point, in our modern technological society.

Our brains no doubt are adapted primarily to enable them to detect the sources of information needed to maintain and reproduce life. There are many other sources that we do not perceive. Some, such as radio waves, we have learned to convert into frequencies that we can see or hear: doubtless others remain unknown to us. We can shield ourselves from some frequencies, using sunshades or blocks of lead, but not from all.

Many of the influences that reach us from long distances are electromagnetic radiations. We are only very recently beginning to learn about gravity waves (see Penrose<sup>3</sup>) and we have not yet found any material or apparatus that will shield us from the force of gravity. (We can escape from the earth's gravitational field, of course, by moving at very high velocity).

Also, we cannot imagine more than three dimensions of space: i.e. more than three straight lines crossing at a single point and at right-angles to one another.

It is interesting that, in the case of 'dimensions' in the other sense, the one in which we usually describe physical properties in terms of mass, length and time (or force, length, time), we have no difficulty in envisaging a description in terms of two, four or more dimensions, though three is generally found to be the most convenient number to use. Equating the speed of light to unity, we can eliminate either length or time, but this is inconvenient. Some physicists have preferred to keep temperature, or some electrical quantity, as a fourth dimensional unit; but three is the number generally preferred (see especially Bridgman<sup>4</sup>). For our perception of space it is likewise true, no doubt, that three dimensions are best suited for our needs.

Physicists have shied away from postulating a fourth dimension of space. As is well-known, Minkowski showed that time and space can be combined in a single equation. Time ( $t$ ) is replaced by  $ict$ , where  $c$  is the speed of light in free space and  $i$  is the imaginary square root of  $-1$ . But he confused many people by going on to say that "henceforth, space and time in themselves vanish to shadows, and only a union of the two exists in its own right". He had evidently forgotten, for a moment, the significance of  $i$ . To put it very simply, one can be at two times in one place, but not in two places at one time!

On the other hand, Katchalsky and Curran,<sup>5</sup> in their brilliant book on non-equilibrium thermodynamics say: "The concept of time is implied in the very notion of a process; it is indeed the 'event' that is perceived directly as a four-dimensional space-time

entity. Only through a long and involved process of abstraction was time isolated as an independent analytic co-ordinate." Even so, this does not justify Minkowski's statement.

Even when astronomers found a 'curvature' in space (Einstein postulated a universe in which if one travelled in a straight line for long enough one would so 'curve round' space as to return to one's point of departure), the "curvature" was allowed for by discarding Euclidean geometry rather than by postulating a fourth space dimension.

It is true that Eddington introduced a five-dimensional space-time.<sup>6</sup> It will be remembered that he was attempting to interrelate all physical phenomena. He preferred to make his fifth dimension 'time-like' rather than 'space-like'. "Not more than three perpendicular components can have homothetic \* symbols", and "since it is more fitting that the real numbers . . . should be used to represent time components, which have distinctive directions towards future and past", he very unusually makes his three space components 'imaginary' and his time components 'real'.

Various authors have proposed more than one time dimension but this need not concern us here. Does Eddington really mean that there *can* be only three homothetic perpendicular components, or that one cannot *imagine* more than three? Can one 'imagine' an antithetic equation in any case? There are mathematical difficulties in postulating more than three homothetic dimensions; but are these difficulties also a result of the limitations of the brain?

Hinshelwood<sup>7</sup> pointed out that St. Thomas Aquinas had postulated properties of angels, very similar to those now ascribed to electrons. Among other things, they can pass from one place to another in an instant of time, without traversing the intermediate space. But the idea that this could involve a fourth dimension of space is not mooted. (Is it possible that angels exist in a fourth dimension of space, and that that is why we so seldom see them?).

\* "Homothetic" means either all real or all imaginary: "antithetic" means "mixed".

A very remarkable book was published more than twenty years before Einstein produced his *Special Theory of Relativity*,\* by an anonymous author (actually Edwin Abbott, 1836–1926) who, somewhat prophetically called himself “A Square”.<sup>8</sup> This author imagines a world whose inhabitants can perceive only two dimensions of space. Their houses, cities, etc., are all in a plane with no possible “elevation”. One of these inhabitants is taken by a Superior Being into worlds of other dimensions. The one dimensional world is, of course, extremely limited; our own three dimensional world interests the visitor most. By moving ‘upwards’ (a concept that he cannot conceive), he can see, simultaneously ‘people’ in the different rooms of his house and in different parts of the town. Also, he can pass through a ‘wall’ (a line), disappearing into thin air from one room and appearing in another. He discusses with his guide the possibility of worlds having four or more dimensions of space and there seems to be no objection to their probable existence.

The reader will by now have seen the purpose of this rather long introduction before we discuss the Resurrection; but let us now come to the point.

We need not repeat here the overwhelmingly strong case for the historical truth of the death, physical Resurrection and Ascension of Christ. These are fully dealt with by Gore, and in greater detail by Morison,<sup>9</sup> as well as by many other authors. The dramatic change in the behaviour of the disciples, the spread of Christianity and the existence of the Church over nearly two thousand years speak for themselves.

Nor need a physical scientist have doubts about belief in miracles. An event that happens “once, only once and once for all” does not come within the field of Science, and must be judged entirely by historical evidence. Gore quotes T. H. Huxley as saying: “The mysteries of the Church are child’s play compared with the mysteries of Nature. The doctrine of the Trinity is not more puzzling than the necessary antinomies of physical specu-

\* Of course more than three dimensions had been used by various mathematicians during the intervening twenty-one years.

lation"; and this is much more obviously true today than it was a hundred years or so ago: in fact it is remarkable that Huxley should have said this.

We must, I believe, accept at least *some* miracles, including those of the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ for which as St. Luke says, there are "many infallible proofs", but it is to be noted that, although we can never answer the question *how*? we can make some attempt at suggesting *what* may have happened on these occasions.

To take modern examples, it seems certain, from the carefully preserved records, that a very few of the patients, pronounced incurable, have been miraculously cured at Lourdes and also elsewhere. We cannot know *how*, but the doctor who had previously found a rapidly developing malignant tumour before the 'cure', would find that, after the 'cure', it had regressed, or at least not spread. This happens occasionally without any faith, or visit to a healing shrine. Presumably some chemical substance is produced in the body (alas we do not yet know what) that inhibits the spread of the disease. The miracle (when there is one) lies in the fact that it happened at a particular time and place and in answer to prayer.

We shall not consider in any detail the two other types of 'resurrection' recorded in the New Testament: (1) the raising of the dead by Christ before the Crucifixion. If we accepted these as valid (*vide infra*), it is clear that there was no drastic change in the bodies of the revived people except for a return to health and normal life: (2) our own resurrection for which we shall need entirely new bodies of a kind which, as St. Paul points out, we now can have very little idea. Christ's risen Body was in most ways identical with His pre-risen Body, including the wounds of the crucifixion. It has always been believed that our own risen bodies will not retain losses of limbs, or other defects acquired on earth. And yet in other respects, the matter of His Body had obviously been changed. (There is a spiritual sense in which Christ's Resurrection is a kind of guarantee of our own, but that does not concern us here).



At last we can come to the main purpose of this article: to consider the sort of changes that *might* have happened at the time of the Resurrection of Christ. We shall see that there must have been at least two separate miracles, as well as, probably, one quite 'natural' event:

First we must consider what happened at the moment of His Death. He was taken down from the cross well and truly dead, yet after thirty-six hours or slightly more His Body acquired new life and new properties. Clearly, during this period, "God rested on the seventh day" and "He did not suffer His Holy One to see corruption." A normal body would have undergone irreversible changes during thirty-six hours at all but a very low temperature.

In a little book, Schrödinger<sup>10</sup> discusses the significance of the second law of thermodynamics for living systems. This law, as is well-known, states that in an isolated system, the entropy, a measure of randomness, or lack of specific structure, always tends to increase. Living organisms are not isolated systems and they are prevented from an "entropy death" by their nutrients, whose own structure is broken down (entropy increased) as they replace the material of the body. At death, this process stops and the body rapidly disintegrates at a rate dependent on the temperature. At the absolute zero of temperature ( $-273^{\circ}\text{C}$ ) there would be no increase in entropy. It has even been recently suggested that a patient with a disease at present incurable, might be frozen and kept alive until a treatment had been discovered, and then thawed out, brought back to life and treated.

There was, of course, no refrigerating equipment in the tomb of Christ! Can we believe that, by a direct miracle, His Body was frozen, or the entropy prevented from increasing in some other way? Physics has little to suggest here; but there is one rather strange observation that might just possibly bear on the problem. People who claim to have seen ghosts and other psychic phenomena often comment on a sudden sensation of cold.<sup>11</sup> Christ's Body was no 'ghost' but there could, just possibly, be some unknown connection. (The reader is referred to a rather strange article on ghosts in a serious physics journal, by Wright.<sup>12</sup> This author

concludes on physical grounds that ghosts could be seen only when they are very cold. He suggests that they may come rapidly from the intense cold of outer space.)

There is a possible alternative to this very nebulous suggestion. Although we may, or may not, agree with Gilbert Ryle<sup>13</sup> that mind and body are no more than different aspects of one whole being, that there is no 'ghost' in a 'machine', as Descartes implied; yet, as Christians we must be to some extent dualists if we are to believe in our own after-life. At the moment of death, the soul (or spirit) must leave the body if we are later to have a new body, unless there is to be a complete 're-creation' of our whole beings.

We gladly accept the Gospel assertion that Christ "gave up His spirit." The early Christians believed that He went to preach to those who had not lived to see His ministry on earth. He was indeed 'dead', in this fundamental sense.

But, physically, death is not so easy to define. There have been a small number of cases recently even in this country, in which death certificates were issued, it was found that the patients were not dead, but in deep coma. It has been suggested that the only really safe criterion of death is a complete cessation of all electrical activity in the brain checked over quite a considerable period of time.

On a different issue, it seems likely that Jairus' daughter was cured from a state of coma and not 'resurrected' (Christ said that she was not dead). We do not know the situation with the young man at Nain. The writer can think of only two other texts stating that Christ raised people from the dead during his ministry: the reply to the messengers from St. John the Baptist ("the dead are raised up") and the very definite statement, to be found only in the Gospel of St. John, written much later, that "Lazarus is dead". Certainly the writers believed these statements to be true: rightly or wrongly not all Christians feel so convinced today.

To return to Christ Himself: do we know that the departure of the spirit coincides with the cessation of electrical activity in the brain? Is it possible that the miracle (as indeed it was) consisted in the maintaining of this activity for thirty-six hours, so that in fact the Body was in a certain sense still alive and not subject to decay? (It is not implied that a cessation of brain potentials alone would prevent decomposition.) These can be no more than the vaguest speculations.

Now we come to the Resurrection itself. When Christ awoke from the sleep of death on Easter morning, we will suppose that the matter of His Body was converted into a different form, which we will call 'quadridimensional', as described in *Flatland*.<sup>8</sup> He could see through, and pass through matter and, by moving into the fourth dimension, disappear from one place and re-appear at another at will. (From now on, we will use the term 'dimension' to apply only to space). Very quickly, (we shall see why in a moment), He passes out of His grave-clothes, leaving them collapsed, "with the napkin that was about His head in a place by itself", and out of the cave-tomb. (The stone need not have been rolled away for Him, but this was done, either by a man or a minor earthquake, so that His disciples could enter and see what we have just described).

Now comes a problem that worried the writer over some years: what about His clothes? It has been suggested that God, by a special act of Creation, produced an outfit of suitable (and presumably quadridimensional) clothes.

