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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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APRIL, 1892.

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ART. I.—OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

No. II.—WELLHAUSEN.

IT is of course, impossible to give anything like a detailed account of Wellhausen's "History of Israel" within the limits to which this paper must be confined. But it may be possible within a short compass to supply a sufficient number of instances of his method to enable those who read to judge for themselves what its value is likely to be to the reverent and honest student of the Old Testament. He commences with an interesting piece of autobiography. He was, he tells us, a diligent student of the historical books, but he never could feel it to be anything else than a mistake to suppose that the Mosaic Law was presupposed throughout those books. He read Knobel's "Commentaries" and Ewald's "History of Israel" without finding any help. It was not until he fell in with the theories of Karl Heinrich Graf that light broke in upon him, and he was at once ready to acknowledge "the possibility of understanding Hebrew antiquity without the book of the Torah." From this point we enter upon that realm of conjecture founded on fancy, which is so marked a characteristic of the new criticism. He commences with a bold assumption, in direct contradiction to the statements in the histories with which he deals. He declares that "the period of the Judges presents itself as a confused chaos, out of which order and coherence are gradually evolved under the pressure of external circumstances, but perfectly naturally and without the faintest reminiscence of a sacred unifying constitution that had formerly existed" (p. 5). It is true that

the book of Judges itself says exactly the opposite. It tells us how the "sacred unifying constitution" *had* once existed, and it repeatedly explains the chaotic condition of Israel in later years as being the direct result of neglect of that constitution. But this matters little to a German commentator. As may be imagined from the last paper, he is prepared to make short work of any facts which may conflict with theory. All these allusions to a law previously given are post-exilic additions. As Knobel coolly and without the slightest attempt at proof assigns all references to the "book of the Law" placed in Joshua's hands to the Deuteronomist in the time of Josiah, so all portions of Judges which refer to the Law and Israel's disobedience to it, are declared by Wellhausen to be later additions. This, says Wellhausen, with delicious *sans froid*, "is admitted" (p. 231). By whom and why so admitted, we are not told. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt of the fact. These allusions to the Law of Moses are "merely a uniform in which" the original tradition "is clothed." We are, moreover, informed that "it is usual to call this later version Deuteronomistic." But not one word of evidence is adduced in support of a statement so startling to an ordinary student of history, except that we do not find any evidence of a "hierocracy." But no one ever said that there *was* any evidence of a "hierocracy." The government of Israel, as described in the historical books, was an oligarchy tempered by recourse to the oracle of God. The priesthood, according to the whole Old Testament, had no more to do with the details of government than the priestesses of the oracle at Delphi. And if, as Wellhausen remarks, the kings put up and set down priests at their pleasure, there are two points to be remembered. They did not venture out of the Aaronic line, and their claim to depose High Priests may have been as much an unjust interference in ecclesiastical matters as many earnest Churchmen believe the appointment of Bishops by the Prime Minister to be, and as the action of the Roman government in Palestine in regard to the High Priests undoubtedly was.

It is a pity this ingenious, if somewhat high-handed, mode of treating history has never occurred to polemical historians. Thus it would have been extremely convenient for the advocates of Divine right in the seventeenth century if they could have declared all allusions to the Witenagemot in Anglo-Saxon times to be "merely a uniform" in which later historians, unfavourable to despotic power, had "clothed" the history of those early times, in which it was quite impossible, in the nature of things, that anything approaching to freedom could possibly have existed. Thus, too, Magna Charta, and the prolonged and ultimately successful struggle to have it enforced,

might have been proved to be "a uniform" in which late Liberal thought had "clothed" the days in which kings had unlimited power. A continued chain of acts of arbitrary authority might be brought forward as inconsistent with any doctrine of the liberty of the subject in those primitive days. And the fact that the Yorkist contention in favour of a legal in preference to a Parliamentary title to the Crown was ultimately admitted and acted upon for centuries, might be adduced as irrefragable evidence that England "knew nothing" of a Parliamentary title to the throne until the disastrous Revolution of 1688. This mode of writing—or making—history would be a boon to thick and thin partisans the value of which it would not be easy to exaggerate. It is due to our misfortune in being inhabitants of our "duller England" that it has never occurred to us until just lately.

We next come to the way in which Hupfeld's theory of a first and second Elohist and a Jehovist is dealt with. We may learn from this how critics of the same school are treated whenever their opinions happen to be inconvenient. Hupfeld's view "cannot," we are told, "be maintained" (p. 7). But the sole ground of this assertion is another, to the effect that the Jehovist and so-called Elohist are "most closely akin" to one another, and that "his document has come down to us, as Nöldeke was the first to perceive" (we are not told how, and must turn to Nöldeke for the demonstration), "only in extracts embodied in the Jehovist narrative." In other words, there is no such well-marked distinction between the Jehovist and the second Elohist, as would alone justify the critic in assuming his existence. We are not concerned to dispute Wellhausen's further assertion that the Jehovistic document is a "complex product." Every history is; but if anyone were to attempt to resolve any history whatever into its sources without the aid of the notes which every careful historian adds, the result would be a crop of ludicrous blunders. If this is denied, let the experiment be tried, if it be possible. Let any historical critic be shut up, say, with Mr. Motley's "History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic," after all the notes have been carefully removed, and let him tell us to what sources the facts related are to be ascribed, which to Hoofd, which to Meteren, which to Bor, which to Strada, and so on, and then we shall see how much reliance is to be placed on the analytic criticism. Sometimes, no doubt, there would be a happy guess. Strada, for instance, would be a probable authority for any incidents specially concerning Spain. But such an attempt would be certain, in the main, to be a dismal failure. One result, on the methods of German critics, would frequently happen. A fact which is related by half a dozen

writers, would be unhesitatingly ascribed to one.<sup>1</sup> And incidents bearing hardly on Spanish tyranny and unscrupulousness would on those principles be assigned to Netherland sources, whereas, as a matter of fact, a historian of Mr. Motley's stamp distinctly declines to rely on those sources alone on any point where corroboration is desirable. Professor Driver, it is true, disposes of the former objection by representing the Hebrew historians as mere compilers. But if so, what becomes of Wellhausen's assertion (p. 8) that all the books as they stand, are "complex products," with which "hybrid or posthumous elements" are combined?

Next we are told (p. 9) that the "Priestly Code" contains "many serious inconsistencies with what we know," and that "it is recognised that Deuteronomy was composed in the age in which it was discovered," that is, "in all circles where appreciation of scientific results can be looked for at all." This quiet assumption that all "science" is confined to the advocates of unlimited speculation is a peculiar characteristic of the new criticism, and accounts to a very great extent for its spread. People do not like to be described, as Ewald describes those who cling to the traditional view, as "outside all science." But we shall never settle the question until a race of scholars shall appear to whom it is a matter of absolute indifference whether they are regarded as "scientific" or not, and who will analyse and dissect the assertions of Wellhausen and Kuenen and their disciples as mercilessly as if they had the misfortune to be critics of the orthodox type.

The next assertion we may notice (though it should be remembered that every page teems with similar bold and unproved assertions) is that because the doctrine of local unity of worship is opposed in