We can provide, however, a much more likely type of explanation. We shall remember that, at the crucifixion, the clothes of the victims (except for a loin-cloth) were the perquisite of the soldiers and that Christ had what was probably quite a valuable cloak which was allocated to one of the soldiers (presumably with His other less valuable clothing). What would a Roman soldier do with these? Clearly he could not wear them: he would sell, at least the cloak, in the Jerusalem Market. But the Market was just closing for the Sabbath and he may not have trusted his fellow soldiers, or indeed have had time, to take them to his

barracks. There was a general alert on in Jerusalem that week-end and he may well have still been on duty elsewhere. Where could he hide the clothes until he could collect them after the Market re-opened ?

Although Joseph of Arimathaea who perhaps did not get on too well with his colleagues because of his attitude to Christ evidently did not wish to be buried alongside other members in the Sanhedria (which the writer has visited), no doubt the tomb he provided on his own land was typical. A cave, perhaps partly natural, widened out to make a big enough chamber not only for the body but also for the mourners, as was the Jewish custom. Nearby there were probably smaller holes in the rock, one of which, covered with a stone, would make an excellent hiding place for the clothes.<sup>14</sup> But of course Christ would see them at once after His resurrection and re-claim them. It is not claimed that this is necessarily exactly what happened. The suggestion given here is made only to show that, given the fundamental physical changes in the nature of Christ's Body, a perfectly natural explanation for 'the mystery of the clothes' is possible.

Why did He not immediately leave the spot and go, as He did later, to break the glad news of His Resurrection to Peter and the others ? *If we assume that any matter in contact with quadridimensional matter is itself rather slowly transformed, several events are explained.*

He had to wait until His clothes were transformed into a quadridimensional state by contact with His Body. Meanwhile, Mary Magdalen appeared and clung to His feet. He said "Do not cling to me, (see Gk.) for I am not yet ascended"; yet, sometime later, He offered to let St. Thomas *touch* His wounded hands and side.

In the appearances described during the forty days before the Ascension, there is only one occasion when it seems that He might have stayed in direct contact with ordinary matter for more than a few moments: when He ate the fish and the honey in the Upper Room; and it may well be that this and His short discourse,

took only a very short time before He disappeared again out of sight.

He *walked* with the two disciples to Emmaeus and stayed at their table only long enough to give the Blessing. Again, He ate with Peter, John and other disciples on the shores of the lake but we need not suppose that He stayed sitting on one spot for any length of time. Perhaps during His appearances out of the fourth dimension, He had always to keep moving.

Is the idea of the postulated "quadrimensional matter" so fantastic? Anti-matter would have appeared fantastic only a few years ago, not to mention "black holes" in space!<sup>3</sup> (If a particle of matter comes into contact with a corresponding particle of anti-matter, both particles disappear and only energy is left. Many people think that there are whole nebulae consisting of anti-matter.)

Would He *need* to eat and drink during his appearances, except to convince the disciples that He was not a ghost? Presumably, yes. In walking, talking and breathing in the three-dimensional world, He would use up energy. His body would, presumably, function in the normal way in other respects during these appearances. We can have no idea what conditions would be like in the fourth dimension, either before or after the Ascension.

We will close with a few words about the Ascension. Of course Christ did not believe that His Father was waiting on a cloud for Him to come and sit at His right hand, nor did most educated Jews at that time believe in this crude picture of Heaven. The witnesses of His Ascension possibly did think in these primitive terms but Christ had not come to teach them cosmology. He had often appeared and disappeared into the fourth dimension during the forty days but there is no evidence that, during this period, His Body defied gravity in the three-dimensional world, for He stood and walked on the ground like other men. But now, to make it clear to His disciples that He would not again appear in physical form He ascended into heaven in the presence of many witnesses.

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DAVID D. BRODEUR

## Christians in the Zionist Camp : Blackstone and Hechler

**Every Christian worth his salt is ashamed of the way in which down the ages Christians have persecuted Jews. Dr. Brodeur reminds us in this article and a further one to follow that in the present era some Christians at least have begun to make amends. The little known story he tells, the result of much research, centres round two evangelical Christians, joined by many others, who worked tirelessly and to good effect in the cause of Zionism.**

As a call to concerted political action for a return to Palestine Zionism was born in the early 1880's out of the work of an obscure Jewish physician and social worker, Dr. Lev (Leon) Pinsker of Odessa, the Russian Black Sea port. Pinsker's aim was first to awake his fellow Russian Jews then reeling under the repeated blows of Czarist pogroms to face up to the fact that large concentrations of Jews in eastern Europe contained the very seeds from which was sprouting at ever more frequent intervals in the late 19th century the evil ivy of anti-semitism. And with populations everywhere increasing thanks to the rapid strides in public health medicine in western nations the problem of Jewish minorities could not lessen. They could only worsen.

Moreover, out of his thought and researches Pinsker was

convinced that anti-semitism was a kind of 'inherited' disease — so long had it run unchecked — and therefore completely incurable until the Jews had found their own homeland. At some peril to his personal safety and freedom, the brave doctor published (1882) in Berlin a booklet in German whose pungent title requires no translation: *Autoemanzipation*.<sup>1</sup>

For the next several years following his declaration, Pinsker travelled about in Europe trying to convince Jewish leaders that a homeland for Jews was needed wherever an agriculturally viable province could be purchased. He had trouble finding listeners and support, and was frustrated even in staffing offices to start work in Berlin and Danzig. In 1887 his health broke; in 1891 he died still dreaming of an international conference of Jews who would act on his suggestions.<sup>2</sup>

### *Herzl and Hechler*

Hardly five years after Pinsker's death, a brooding Viennese journalist and playwright, Theodor Herzl, published the *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State), a work advocating a massive Jewish return to Palestine beginning first with agricultural workers but organized and financed according to the most scientific principles. Herzl's enthusiasm for the Zionist cause grew not from a particular love or awareness of Jewish culture<sup>3</sup> but from the negative phenomenon of anti-semitism; Herzl had covered the spectacle of the Dreyfus Trial in 1893 for Vienna's *Neue Freie Presse*.

Like Pinsker's declaration, Herzl's manifesto was initially published in the German language. One of the first persons to read *both* of these publications shortly after their appearance and offer encouragement and assistance to their respective authors was a self-effacing German-speaking chaplain at the British Embassy in Vienna. He was the Reverend William Henry Hechler, born in Benares, India, of an English mother and a German missionary father, a man equally at home in London or Berlin but definitely English in his outlook, Evangelical faith and overall sentiments. Hechler was a widely travelled, well read celebrate who appeared



to friends and associates a bit of a mystic ; for he seemed to be constantly immersed in his studies and charts of Biblical prophecies on Israel, with special emphasis on those cryptic time-measures of Daniel and Revelation.

In fact, shortly before reading the *Judenstaat* after it appeared in the Viennese bookstores in February, 1896, Hechler had published in German a compilation of prophetic verses relating to Israel's return to Palestine *Die bevorstehende Rückkehr der Juden nach Palästina* ("The Imminent Redemption of the Jews to Palestine") to which Herzl makes reference in his *diaries*. Upon his discovery of the *Judenstaat*, which he judged to be the first practical blueprint for a 'Jewish State', Hechler rushed over to Herzl's lodgings taking the skeptical journalist by complete surprise. His arguments apparently also took the agnostic Herzl by storm, for the latter began to write the first of many entries in his diary on 'my good Hechler'. The initial entry, dated March 10, 1896, records the highlights of their first conversation :

The Reverend William Hechler, Chaplain of the English Embassy here, came to see me. A sympathetic, gentle fellow, with the long, grey beard of a prophet. He is enthusiastic about my solution of the Jewish question. He also considers my movement a "prophetic turning-point" — which he had foretold two years before. From a prophecy in the time of Omar (637 C.E.) he had reckoned that at the end of forty-two prophetic months (total 1260 years) the Jews would get Palestine back. The figure he arrived at was 1897 — 98.<sup>4</sup>

In succeeding visits to Herzl the English chaplain convinced the founder of political Zionism of his unique suitability to serve the Zionist cause as an intermediary between Herzl and the German royal family with which he was on rather intimate terms.<sup>5</sup> Hechler's chief touchstone was the venerable Grand Duke of Baden, an architect of the German unification whose two sons Hechler had tutored many years before. Duke Frederick was also one of the first gentile Zionists in Germany, thanks in no small part to his 'conversion' by Hechler in the early 1880's.

Archival discoveries made in Germany in the 1950's reveal

that Hechler wrote the first letter on Herzl's behalf to the Grand Duke of Baden on March 26, 1896.<sup>6</sup> An uncle of Kaiser Wilhelm II, Grand Duke Frederick was on intimate terms with the mercurial monarch who exhibited a tendency to respect the septuagenarian's avuncular advice.<sup>7</sup>

The month of April witnessed the industrious Hechler ensconced in Karlsruhe as the house guest of his old employer and friend, Duke Frederick, keeping an anxiously waiting Herzl informed on the progress of his overtures by frequent telegrams. It proved to be a hectic month for Herzl. His diary records on April 21 the death of the influential Hungarian Zionist, Baron Maurice de Hirsch who had briefly ignited Zionist hopes (1891) with his ambitious but ill-fated agricultural colonization program for Jewish settlers in Argentina. As it happened, the news of de Hirsch's death came to Herzl only an hour after he had mailed a letter to Zionist Max Nordau asking the French writer if he would act to sound out de Hirsch on the latter's willingness to make a sizeable contribution to the Zionist cause. Herzl accepted the news of de Hirsch's passing with the resignation that was to sustain him through one frustration after another during these last eight years of his life. And to his diary he made a cryptic entry on the affair that alluded also to the advent of Hechler:

Strange today de Hirsch dies and I enter into relations with princes.

A new book opens in the Jewish matter.

Indeed a new chapter had opened. Herzl was a gifted writer with a sure sense of Jewish destiny and the dramatic. Hechler was the gifted conversationalist with a knack of playing on the highest instincts of his hearers and imbuing them with a sense of their own importance in the historical process. Herzl's diary for April 23 has him replying to the Grand Duke's offer of personal assistance with:

Your majesty was the first among the German princes at the gathering in Versailles to call King Wilhelm Kaiser. If now you would only participate also in the

second great state-founding of the century. For the Jews will become a *grande nation*.

Before leaving Karlsruhe for Vienna to make the first of many reports on his Zionist activities to Herzl, Hechler encountered the Kaiser at the grand reception in the latter's honor. Recognizing an old acquaintance the Kaiser badgered Hechler with the unexpected remark: "Hechler, I hear you want to be a minister in a Jewish State." Further words were exchanged between the chaplain and the sovereign that were not recorded. Hechler retired to his quarters that evening convinced that the Kaiser had misunderstood his position and motives in aiding the Zionist cause. He therefore sat down and wrote a letter to his advocate, the Grand Duke, that began:

Owing to the most gracious words of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor to me last evening I am greatly troubled in mind, for I have nothing to do with the New Jewish State, as I have no Jewish blood in me . . . nor have I ever spoken to Baron Rothschild on Dr. Herzl's book.

Simply because I have seen for years, that, according to God's Holy Word, we are near a Great Prophetic Crisis, have I ventured to write to Your Royal Highness and Lord Salisbury, besides speaking with my Ambassador, Sir Edward J. Monson, to unburden my mind and show the wonderful light of God is now graciously giving us.<sup>8</sup>

Eventually Herzl came on to Karlsruhe where he made his presentation to the Grand Duke who he reports "listened with great friendliness" and who soon came to respect Herzl's tact and self possession. The two men became firm friends.

The number of German royal family participants and relations in the Zionist colloquy broadened. It is said that the Kaiser was prevailed upon to render his own support not by the Grand Duke but by Count Eulenberg, the German Ambassador to Vienna who had married into the Duke's family and was an old friend also of Hechler. As Turkey's most powerful and influential ally,

the German Imperial Government was obviously in a good position to broach the delicate subject of a concession in Palestine for the Zionists to wily Sultan Abdul Hamid II and his advisors. This the Kaiser did in October, 1897, en route to Palestine for the dedication of the German hospice on the Mount of Olives and the pursuit of his dilettantish Biblical archeological interests.

Both Herzl and Hechler were on hand in Jerusalem to greet the Kaiser during this visit,<sup>9</sup> the Kaiser also appearing on horseback to review the staff of the *Mikva Israel* the experimental farm and agricultural college at Jaffa established in 1870. This experience proved to be the apogee of Herzl's relationship with the Kaiser for already the latter's Foreign Minister, Von Bülow, was expressing misgivings over the Zionist cause and capability. The Kaiser was reputedly dismayed by the poverty of the Jews he met around Jerusalem and his advisors, many of them anti-semites, in due time convinced him that the Jews could not cope with the demands of establishing a modern state in Palestine, a barren and desolate land.

Doggedly, Herzl kept up the colloquy with the German princes, travelling also twice to Constantinople for meetings with the Sultan. Five years after the publication of the *Judenstaat* he appeared to be right back where he started from. The Sultan refused to grant a concession, the German princes refused to help him secure loans from Berlin banks. But these rejections took several years. Russia's monarch must be credited with no such vacillation. In October, 1899, the Grand Duke wrote to Nicholas II asking that he grant Herzl an audience on behalf of the Russian Jews. The Czar's short-sighted reply in French to the Grand Duke, who he addresses as his "brother and cousin", concludes: "The doctrine of Zionism can certainly be an important factor on the development of the internal tranquility of Europe . . . (but) . . . this doctrine will (not) prove of practical value even in the distant future."

In 1902, Herzl began to grasp at straws. While not giving up the hope of a concession on Palestine he investigated British-inspired colonization proposals for the northern Sinai (El Arish),

Cyprus, and Uganda. He toyed with the notion of obtaining concessions in the Argentine (which Hirsch had done), Mozambique (Hechler introduced him to the Portuguese Ambassador) and the Belgium Congo, but all to no avail.

When Herzl died, quite suddenly, in 1904 of a long standing heart condition, he had lived long enough to witness the beginning of the shift away from a strategy involving the Central Powers to one based on the sponsorship of the British Government. Hechler, a British subject, and anglophile at heart, was in a position to turn with this new tide. Consecrated at St. Paul's Cathedral (1869), and well known in Church of England circles, as well as with members of England's royal family, he tried, without success, to interest the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) in the Zionist cause. Later he also sought the Duke of Baden's assistance in securing for Herzl an interview with the king. This too failed. However, in 1903 Herzl succeeded, with the help of Max Nordau and Hechler, in obtaining an audience with the British Prime Minister, Arthur James Balfour. Meanwhile, Hechler attached himself to Nahum Sokolow (1860–1936), converted to Zionism on the death of Herzl, later Secretary General of the Zionist Movement. In 1914 Sokolow was appointed foreign representative of the Jewish Agency. He then headed the committee which prepared the wording of the Balfour Declaration and also headed the Jewish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (1919).<sup>11</sup>

In 1903, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a brilliant organic chemist and staunch Zionist, moved to England from his native Russia for the express purpose of cultivating British support for the cause. In 1904 Weizmann met Balfour, an encounter that the latter was to recall ten years later. Not only Balfour but Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey and Parliamentary leader David Lloyd George early rallied to Zionist support. All three of these statesmen played major roles in shaping British policy to accept the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which supported a 'national Jewish home in Palestine', Lloyd George holding office as Prime Minister (1916–1922) and Balfour serving as Foreign Secretary. Of the three men only Lloyd George was without strong Christian convictions (or concern) that Biblical prophecy speaks of an

inevitable return of Israel to the Holy Land. His support was purely political.

The British sponsorship of the Zionist cause, while fraught with internal governmental opposition as well as the objections of Jewish groups and factions opposed to Palestinian Zionism, enjoyed a broad popular support. This support sprang from the fundamentalist convictions or sympathies of Victorian England where Biblical belief (though on the wane) was still very strong. Zionism had the outspoken support of such great statesmen as Lord Shaftesbury and William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898). The latter held the office of Prime Minister no fewer than four times in the last two decades of the 19th century. In America, despite the confusion of the Church dispensation with Israel's dispensation in the minds of amillennialists and others, Zionism had the same broad base of sympathetic support that it enjoyed in England.

Both countries, America from its inception and England from the mid-nineteenth century, had accorded to the Jews full civil and legal rights; but as so many have pointed out — Pinsker among them — civil rights do not necessarily carry the guarantee of social equality. True equality was only to be achieved by the Jews in England and the United States in the present century. Significantly, its development coincided with the consolidation of the World Zionist Movement, the British Mandate in Palestine and the establishment of the Jewish State (1948).

The great array of Jewish intellectuals who forged the first links in the great chain reaction of Zionism, from the early 1880's to World War 1, ran the gamut in religious convictions from the thoroughly devout to the thoroughly agnostic. And at times it appeared also as if there were almost as many approaches among Jews to Zionism as there were sponsors, writers and activists like Nahum Sokolow and Asher Ginsberg, possessing keen, passionate and well-balanced intellects of the highest order, who had deep appreciation for all the variegated facets of the complex challenge. They well understood the intricate nature of the political, psychological and logistical problems attendant upon uprooting a two

millennial-old ghetto culture and thrusting it ill-prepared or unprepared into the barren, malarial land of Palestine.

When the first agricultural colonies were established in Palestine in the early 1880's (Petach Tikva, founded in 1878, failed) Jews had to revive a discipline they had not utilized in Europe since the Dark Ages — farming. One by one the little settlements began to crumble under the onslaughts of malaria and Bedouin raiders. They also failed for lack of funds and proper management. Then appeared from Paris an extraordinary patron.

He was Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934) of the French branch of the illustrious Rothschild family. Baron Edmond was concerned not with the mere survival of the little colonies but with their fullest possible development, economically, and spiritually. He set up for this purpose a somewhat authoritarian administrative apparatus staffed with people who were completely in accord with his views and methods. In his frequent visits to the colonies (most of which he did not found) he showed a particular interest in the progress of Hebrew which was undergoing a remarkable revival and secularization amongst the Jews. Rothschild faced enormous difficulties with the Turkish authorities who placed all kinds of restrictions upon his activities. And like Herzl he endured all kinds of ill-will, criticisms and obstructions from both Zionists and non-Zionists who disliked his approaches and purposes.

As will be mentioned further on, only the barest modicum of inter-organizational unity had been achieved by Palestinian Zionist groups in the 1890's. It took the conflagration of Kishinev in the Russian provinces (1903) and the awesome crisis and sufferings of the War of 1914 to crystallize the united Jewish front that was so lacking in the Herzlian years when the Russian delegates stood opposed to the German-dominated delegates in the great Zionist Congresses.

Had there been a sense of Biblical destiny and prophetic fulfilment amongst the majority of Zionist leaders, the forces that inspired and motivated both Hechler and Blackstone, the Zionist

unity might have been forged much sooner, a unity forged out of a higher love and enlightenment rather than one created out of calamities, exigencies and emergencies. Even the philosopher-theologian Martin Buber appeared ignorant of the Biblical sentiment and inspiration behind the Gentile support of the Zionists; but it was his fortune to be sought out in Berlin by a recently retired chaplain alarmed by the assassination of the Austrian Archduke at Sarajevo.

The man who sought out Buber had just come from witnessing the Second Balkan War. He proceeded to astonish the philosopher with strange talk about an imminent 'world war', a new term to humanity. The chaplain was William Henry Hechler whom Buber had met but once before — at a Zionist banquet in Vienna in 1905 honoring Hechler's contributions to the movement. Then in his 70th year, William Hechler impressed Buber to such an extent with his unified view of Israel's destiny, and conviction that the War would forever alter the course of Jewish history, that the philosopher immortalized him in his writings as the 'great visionary'.

Prior to the discoveries some twenty years ago of a voluminous correspondence among the German princes and officialdom inspired by Hechler, Zionist historians and writers entertained various theories about what caused Hechler to attach himself so devotedly to Herzl. Some believed that Hechler still coveted the post of Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, an appointment he thought he might win if he helped to engineer a German sponsorship of a Zionist colonial concession in Palestine. Another theory prevalent prior to the discovery of the Karlsruhe archives was that Hechler was some kind of priestly adventurer, a quaint, fanatical philosemite tinged with prophetic pretensions — the very kind of person who would feel important by trying to influence a people's destiny, one revelling in the company of the famous and powerful.<sup>12</sup>

However, it remains a dependable truism that strong character is invariably attracted to its like. Hechler's closest friend on the continent was the Grand Duke of Baden, surely one of the best



men of the nineteenth century, a statesman of the highest order, and a person who could weep unashamedly when referring to his lost son, Ludwig, whom Hechler had tutored in 1874–75.<sup>13</sup> Hechler was not a mystic in the classical sense. He had utterly no pretensions to ‘clairvoyance’. By nature he was modest and shy, but under the goad of his convictions he could be extremely bold in the presence of kings and princes. Hechler was not a mystic because mysticism by definition smacks of superstition and fate. As the very antithesis of faith and hope, mysticism is the opiate and destroyer of true spirituality. Hechler knew what he believed because it was clearly set forth by the Old Testament prophets. He did not attribute too much importance to his calculations on prophetic numbers, believing them to be only phases or stages in the Return of Israel — mere signs of the times.<sup>14</sup>

As for the post of Bishop of Jerusalem, a post which Hechler had indeed been considered for in the 1880’s, the chaplain denied categorically having any interest in the office to Herzl when the latter in an emotional display of enthusiasm insisted in Jerusalem that he wished to see his ‘good Hechler’ in the very office.<sup>15</sup>

According to Franz Kobler, author of the meticulously compiled *The Vision was There: A History of the British Movement for the Restoration of the Jews to Palestine* (1956): “Hechler’s Restorationist ideas, reflected in his first pamphlet *The Jerusalem Bishopric* (1883) are developed in the *Restoration of the Jews to Palestine*. In the succinct form . . . Hechler presents the quintessence of the Restoration Doctrine in an original and systematic form. Hechler calls for spiritual preparation for the Restoration on the part of Christians to include love of the Jews and careful study of the ‘momentous question’.”<sup>16</sup>

Thus the mainspring of Hechler’s devotion to Herzl and the Zionists was a genuine love for the Jewish people based upon the Scriptures which he was convinced were an unfailingly reliable guide for their history and ultimate destiny with God.<sup>17</sup> Prior to finding the culmination of his life’s work with Herzl, Hechler had served in more than half a dozen parishes in Africa, England, Ireland and the European continent before he settled down in

Vienna for a quarter of a century as chaplain to the British Embassy.

### *Hechler and Pinsker*

Like Pinsker, Hechler found his Zionist sentiments crystallized by dark events in Russia. When the pogroms, triggered in part by Czar Alexander II's assassination (1881) came, Hechler was serving as a curate in the large parish of St. Marylebone, London. His reaction to the news from Russia was to infiltrate the London Bible Society. In 1882 he managed to convince its planning committee that they should allocate funds to support the Palestinian settlement of Jewish refugees from Russia.<sup>18</sup>

1882 was a momentous year for the expanding British Empire. England had just occupied Egypt, assuring the world that the occupation was *only* temporary, thus severing another province from the waning Ottoman Empire, known in every European chancery as 'The Sick Man of Europe'. The Crimean War had proven that England was willing, if necessary, to go to war to protect Christian interests in Palestine, while the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) and the occupation of Egypt paved the way for England's opening up a sympathetic eye to Jewish settlement in Palestine, a settlement that would probably be friendly to British interests.

Accordingly, when the influential Lords Tempel and Shaftesbury, both philosemites involved in the affairs of the London Bible Society, were informed of the Hechler scheme, they decided to send Hechler and Sir Laurence Oliphant (the latter an advocate of Jewish settlement in Gilead and a member of Parliament) to the very heart of the Russian trouble spot — Odessa. The committee's ultimate purpose was to deliver to the Ottoman Sultan in Constantinople a letter from Queen Victoria, countersigned by Lord Rosebery (Minister for Foreign Affairs, a future Prime Minister), asking the Turks to grant Jewish refugees from Russia asylum in Palestine. Unexpectedly, the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte blocked transmission of the letter. The best that

Oliphant could do was to entertain a Jewish delegation at Constantinople and send them back to Odessa, empty-handed.

However, at Odessa Hechler met Dr. Pinsker the author of *Autoemanzipation*. At once the English parson sat down to read the booklet, studiously annotating its pages with red ink. When he had finished he expressed dismay to the doctor that his book had in effect disavowed Palestine as Zionism's primary objective. Then Hechler expounded to the 'lover of Zion' member his own convictions concerning the Biblical prophecies that spoke of a final return of the Jews to the Promised Land.

Pinsker must have been moved by the man who was later to impress such notables as Theodor Herzl and Martin Buber. Soon after his encounter with Hechler he wrote a series of articles supporting the idea of a Jewish return to Palestine.<sup>19</sup> In his address celebrating the 100th birthday of the venerable Moses Montefiore (1884) Lev Pinsker evinced a zeal for Palestine that he was to sustain until the time of his death in 1891.<sup>20</sup>

With respect to the Biblical numbers Hechler firmly believed that they constituted waymarks of progress in the gradual restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Guinness tended to view them as recessional points in the decline of the Ottoman Empire to which Palestine belonged. Hechler saw them as benchmarks of relative importance in Israel's redemption; he was careful not to ascribe too much importance to his 1897-98 calculation and thereby has found himself vindicated by history. Nonetheless he became convinced that help for suffering Jewry was on the way and in his heart he was also convinced that he might just play a small role in alleviating that suffering. His advent in 1885 to Vienna, the city of Herzl, in this light appears providential.

The same year that he published his book *Restoration* (1884), Hechler's name was put forward by the Grand Duke of Baden (whose children he was then tutoring) to fill the vacant post of Bishop of Jerusalem for the joint Anglo-German protestant bishopric created in 1840. The arbitrator, Emperor William of Prussia, decided that a Jew must have the honor, a tradition begun

by the post's first incumbant Michael Solomon Alexander in 1841 but not followed after. Hechler was not chosen and in the following year, 1885, he arrived in Vienna by way of a brief tour of duty in Stockholm to assume duties as chaplain to the British Embassy. It was a post well suited to his Biblical research activity for it made few demands upon his time. He happily retained it until his mandatory retirement came in 1910 at the age of 65.

### *Enter Blackstone*

At the time when Hechler at last settled into his Vienna chaplaincy, over in America a man whose life and thought exhibited some uncanny parallels to his own was well launched on a second career, that of an unordained 'evangelical missionary'. William Eugene Blackstone, born in rural Adams of upper New York State, had enjoyed in the East some success as a farm insurance salesman when the Civil War broke out between the States. Rejected by the Union Army as too frail for active service he responded by joining the Christian Commission in Philadelphia, a kind of early day USO, eventually being placed in charge of the station at General Grant's headquarters in Philadelphia. In 1866, the year he married, Blackstone embarked upon an intensive four-year study of the Scriptures. With several of his relatives already settled in the Midwest, in 1870 he moved to northern Illinois, first Rockford then Oak Park, where he made large sums of money in the Chicago real estate boom. Soon Blackstone found himself involved with railroad magnates who recognised his investment skills and urged him to abandon real estate. He hesitated and while he was debating the new opportunity one day — in his own words — he took spiritual inventory with himself and "covenanted with the Lord to give up business to try to preach the Gospel." Gradually, he began to reduce his business commitments; by 1891 he had retired from them entirely.

When Blackstone decided to serve the Gospel as a 'missionary evangelist' he was already 37. The year (1878) was that of the Berlin Conference which settled the Russo-Turkish War (1877) and permanently altered the boundaries of eastern Europe and the

Balkans. Such events Blackstone could scarcely then have known would influence the course of his life of sharing and sometimes even spearheading the Jews' struggle to gain a sovereign foothold in Palestine which was part of the waning Turkish Empire. One of Blackstone's first acts after his dedication was to expand two pamphlets that he had written on the Second Coming into a short book. Later twice revised and expanded, *Jesus is Coming* enjoyed immense popular success. Eventually it was to pass into some forty languages, including Yiddish, Hebrew, Chinese, Armenian and Hindi. Having sold over a million copies it is still in print by the original publishers and remains after nearly a century perhaps the most lucid and succinct presentation of the pre-Millennialist view of the Second Coming in the context of the Jewish Dispensation under one cover.

In England The Berlin Conference (1878) signalled the beginning of the end of the Ottoman Empire and precipitated a flurry of comment and action by Christians who envisioned a Palestine for the Jews carved from the living carcass of 'The Sick Man of Europe'. And so that year Edward Cazalet, an industrialist and Member of Parliament, delivered an address in London advocating a British Protectorate over Syria which would afford protection to British interests in Suez and the Middle East and "offer to the Jewish nation the opportunity of a safe return . . ." During the General Election Campaign (1879) "Cazalet stipulated the Restoration of the Jews as one of Britain's great historic tasks . . . He advocated the establishment of a college in the Holy Land which would serve as a centre of Jewish philosophy and science." Also it is believed that Sir Laurence Oliphant's earliest expressed sentiments on a Palestine for the Jews were recorded in a letter he wrote on December 10, 1878, which assessed the prophetic interest of the British people and other Christian nations as a distinct asset for implementing a commercial development of the "northern and more fertile half of Palestine" by Jewish enterprise.<sup>21</sup>

In 1881 the Russian pogroms burst upon the world shocking all men of good will. The energetic Chicago businessman longed to do something to help the Jewish victims and a chance encounter

(1880) with one of Henry Morton Stanley's captivating books on 'Darkest Africa' afforded him an opportunity to perfect speaking and presentation techniques that would a decade later make him a persuasive advocate of Zionism. Burdened for the Black African soul, Blackstone stumped up and down the land by train, with only a Bible and a carefully constructed display map. Before long he had raised enough money to finance the construction of a steamer, built in sections, which was dispatched to the Congo River and Stanley Pool. Within a few years the Map and Gospel lectures became a Blackstone trademark and he had lost the shyness that once caused him panic when he faced an audience.<sup>22</sup> Before the century was out he had also placed three sailing yachts for missionary work on the Yangtze River of China and constructed schools and deaconess homes in India, China and Korea.

Blackstone was an inveterate attender of missionary conferences, his specialty being worldwide missions, their problems, progress and financial condition. August of 1886 found him lecturing on the subject of remote Tibet at the first Old Orchard (Maine) Bible Conference. Hearing W.E.B. speak at this conference, A. B. Simpson was inspired to organize the Christian Alliance, later named the Christian and Missionary Alliance. Among its many achievements it sent the first Christian missionaries to Tibet. November of 1886 found W.E.B. back in Chicago reporting on world missions at the International Prophetic Conference to which Bible scholars Andrew Bonar and Franz Delitzsch sent messages.

In the fall of 1887, Rev. Jacob Freshman of the Hebrew Christian Mission of New York came to Chicago and was instrumental in persuading a local committee of Christian friends of Israel to start an independent, permanent work in Chicago. William Blackstone was elected to direct the faith work and in 1888 the Chicago Hebrew Mission — the present American Messianic Fellowship — opened its doors. In October the editor of the *Jewish Courier* launched a scathing attack on the Mission, closing his diatribe with "These people who 'peddle' religion about should be given no opportunity to justify their miserable existence . . . Let our enemies gain all they can for Christianity,

but let it be from another quarter.”<sup>23</sup>

This adverse Jewish reaction was perhaps the first but certainly not the last that William Blackstone was to receive from those who confused in their minds *historic Christendom* with evangelical, Biblical Christianity. He resolved then and there to show world Jewry what an enlightened love could do for them. But first he wanted to see the condition of the Jew in the Holy Land, a condition that he knew to be one of poverty and deprivation under the heel of a corrupt and disinterested Turkish rule.

In May, 1888, he sailed for Europe, taking with him his only daughter, Flora, a devout girl who had accepted the Lord at age 11, as her father had done before her. Their first stop was a month in London where they were house guests of Dr. and Mrs. H. Grattan Guinness, directors of the international missionary work at Harley House. In the third edition of *Jesus is Coming* (1908) Blackstone would reflect the influence that Guinness's books had upon him. He wrote: “It is significant that the first Zionist Congress assembled just 1,260 years after the capture of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans in A.D. 637. (Dan. 12: 7)”.

However, it is very likely that Blackstone was already familiar with Guinness's widely published calculations before he visited the latter in 1888. Perhaps his omission of the reference to ‘1260’ in his 1892 revision of *Jesus is Coming* only reflects the circumstance that a highly successful business career of investments had taught him. He waited until after the event had come.

During their year long tour of Europe and the Middle East Blackstone and his daughter visited Palestine. At the sight of impoverished Jews standing before the Wailing Wall (inserting prayers written on scraps of paper between the ancient stones) his heart was troubled. Moreover, he was shocked by the poverty of both Jew and Arab; at the predominant emptiness of the land. Returning home a firm convert to Zionism, he wrote a short time later that he was moved by the “astonishing anomaly — a land without a people and a people without a land.”<sup>24</sup>

When Blackstone returned to Oak Park he was just 48 ; his life was actually only half over, his greatest accomplishments just ahead of him. Like Hechler returning from his mission of inquiry to Russia seven years before, Blackstone dedicated himself — and spent the next thirty years — laboring to win influential support for a national Jewish home in Palestine — wherever he was expounding upon the Gospel, his pre-millenarian views and the Jewish Dispensation,<sup>25</sup> according to prophecy, in the land of Palestine. Again and again his travels would take him the length and breadth of the United States and eastern Canada. The years 1909 through 1913 he spent as a missionary in China during the course of which he visited India, Manchuria and even found a reception for his writings among the Orthodox Jewish community at Baghdad.

Keenly interested in the progress of Jewish settlements in Palestine, a work that began with the agricultural community of Petach Tikva (‘ Door of Hope ’) in 1878, Blackstone published all the statistics that he could find on Jewish progress in Palestine, particularly those released each year by the New York chapter of the ‘ Lovers of Zion ’. In the first revision of *Jesus is Coming* (1892), he proudly reported:

At the present time . . . the city of Jerusalem has spread over a large extent of ground outside its walls . . . The number of Jews now residing in the inner and outer city is estimated at from 30,000 to 40,000, being more than half the entire population.<sup>26</sup>

The proportion of Jews in Jerusalem’s population continued to rise until by the eve of World War 1 it was estimated to be three quarters of the city’s total population.

#### *A Petitioner of Presidents*

After much prayerful deliberation, in late November, 1890, W.E.B. convened in Chicago a unique two-day conference of Christian and Jewish leaders. Entitled *Conference on the Past, Present and Future of Israel*, it was held at the Methodist Episcopal



Church in the Loop. Its program stated, "The object of this conference is to give information and promote a spirit of inquiry . . . on the basis of mutual kindness between Jew and gentile." However, a few of the rabbinical invitees, assuming that proselytizing motives were behind the conference, politely refused to attend. One who did attend was the 'redoubtable Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago's leading Reform rabbi. Hirsch surprised the convocation by standing up and disavowing Jewish interest in a mass return to Palestine. Nonetheless the conference ended with the passage of the following resolution:

The President of the U.S. is to be petitioned to confer with the Queen of England, the Emperor of Germany, the Sultan of Turkey, the President of the French Republic, and many other rulers of Europe, on the propriety of calling an International Conference to consider the condition of the Jews in modern nations and the possibility of opening a way for their *restoration to Palestine*.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to this resolutions of sympathy for the oppressed Jews of Russia were forwarded to the Czar, Blackstone began to sound out at once leaders from all walks of life on the feasibility of a Memorial to the Jews and to secure the signatures of as many as he could. In late February, 1891, he wrote to the US Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, giving him a preview of his proposals.<sup>28</sup> Blaine was a well known advocate of the peaceful arbitration of international disputes who after years of effort had succeeded in convening at Washington (October 2, 1889 – April 19, 1890) the first Pan American Conference. Out of this effort grew the Pan American Union, the world's second oldest international assistance organization.<sup>29</sup>

With apparent enthusiasm, Secretary Blaine responded to Blackstone's letter. On March 5, 1891, Blaine introduced Blackstone to President Benjamin Harrison to whom the Chicago businessman presented the so-called 'Blackstone Memorial', *Palestine for the Jews*, which he hastened to assure the President he had not drafted to antagonize Russia but only for the purpose of seeking peaceful means "to give Jews control of their old home

in Palestine . . . ”<sup>30</sup> In fact, in February W.E.B. had tested opinion in Boston, New York and Philadelphia and — notwithstanding a notable run-in with Boston’s Reform Rabbi Dr. Schindler<sup>31</sup> — he deemed the overall reception warm enough to warrant his coming on to Washington.

The Memorial, with only one substantive change (an addendum to an historical reference to Jewish agriculturalists) was a marvel of circumspection, brevity and logical appeal. It began simply:

What shall be done for the Russian Jews? It is both unwise and useless to undertake to dictate to Russia concerning her internal affairs . . . why not give Palestine back to them (the Jews) again?

In the Memorial’s third paragraph, W.E.B. cited the precedent afforded by the Berlin Congress (1878) which had in part dismembered the Ottoman Empire by restoring Bulgaria to Bulgarians and Serbia to Serbians. So “why not Palestine to the Jews?” he asked. And on the basis of international legal precedent he wrote shortly after the Jews were entitled to Palestine because they had been expelled from it some 24 centuries before against their will. It was and always would be to them their historic homeland: *next year in Jerusalem* being the prayer on their lips in every century of the Diaspora. Because they had never voluntarily left *Eretz Yisrael* the Jews, Blackstone argued, were still in possession of the land *de jure* even though not in possession *de facto*. To this the direct descendant of the great British legalist added the potent prophetic dimension of the Final Return of the Jews to Israel, an exegesis that at once struck a harmonious chord in thousands of Orthodox Jewish and Christian souls, but one which was greeted by and large by Reform Jewry and agnostic Zionists with attitudes that ranged from surprise or bemusement to anger and, with a few, even outrage.

The Memorial inspired by Blackstone triggered widespread comment in the secular and religious press of Christian and Jew.<sup>32</sup> The *New York Times* endorsed (March 6, 1891) the Memorial, but its rival *The Sun* appeared (March 7) with a long editorial

questioning the Memorial. Eighteen months later (September 27, 1892) *The Sun* in effect reversed its position. Most of all, perhaps, the American press had been impressed by the Memorial's list of distinguished signatories. They included Congressmen, judges, governors, mayors, publishers, industrialists, financiers and several notable churchmen and rabbis. Among the most prominent signers were Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Speaker of the House Thomas B. Reed, US Representative William McKinley, a future President. Congressional leaders included Robert R. Hitt the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Prominent businessmen included J. Pierpont Morgan and Cyrus H. McCormick; churchmen included John Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore and the famous evangelist Dwight L. Moody.

Rabbis who signed the Memorial included Isaac Moses, Raphael Lasker, Joseph Stolz and A. J. G. Lesser, as well as Aron Messing and A. R. Levy. Two distinguished retired Chicago rabbis who signed were Liebman Adler and Bernard Felsenthal.<sup>33</sup> The latter was one of the few prominent Reform Rabbis who chose to support the Zionist's cause in Palestine. In 1893, at the Columbia Expositions' culminating World Parliament of Religions, it was Bernard Felsenthal who delivered a moving address on the history of *The Sabbath in Judaism*.<sup>34</sup>

### *Blackstone's Debt to Rabbis*

The rediscovery of Blackstone's personal papers in March, 1973, reveals that Felsenthal wrote Blackstone introductory letters to more than a dozen prominent Reform rabbis in New York and Philadelphia. On the same day (January 28, 1891) he wrote a round robbin letter endorsing W.E.B. to the heads of several Jewish publications in those cities. The introductions proved to be of immense help. One of the New York Rabbis introduced him by Felsenthal, F. de Sola Mendes (Rabbi, Congregation Shaarag Tefila and Secretary of the Jewish Ministers' Association of America), later signed the Memorial and wrote to a friend, Jesse Seligman, urging him to support Blackstone, closing his plea with "I will waste no words in commending to your foresight the advantages

inuring from such a settlement to the Russian Jews themselves, and to European and American countries alike.”<sup>35</sup>

However, Blackstone was soon to discover that he was to face in the next several years some strong opposition by Reform rabbis and certain Jewish leaders who resented his missionary work amongst the Jews and who thought his Memorial efforts jeopardized the loyal, assimilated Jews of America. A major conviction prevalent among the Reform Jews was that their people had been scattered in order to achieve a new, higher purpose of God — to show their ‘light’ to the Gentiles. Rabbi Hirsch, the dissident voice of the 1890 Hebrew-Christian conference, wrote angry words against the 1891 Memorial calling it “ill-digested sentimentality” and “visionary”.<sup>36</sup>

A visionary Blackstone was indeed. But the position of the opposing Reform Rabbis was not always consistent with what they acknowledged in the Old Testament. In July (1891) Rabbi Hirsch even preached a sermon at the Kehillat Anshe Maarab in Chicago on the text of Isaiah 1: 3 (“On account of our sins were we excluded from the Land”), admitting that “to a certain extent it is true that old Israel ceased to be a nation on account of its sins.”<sup>37</sup> Reform rabbi opposition was ultimately responsible for the failure of Blackstone to bring off a second, follow-up conference of Christians and Jews in December, 1892, even though Reform Rabbi A. J. G. Lesser of Chicago, a Memorial signer, wrote for the aborted conference a paper entitled “The Future of Israel”;<sup>38</sup> and Adam Rosenberg, Secretary of the New York chapter of the “Lovers of Zion”, and an agent of Baron Edmund de Rothschild, wrote Blackstone that he would gladly make a speech at the gathering.<sup>39</sup>

History shows that the timing of Blackstone’s Memorial was inspired.<sup>40</sup> While he had no control, obviously, over the date of its formal presentation in the Executive Office of the White House (March 5, 1891), some three weeks after his meeting with President Harrison and Secretary Blaine Czarist Russia chose *Passover Eve* (March 28) to issue a law abolishing the right of Jewish craftsmen to reside in Moscow. Over the next several months some 30,000

Jews were expelled by Moscow's Governor, Prince Sergei Alexandrovich, brother of the Czar. The sudden expulsion precipitated a new panic among Russian Jews and accelerated their exodus to Poland, Palestine and the United States.<sup>41</sup>

Felsenthal was not the only Blackstone Memorial supporter to react against its sponsor's Christian sentiments and convictions. Wolf Schur, editor of *Hapisga*, then the nation's only Hebrew periodical, wrote in praise of the Memorial but refused to circulate among Jews a special prayer that Blackstone prepared asking for God's blessing upon it. Alluding to the prayer petition in an editorial, Schur wrote: "As far as we are concerned, our interest in redeeming Palestine is motivated by nationalistic rather than by religious considerations. Those who advocate the colonization in Palestine belong to various groups. They include free thinkers for whom action rather than prayer is of utmost importance."<sup>42</sup>

What editor Schur wrote was true enough and could also have been said of the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 many of whose builders were *holocaust* embittered kibbutzniks and refugees who took the proud stand "we built this land — not God." In fact, Theodor Herzl himself was a prince among the Jewish free thinkers to whom action under the goad of the French and Russian anti-semitism of the 1890's appeared infinitely more appropriate than did prayer. And so when asked by faithful advocate and confidant William Henry Hechler if he cared to visit a church to pray for God's blessing upon the Zionist cause Herzl admits in his diary that he posed a digression on the beauty of the scene before them as his answer.

Neither Blackstone nor Hechler were long dismayed by the many rebuffs they received. They each felt sure in their faith that there was a higher power at work now guiding the destiny of the Jews toward the fulfillment of the Biblical prophecies. The two advocates of Zionism were content to wait, watch and work as the situation demanded. They also prayed. In June, 1900, the chaplain Hechler reported to Herzl that he had accompanied London's Bishop Bramley Moore into the latter's church to pray

with him for the success of the Zionist Movement. The act prompted Herzl to express in his diary his appreciation for 'simple Christian hearts'.<sup>43</sup>

To return to the subject of the 1891 Memorial, it fell considerably short of its main goal which was to inspire the US to attempt to crystallize great power support for a national Jewish home in Palestine. However, in his third annual Message to the Congress (December 9, 1891), President Benjamin Harrison saw fit to include mention of "serious concern" over the plight of the Russian Jews "because of the cruel measures now being forced upon them . . . neither good for them nor for us."<sup>44</sup>

This statement would probably not have come about except for the great publicity generated by the Blackstone Memorial and the sentiment that it brought forth for Jewish conditions in eastern Europe. Harrison's protest clearly recognized America's concern for Jewish public opinion at home and abroad. It established a precedent, one referred to thenceforth several times by Blackstone who wrote of the benign attitude of the State Department toward the Jews after 1891.

If Blackstone had expected too much of President Harrison, of President Cleveland he had learned to expect nothing at all. Similarly his efforts to inspire prominent Britons to sound out their government on taking up a cause based on the Memorial's principles and suggestions evoked responses that *the time was not yet*. In late March, 1891, W.E.B. had written the first of several letters to Sir Arthur Blackwood of the British postal system who shied away from his suggestions, eventually referring him to Dr. Grattan Guinness, the Biblical exegetist whom Blackstone already knew.<sup>45</sup>

While the time was not ripe in England, there was widespread public and private sentiment expressed for a Jewish home in Palestine. The year Blackstone wrote to Blackwood the well known Colonel Conder, the Palestinian surveyor and writer, declared that "experience had already demonstrated the Jews aptitude for

agricultural colonization.”<sup>46</sup>

The hiatus is perhaps best summed up by Franz Kobler who has written:

... at the end of the nineteenth century, on the threshold of the rise of political Zionism, the Restoration Movement, in the writings of George Eliot, Laurence Oliphant and William E. Blackstone, reached the peak of its maturity. No longer solely a religious tenet the idea of Restoration had acquired political, humanitarian and juridical aspects. Conversion of the Jews was no longer thought to be a prerequisite of the Restoration. Oliphant had sought the co-operation of popular theology, while the theologian Blackstone marshalled arguments which might have been borrowed from George Eliot's *Mordecai*.

Significantly, Kobler then adds:

The Jewish point of view was at last understood . . . Six years before the First Zionist Congress . . . people belonging to all classes demanded a settlement of the Restoration question by an international conference. But what Palmerston and Disraeli in most auspicious moments had left undone could not be expected of accomplishment by (President) Harrison . . . only an effort by the Jewish people itself could effectively set the forces poised in action towards realization.<sup>47</sup>

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. This had a subtitle: *Call to His Fellow Jews by a Russian Jew*.
2. In 1890 he did succeed in securing Russian govt. approval of the legality of his Society of Jewish Farmers in Palestine and Syria. The year he died, a Chicago lay missionary gained widespread publicity for a petition circulated on behalf of the Jews and calling for Russian and European support for a great power sponsorship of a Jewish home in Palestine. His name was William Eugene Blackstone.
3. According to Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, at one of the Zionist congresses Herzl had “frankly confessed that he did not know what was even meant by the term ‘Jewish culture’” (Wiesgal, edit. *Theodor Herzl A Memorial*, N.Y., 1929, p. 255).
4. Wiesgal, *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*, 1929, p. 137–138.

5. Kobler has pointed out that "Herzl knew nothing about the British Movement for the Jews. According to his own statement he had been entirely ignorant of his predecessors in the Zionist Movement. He was therefore unable to realize that not merely the chaplain of the British Embassy but the spokesman of a widely and long since recognized doctrine had come to him" (*The Vision was There, etc.*, London, 1956).
6. A truly historical document because of the forces that it set in motion, the letter, written in English in Hechler's hand, is a masterpiece of logic, persuasion and humility. It begins by recalling to the Duke of The interest that he expressed many years before when Hechler expounded on Jewish prophecies to him in an audience that included Prince Hohenlohe and the future Kaiser Wilhelm. Hechler then goes on to tell the Duke of his sudden encounter with Herzl's book and the conversation with its author. Appealing both to history and Scripture, Hechler then asserts: "With many students of prophecy *who can never be antisemites*, I have for years believed that the so-called antisemitic movement is the 'woe of Judah', also foretold by the Prophets of old, which is making the Jews see that they are Jews first, and secondly Germans, English, etc., and this is now creating a longing in their hearts to return as a nation to the Land of Promise, given by God to Abraham and his children." Hechler then apologises for what he allows to be a most unusual and dramatic claim, confessing that he pretends not to be a prophet or even the son of a prophet. He pointedly denies omniscience asserting that the prophetic-time calculation which he sets forth in the letter (that of Herzl's diary above) is not to be construed as any final fulfilment of Israel's destiny but merely as a way mark or stage in their progress. He closes by begging the Duke's indulgence in his request for a personal visit that he might explain more fully the Zionist plans of Herzl. The request is granted. (Hermann Ellern, *Herzl, Hechler, the Grand Duke of Baden and the German Emperor 1896-1904*, Tel Aviv, 1961, p. 2).
7. That there are also more entries on the Grand Duke in Herzl's diaries than on any other personage is one indication of the importance that the Zionist leader attached to the German's good offices.
8. Ellern, *Herzl, Hechler, etc.*, p. 9.
9. This was the first Zionist delegation to be received by a European ruler.
10. *Herzl, Hechler, etc.*, pp. 79-80. Nicholas's letter is dated December 25th, an ironic day to choose for drafting a refusal of assistance to the people of the Christ child.
11. *Encyc. Judaica*, 1971, v. 15, p. 87.
12. On April 26, 1896, Herzl wrote in his diary of him: "... a peculiar and complex person . . . but he also gives me excellent advice full of unmistakably genuine good will. He is at once clever and mystical, cunning and naive. In his dealings with me so far, he has supported me almost miraculously." (vol. 1, p. 342 of the *Complete Diaries*).
13. Duvernoy, *Le Prince et le Prophete*, Tel Aviv, 1966, pp. 26-31. It was during this period that the Duke, aroused by Hechler's charts and maps, permitted him to lecture the royal family on the Jewish destiny in Palestine.
14. Like Blackstone, Hechler was acquainted with Dr. H. Grattan Guinness, the latter two being associated with the Church of England's *Church Mission to the Jew*. It is most likely that Hechler derived his 1897-98 "turning point" calculation from Guinness's widely sold study of 1878: *The Approaching End of the Age*. Guinness was then and probably remains today the foremost expositor of the cryptograms of the Old and New Testament.



15. *The Complete Diaries* . . . v. 2, p. 746.
16. London, Lincoln-Prager, 1956, p. 105.
17. In his *diary* (March 16, 1896) a puzzled Herzl wrote of Hechler: "a naive visionary with a collector's quirk's . . . He is an improbable figure when looked at through the quizzical eyes of a Viennese Jewish journalist." Then with masterful understatement he shortly added: "I think I detect from certain signs that he is a believer in the prophets." (*The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, v. 1, N.Y., 1960, pp. 312-13).
18. On February 1st a public meeting was held at Mansion House, London, to "give expression to public opinion on the persecution to which the Jews of Russia have recently been subjected." It was sponsored by Charles Darwin and the aged Lord Shaftesbury. A relief fund was set up with Lawrence Oliphant as administrator (Kobler, Franz, *The Vision was There*, etc., London, 1956, pp. 100-101).
19. According to one compilation of Pinsker's writings, he was converted to Palestinian Zionism by Moses Lilienblum (1843-1910) though no supporting evidence is offered (*Road to Freedom, Writings and Addresses*, New York, Scopus, 1944).
20. In America, 1884 was, according to Feinstein, the beginning of organized "American activity on behalf of the colonization of Palestine" with the establishment in New York of the *Choveve Zion* ("Lovers of Zion") Society. (Feinstein, M. *American Zionism 1884-1904*, N.Y. Herzl Press, 1965, p. 11).
21. Franz Kobler, *The Vision was There* . . . London, 1956, p. 97.
22. Between the years 1880 and 1930 Blackstone raised or distributed more than six million dollars to foreign missions, an astonishing sum for those days. Part of it was achieved as trustee for the Milton Stewart Funds, founded by the President of the Union Oil Company, Milton Stewart.
23. *First Annual Report of the Hebrew Christian Mission*, Chicago, Nov., 1888, pp. 4-14.
24. I. L. Kenan, *Blackstone Forgotten American Zionist*, (Chicago, AMF Monthly, p. 9, June, 1966, reprinted from the Jerusalem Post).
25. In his day, Blackstone was unquestionably America's foremost and articulate defender of the pre-millennial view of the Apocalypse. The *Encyclopedia Judaica* indeed recognizes this, calling him "The most famous of the Zionist Millenarians" (v. 16, p. 1154).
26. *Jesus is Coming*, N.Y., 1892, p. 150.
27. Anita Lebeson, "Zionism Comes to Chicago" (*Early History of Zionism in the United States*, NY, 1958, p. 166).
28. Feinstein, *American Zionism 1884-1904*, p. 57.
29. Oppenheim, *International Law* (Vol. Peace, 3rd edit., 1920, p. 143.)
30. *The Northwestern Christian Advocate* (April 8, 1891).
31. Letter of W.E.B. to Sir Arthur Blackwood, Jan. 31, 1891. For a complete discussion of Schindler's public attack on the Memorial see M. Feinstein *American Zionism 1884-1904*, 1965, pp. 69-72.
32. A fairly exhaustive critique of the press reaction and journal commentary is found in a chapter Marnin Feinstein devotes to the Memorial in his *American Zionism 1884-1904* (1965).
33. Lebeson, "Zionism Comes to Chicago", p. 167. Altogether, 413 prominent Americans signed the Memorial.
34. Appendix to Meites *History of the Jews of Chicago* (Chicago, 1924).
35. Letter dated February 20, 1891.
36. In the fall of 1891, Felsenthal also turned against Blackstone denouncing him in a letter bitter with recriminations and regret that he had signed. Felsenthal avowed that he had not known when he signed that Blackstone was linked with the Chicago Hebrew Mission that

- proselytized among Jews.
37. Lebeson, "Zionism Comes to Chicago", etc. p. 168.
  38. Blackstone papers, Chicago.
  39. Rosenberg to Blackstone, dated November 28, 1892. Rosenberg confirmed his intention on December 19, 1892, but the conference was postponed several more months and then called off.
  40. On Oct. 24, 1894, Cleveland's Sec. of State W. Q. Gresham wrote a personal letter to Blackstone attaching what he described as a "copy of the President's message in answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of Aug. 20, 1890, concerning the proscriptive edicts against the Jews in Russia [H.R. Ex. Doc. No / 470, 51st Cong., 1st Sess.]."
  41. *Encyc. Judaica*, v. 12, 1971, p. 364.
  42. *Feinstein*, 1965, p. 62.
  43. *Complete Diaries*, 1960, 3, 1161.
  44. *Feinstein*, 1965, p. 78.
  45. W.E.B. was introduced to Blackwood by evangelist D. L. Moody.
  46. Conder, C. R., *Blackwoods Magazine* 1891, 149, 856.
  47. *Kobler*, pp. 107 - 108.

## ESSAY REVIEW

# A New Look at Violence

Christian Pacifism is losing ground today. It has been officially recognised by many Christians and so no longer appeals to the deviationist. Also our problems are different and the faint hope that they might be solved by pacifism seems more remote than ever.

In this outstanding book<sup>1</sup> Jacques Ellul, a Protestant Professor of Sociology at the Sorbonne, argues the case for pacifism movingly, with passionate sincerity, and with first hand knowledge both of revolutionaries themselves and of their writings. His book, which is well documented, is a challenge to orthodox thinking: it needs to be read and re-read. Here are some of the points he makes; there are others too but we must leave them out.

Traditional Christian attitudes towards violence have ceased to be meaningful. The doctrine of the just war, held throughout Christendom from the 4th century until around 1914, laid down conditions which seem impossible of fulfilment today. Among them is the condition that before resorting to war a Christian State must explore every possible avenue to a peaceful solution of differences: war can only be justified after all other methods have proved unavailing. Yet today no one doubts that this is exactly what was done in the case of Nazi Germany and it failed. If a pre-emptive war had been declared early in Hitler's career, the Nazi regime could never have become established.

Another condition laid down by all Christians in the past

was that if in the end you are constrained to use violence, you must use it as the surgeon uses his knife: in fighting your enemy you must seek his eventual good: it is always wrong to fight out of revenge or hatred.

Again history has dispelled this rationalisation. The Inquisition shows the depths to which this approach leads. In the *auto-de-fé* the heretic is burnt at the stake, not because he is hated but because he is loved and his eventual salvation is desired. Today the assumption that you and you only know what is good for the other man is calculated to evoke reaction.

In the past all wars were deemed wrong if it was necessary, in prosecuting them, to inflict suffering on the innocent as well as upon the guilty. Today it is hardly possible to envisage a war in which women and children do not become involved.

In the thirties many Christians turned to non-violent political action, seeing in Ghandi their paragon. If Ghandi could free his country from the British, might not his methods also be used effectively throughout the world? No one now believes this. It is commonly realised that Ghandi was successful only because he had the British to deal with. In another country he would have been locked up and the world would have heard no more of him.

Some Christians have seen it as a Christian duty to repudiate all force. But again, does not history show that by this method also the Christian solves no problems? If we do nothing to help him, shall we not perforce leave the oppressed man to his fate?

No matter where he turns, the Christian seems to encounter a brick wall. None of the traditional answers seems any longer to be relevant. On the other hand the resources of technology and science, used by evil men, make it easier and easier for the underdogs to be yet further downtrodden. Increasing numbers of Christians throughout the world are therefore reaching the conclusion that there are times when violence is the only way to

achieve justice and to bring in a better form of government.

This is certainly the conviction of the non-Christian. Is it not sometimes the duty of the Christian to join forces with him to achieve Christian ends? That this is so is now the conviction of many Christians.

But the demand for revolution and social justice comes from those who do not share Christian love. These people want justice meted out to bad people, to the powerful, the rich, the capitalists, the communists, the exploiters. But this is contrary to the Christian faith. If God so loved the world that He gave His Son, He loves *all* men; not just the poor and weak, but the rich and powerful; the Neros, Hitlers, Himmlers as well as persecuted Jews, Christians and blacks. By siding with those who deny this, Christians forget their calling; they conform to the trend of the moment but in the end contribute nothing specifically Christian to the world.

In WW2 many Christians joined the French resistance movement against the German occupiers: after D-day, says Ellul, "I am bound to say that I saw no difference at all between the Nazi concentration camps and the camps in which France confined the collaborators." Many Christians joined the national Liberation Front in the Algerian War. After the war they were "utterly indifferent to the fate of those who were defeated".

Professor Ellul paints a depressing historical picture of how generation after generation of Christians jump upon the band wagons of their day. Now they are linking up with socialism: yesterday it was liberalism, democracy, competitive capitalism, militaristic nationalism and in Germany even Nazism. For in Germany the German churches in the main accepted the values of the Nazi regime. Hitler was no coward. He exalted courage and did not shrink from violence. He called the tune: many Christians responded and gave their lives for him in battle. And today his methods are used throughout the world. He loosed the reign of violence: today it dominates the right and the left, the worlds of capitalism and of socialism. "That violence is so generally condoned today shows that Hitler won his war after all:

his enemies imitate him." Today Christians participate in revolutionary violence just as fervently as they used to participate in military violence.

The pernicious view that a man's life consists in the abundance of the things which he possesses has taken hold of us all, or nearly all. It is taken for granted that happiness is to be measured in consumption of goods, that the sole problem confronting our age is the unequal distribution of material wealth which can be rectified only by violence. To foster violence the revolutionary socialists protest against paternalism, meaning that no self-respecting man wants to receive anything from a superior: he wishes rather to take it for himself by force.

Ellul deals devastatingly with the subterfuges which are resorted to in defence of present attitudes. 'The Christian must love the poor. Not to join in their cause is to betray them!' But the revolutionaries who so talk do not love the poor, they love *some* of the poor. When the poor have thrown the rich out of power, the revolutionaries show their hypocrisy in that they do not at once change sides. They ought to love the dispossessed rich, who are now the poor. That would be Christian love. The Christian has no duty to join those who thus behave. Rather he should expose the facts. Rather he should fearlessly encounter the men at the top who are responsible for injustice: a much harder and more worthwhile thing to do than to march the streets waving banners! For every person murdered today whose cause is taken up by the revolutionaries, ten or thereabouts are murdered without any one to sponsor their cause, or even to show interest.

Revolutionaries, including among them many Christians, take up the cause of blacks in the U.S.A. and South Africa, of the Palestinian Arabs, or of the North Vietnamese, but for political reasons only. Over the past decade they have been quite unconcerned about the genocide of Indians in Brazil, the oppression of Tibetans by China, massacres of Kurds in Irak and Iran and of Christians in the Republic of Somali, or the fate of monarchist Yemenites bombed, burned with napalm and even attacked with poison gas by Egypt in 1964-7. The reason is only too evident:

to take up such causes would not embarrass capitalist Europe or the U.S.A. It would not tally with socialist ideas. For our modern rebels are not at all concerned with justice except in so far as it will benefit themselves or cause political embarrassment to the group they wish to dispossess. And if they dispossess others, will they be better than they?

That modern Christians should align themselves with such movements, so utterly hypocritical, is a crying scandal, thinks Ellul. "Where violence is concerned Christians generally behave like imbecile children" is his verdict (p. 83). They violate the principle of justice so clearly laid down in the Bible, "You shall not change your judgment according to whether your brother is rich or poor" (Lev. 19: 15).

Professor Ellul pulverises the widely held view that we ought to distinguish between justice and violence. Every state he says comes into power and stays in power by violence.

Treason doth never prosper: what's the reason?  
For if it prosper none dare call it treason.

If the violence process is successful for long enough it is rationalised as justice and law. (We may compare Rhodesia with the U.S.A. here: Añatole France's *Penguin Island* is also relevant.) *Inter alia* he illustrates the point with reference to the Nuremberg trials. Every one knew that Stalin had done the same things as the Nazis but the Russian murderers were not tried because they were on the winning side and for no other reason. Many nations including U.S.A. and Australia were founded by the dispossession of the land belonging to natives: a process actively pursued today in South America. Only a Christian philosophy, says Ellul, can enable a man to recognise this self-evident fact and live with it.

Violence is inevitable: no State can survive without it, but the Christian is forbidden by his Lord to take the sword even in the best of causes. If he achieves high position and feels that in so doing he does violence to the poor, he is called upon to spend what money he needs and give the rest away. His duty

is to use his position to force the attention of those who do wrong to the sufferings they cause.

This is a high standard and willy-nilly many Christians will find themselves implicated directly or indirectly, in the violence of our day. It is the duty of all of us to act in as near a Christian way as we can, but if we would use violence we must learn her laws which are these:

1. If we resort to violence we place ourselves on a slippery slope where, when once the slide has started, it will not be possible to stop at will.
2. Violence involves the law of reciprocity: those who take the sword will perish with the sword. This law is independent of the motives which actuate the taking of the sword; no distinction is made in the New Testament between those who use it in a good cause and those who use it in a bad.
3. If we use violence we must not complain if the other side does likewise. If it is wrong for the rioter to injure the police, it is also wrong for the State to use violence against the rioter.
4. Violence always tends to foster hatred and therefore leads to the discovery that man is under the control of sin, but Christ would set men free.

If the Christian thinks that occasionally he must resort to violence, let him remember these laws. Let him beware, too, lest by giving moral support to the violent he helps them to rationalise their violence. Let the Christian never seek to justify violence, or to suppose that it is the way of Christ.

#### REFERENCE

1. Jacques Ellul, *Violence: Reflexions from a Christian Perspective*, S.C.M. Press, 1970, 179 pp., £1.50.



## Short Reviews

### THE SOUL

John Hick, *Biology and the Soul*, 30 pp.,  
Cambridge U.P., 1972, £0·30.

In this little book Professor John Hick, the Eddington Memorial Lecturer for 1972, follows the now popular tradition of saying nothing which could by any stretch of imagination be contradicted by a scientist.

The Lecturer starts by laying stress on the immense amount of chance involved in the formation of a human being. The differences between individual spermatozoa and ova, to say nothing of background heredity, involve polyllion (to coin a word for multiple powers of ten — Cf., *billion*, *trillion*, etc.) possibilities of combination so that each one of us is physically unique.

But is this all? Is there a soul in addition to the body? The church teaches that God creates a soul and implants it at some stage into the growing embryo. If so there must be characteristics of man which are due neither to genetics or environment. What may they be?

Professor Hick discusses the various possibilities in turn. Mental characteristics, perhaps? He quotes Darlington to say that most of these (the list is quite long) are inherited in whole or in part. . . . Freewill? . . . But perhaps the way we choose is determined by the mental characteristics already dealt with. What about the "subtle body" or *lingua sarira* of the Hindus, supposedly an unconscious entity like C. D. Broad's psychic factor? Impossible to disprove, but Professor Hick does not much like the idea . . . All the possibilities seem metaphysical, impossible to prove or disprove . . . So we had better leave them out of our thinking.

How does God come in? Perhaps He controlled the outcome of all/some of the macromolecular events which resulted in the formation of each one of us. Did He push a molecule now here, now there, to make me as I find myself? No! No! This idea invokes the 'god-of-the-gaps' with a vengeance. Besides, embryological processes sometimes go wrong — for instances monsters may be formed. This would be inexplicable if God controls mutations or pushes spermatozoa around so that the right one meets the right target.

What remains to be said? There is the verbal approach. What do Christians *mean* when they speak of the soul? They mean what every one else means (SOS = save our souls; "he was the soul of the party"; something is "soul destroying" etc.). We use the word to express "the sense of the sacredness of human personality and of the inalienable rights of the human individual". It is a mythological way of talking but "a way which is bound up with important practical attitudes and practices".

But if the soul, the metaphysical entity, is given up, will not the sacredness evaporate too? Professor Hick does not think it will, provided we shift the emphasis from origin to destiny. Our world is autonomous: the sunshine on the primitive soupy sea brought life into being and evolution did the rest. It is all a part of God's great work because God planned it this way. But because we are part of the whole autonomous system "we must be prepared to renounce the idea that whereas the body has been produced by natural processes the soul has been produced by a special act of divine creation".

However, the "myth of Adam and Eve and their fall from grace . . . cannot readily accommodate this conception" for an evolutionary picture is required which Professor Hick finds foreshadowed in the teachings of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria. Hundreds of millions of years of evolution have advanced man to the state of being in the *image of God* but one day he will be fashioned in the *likeness of God*; at present "he is only the raw material for the second stage of the creative process".

Especially towards its close the Lecture becomes very puzzling indeed. We live in "an autonomous physical universe, structured towards the production of rational and personal life" yet we must live "in conscious relationship to God". Unless God here means the sum total of nature (and Professor Hick does not give the impression that he follows the 'god-intoxicated' Spinoza here) how can our world be autonomous if we have conscious relationship with that which is outside it — the God who made it? A "conscious relationship" surely implies interaction at *some* level: the autonomy cannot be complete.

As for the Fall, can we be so sure that Professor Hick's way of looking at things will promote the sacredness of man? Man can be brutish and nasty, while his despoiled planet Earth is unlikely to keep him in comfort for very long, cosmically speaking.

It is easy to become cynical if this is all we can see for those aeons of evolution supposedly leading to something better still. In the Christian view man is precious because while we were yet sinners Christ died for us: precious because God reckoned him precious, and tried to help him. His sinfulness is God's challenge: and ours.

Finally, the Author states that he is convinced that the life of individuals will ultimately be fulfilled in a way that is not possible within the allotted three score years and ten: he thinks that the idea of a survival of the mind after death, and resurrection by reconstitution of the total psycho-physical being are both thinkable possibilities. The soul, so neatly expelled through the front door seems to have crept in again at the back. Was its expulsion *really* necessary?

One wonders what Professor Eddington would think of all this.

## DEATH

Sylvia Anthony, *The Discovery of Death in Childhood and after*, Allen Lane, 1971, 280 pp., £2.95.

This is an informative if somewhat discursive book in which the author enlarges on her earlier work, *The Child's Discovery of Death* (1940). It owes much to Piaget and to the anthropologists, the author's view being that in many respects a child's views about death are similar to those of native peoples. Thus many children, like primitives, think that death is indistinguishable from murder, that is to say they do not regard death as a natural phenomenon — a view which finds biblical warrant in the story of the Fall.

When young children are questioned as to what objects they consider to be alive, the answers are often somewhat strange. Among Swedish children, for example, it is often supposed that a tree is alive but not a dog. Much confusion in a child's mind arises from the language of grown ups who speak of life and death in all kinds of symbolic connections (a live wire, a live issue, a telephone going dead, the ground alive with ants, etc.). At the age of 9-12 children react least to death, often making it a matter for laughter, but "kill" means little more to them than "get rid of". At this age killing in fantasy, and sometimes in reality also if opportunity arises, is extremely common.

On the question of fratricide it is pointed out that the morality of the Old Testament is a good deal higher than among other ancient peoples. Solomon has to find good reasons for killing his brothers (1 Kings, 1: 50-53; 2: 12-24; 2: 36-46) whereas in the ancient world, generally, it was taken for granted that on accession a monarch killed other possible pretenders to the throne. Gibbon is quoted to the effect that when Mohomet III became king (15th century, aged 21) he "removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers".

With the lifting of the taboo on sex, the taboo on death has become much more marked (G. Gorer, 1955). Seeing that men must die, it ill befits the modern generation of secularists to dilate

on the prudery of Victorians. Sylvia Anthony has done praiseworthy work in her attempt to unmask the modern prudery by making people *think* about death, even from a purely non-religious angle.

## ATHEISM

Patrick Masterton, *Atheism and Alienation*, Gill and Macmillan (Dublin) and Macmillan, 188 pp., 1971, £2.50.

This is one of a number of books which have appeared of late seeking to analyse the phenomenon of atheism in our time. The atheist of yesterday was content to pick holes in the reasons traditionally given for belief in God, but today he has altered his tactics. It is now claimed that since human subjectivity is the "irreducible source of a world of meaning and value" it is no longer possible to claim that God is the Creator of all being. Believe in God, it is said, and you will dehumanise man.

The author bravely sets to work to analyse how this curious idea has gained currency through the writings and influence of Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Feuerbach, Marx, the positivists and the existentialists (sometimes, be it said, misunderstood, more especially in the case of Kant). The result has been to bring about a conviction the precise opposite of that which formerly held — the man who rejected God was once the alienated outsider, but now belief in God is supposed to cause alienation.

In a closing chapter the author sees the issue in the terms: "What atheism requires of a man today is that he consciously lives out a fully and exclusively human life without any ultimate hope. What theism must argue in support of its affirmation of God is that by abandoning such hope one is excluding a fundamental dimension of fully human life, i.e. diminishing the possibilities of human creativity available to man." The reconciliation, the author believes, should run along the lines that God

provides hope for man, because He is not just the Creator of the past. "In the last resort the basic principle of meaning and value must lie outside the world."

The affirmation of God is "a hopeful project . . . a goal to be joyfully anticipated and not, as the chorus of contemporary atheism proclaims, a reprehensible threat to human subjectivity."

Dr. Masterton's book should prove useful to those whose studies lie along this direction, but it is not written in a popular way and one has the impression that a great deal of simplification of style could have been achieved without loss of substance.

## IMAGES

Mardi Jon Horowitz, *Image Formation and Cognition*, Butterworths and Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970, 315 pp., £5·80.

Image formation is a subject of considerable interest to the Christian. How did Gehazi come to see an army on the hill tops (2 Kings 6: 17) or Paul the vision of the risen Christ? Unusual events aside, many Christians have a mental picture of God just as they may have a mental picture of number forms or curious shapes or colours representative of days of the week.

Here at last is a well referenced text book on the subject, covering the whole field in so far as anything is known about it — though this is little enough! It is well written, devoid of padding, and it describes experiments performed by the author.

Dr. Horowitz starts by classifying images into 23 types. The most interesting part of the book, perhaps, in his discussion on the methods used to distinguish illusions from perceptions. In the ordinary way no ambiguity arises but the usual criteria for reality (high intensity, disappearance if the eyes are shut, the object remains stationary when the head is moved from side to side, it is needful to focus on the object, etc.) sometimes fail. A decision

is then made on logical lines (no body else can see Martians here, etc.).

It is extremely interesting to apply the same or similar lines of reasoning to the religious life when the sense of God's presence disappears, as has happened with saints in all ages, — though the author does not discuss theology.

Other phenomena discussed have at least an analogical bearing on Christian faith. "Seeing they see not" is literally true in the subject who has been hypnotized and has been told not to see a person who may be a few feet away from him: ("negative hallucination"). The distorted ways of viewing the world through the eyes (the tunnel effect — things seen as if through a long tunnel; the woman who can see the top parts of men only) are paralleled by distorted views which leave God out of His world. Symbolic thinking, not only in sleep but in the waking state, comes often to the fore. A man trying to think hard about how to correct some awkward grammar he had written finds himself in imagination smoothing a piece of wood with a plane (p. 31).

The older ideas about thinking have been much modified of late. A former generation of psychologists regarded single thoughts as units which pass in and out of the mind one at a time. The situation in fact is much more complex: thoughts often occur together. It used to be supposed that thoughts all take the form of images, but this again is not so; thinking is often imageless.

On the spiritual side, the inability to form images (Chapter 7) or to dispel undesired images when they come is of great importance. A young marine severely tempted by the sight of native girls found it impossible to conjure up even a memory of what his own fiancé looked like: others have been tormented by the inability to rid themselves of images which prove harmful. Yet image control is possible and the norm. A young man staring at his girl friend saw her face becoming canine but was able to stop this happening by an effort of the will, though when he relaxed it happened again.

An interesting but little studied aspect of the drug question is the flashback (Chapter 12). A typical example is that of a 17 year old boy who, in a LSD trip hallucinated a dark scorpion on the back of his hand and was terrified: "It had many legs and I was worried it might sting me." Five weeks later, during which period he had taken no more drugs, the scorpion continued to return as flashbacks, sometimes in changed position but it was always brown or black. All the hallucinatory drugs give flashbacks — though with alcohol only two cases are known to Dr. Horowitz. All who have them testify to the fact that the imagery of flashbacks is of a different quality from thought images experienced before use of drugs.

## CREATIVITY

Anthony Storr, *The Dynamics of Creation*, Secker and Warburg, 1972, 248 pp., £2·50.

The topic of creativity never ceases to fascinate. Arthur Koestler's book, *The Act of Creation*, dealt with its 'how'; Anthony Storr now tries to answer the 'why'.

We are reminded of how writers and musicians brought their 'children' into the world, Mozart, who started to compose at four, needed no stimulation: creation came to him "ready made in polished form" (compare George Matheson's hymn, "O love that will not let me go . . ." which seemed to be dictated to him in five minutes and required no retouching). Mozart was exceptional: Chopin' "shutting himself up in his room for whole days, weeping, walking, breaking his pens, repeating and altering a bar a hundred times, spending six weeks on a single page" is more typical. But *why* are the struggles worth while?

Storr seeks to find answers by classifying his subjects (after W. R. D. Fairbairn) into *schizoids* (who are conscious of futility and lack of meaning) and *manic-depressives* (characterised by alternate euphoria and hopelessness). Both types find that creative work protects them from mental illness.



Explanations for the category into which a man falls are found in childhood experiences. Mother dies ; emotional attachment to her is broken ; all emotional attachments appear dangerous and because they are needed to give meaning to life, life itself becomes meaningless ; so schizoid character is stabilised. Creative work makes contact with others possible on your own terms without risk (e.g. Newton).

Or there is the manic-depressive. He has not renounced love, but as a child, perhaps, he disobeyed his mother and, overcome with guilt, feared she might withdraw her love. Throughout his life he fears for his self-esteem which is geared to the love of others towards himself. In creativity he compensates for guilt and earns respect from others: it brings elation, magnificently real but short-lived (e.g. Michelangelo, Balzak).

Within this framework the author discusses, among other things, such topics as play, sex and what he believes to be a biologically adaptive role inherent in creativity.

Despite the intrinsic interest of the subject the book is disappointing in many ways. The style is too verbose, overdoses of psychological jargon tend to grate, the ratio of fact to supposition sometimes reaches a record low and the arrangement of material leaves much to be desired: Cyril Connolly's criticism "an impressive collection of chapters which tend however to say the same thing" (Review, *Sunday Times*, 3 September, 1972) is fair comment. In the end, too, conviction is lacking for, as Storr himself willingly allows, no genius can be neatly categorised by the pigeon holes of psychology. Such explanations as are available seem applicable not only to creativity but to all activity.

Still, there is insight here, much interesting information (well indexed) and many up to date references all of which make the book worth while. It is sad that Storr chooses to ignore Christianity which might do so much to help those readers who see in themselves the problems with which Storr's subjects are confronted. To desire the honour that comes from God rather than that from our fellow men and to seek Christ's kingdom and His righteousness

above all else are motives enough to supply the catalyst for living and for creativity.

## PATERNOSTER BOOKS

R. M. Emroth, E. E. Ericson and C. B. Peters, *The Story of the Jesus People*, Paternoster Press, 1972, 250 pp., PB, £1·20.

A fascinating but disturbing survey. Religious hippie manifestations though often sincere are usually strongly biased against established churches and especially against all forms of intellectualism. "Education is all shit" says an elder of the Children of God. Already many converts, after finding that the Lord's second coming did not materialise when they expected, have become religiously untouchable, burnt out cases for whom the Jesus trip proved as unsatisfying as the drug trips.

One is left with the impression that though the Spirit of God is often at work, solid Christian teaching is so neglected that strife, division and apostacy are inevitable. Yet the movement is a challenge to the church and, even if there is failure in the long run, God for ever finds new ways of speaking to man. Our present denominations are, after all, the dying embers of fires which burned brightly in their day.

F. F. Bruce, *Answers to Questions*, Paternoster Press, 1972, 264 pp., £3·60.

Professor Bruce's monthly page in the *Harvester* has long been a source of profit and interest to readers of the magazine. It was a happy idea, therefore, to collect his comments on many diverse Christian themes in a single well-indexed volume.

The arrangement is as follows. Part I, *Biblical Texts*. Part II,

*Answers on various subjects.* It is a pity that Professor Bruce was unable to check that all the matter was updated: had he done so he would surely have drawn attention, for instance, to John Wenham's treatment of the large numbers in the Old Testament (*Tyndale Bulletin*, 1967). But we can hardly demand so much from a Professor who works so hard!

The production is good and the book will long prove a treasure store of ideas for the teachers and preachers fortunate enough to possess it.

G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament*,  
Paternoster Press, 1972, X + 422 pp., PB, £1.60.

This important work first appeared in the hard back in 1962 (Macmillan); it is a pleasure to welcome it in the present inexpensive PB edition.

Dr. Beasley-Murray's work cannot fail to impress: he has read so extensively that he manages to write 160,000 words on his subject and there are scholarly footnotes on most of the pages. The style, though somewhat chatty and lacking the inciveness of a Culmann is most readable: the reviewer once immersed in the book hardly noticed the hours slipping away!

The coverage is wide. English, American and Continental scholars of all shades of opinion are quoted freely. Cognate practices such as the laying on of hands, baptism by *proxy* and the exorcism of demons prior to baptism are covered but, rather curiously, pre-natal baptism is not mentioned while feet-washing (practiced by many Southern baptists of the U.S.A. as a post-baptismal rite) receives scant attention. Dr. Beasley-Murray (p. 349) finds it curious that for a thousand years young infants were directly addressed in baptism. It was Cranmer, he tells us, who changed this so that sponsors were called upon to answer for the child. Yet the practice should, perhaps, be viewed in relation to the animal trials of the middle ages when hens, pigs, rats, etc. were addressed directly and tried in open court before being sentenced

if found guilty of crimes. (Animals were sometimes tortured on the rack to extort confession: one pig which killed and ate a child did so on a Friday thus aggravating her offence; she was condemned to death but her little ones who had aided and abetted her were exonerated on account of their extreme youth and the bad example of their mother. See E. P. Evans, *Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals*, 1906). If animals could be publicly addressed *as if* they understand what was being said, why not babies? But it is hard indeed to imagine how our ancestors ever came to think (if they *did* think) that babes and animals understood the language of men.

Every passage in the Bible which mentions baptism is discussed at length in Beasley-Murray's book: for example the treatment of Romans 6: 1f covers 20 pages and the passage is referred to 20 times in the text index, while John 3: 3-5 covers 13 pages with 21 index references. Very few possible interpretations seem to have been missed yet it seems odd to the reviewer that what is ostensibly the simplest possible interpretation of John 3: 3-5 (born of the spirit the qualification for *seeing* the kingdom: born of water and spirit the qualification for *entering*) is not mentioned at all.

Tragically enough views on baptism divide the church of God and Beasley-Murray, always charitable, seeks to pour oil on troubled waters. Whether they agree with his conclusions (that paedobaptism is indefensible and that baptism is essential for church membership) or not, few will read this book without both intellectual and spiritual profit accompanied by heart searching. But in these days, we fear, time for reading books of this length is limited. As a reference book, however, it is unlikely to be outdated for many years to come and the price is most reasonable.

K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Paternoster Press, 7 vols., £1·90 each or £13·30 the set (boxed).

This completes Latourette's 12 volume church history. See this **JOURNAL** 99, 78.

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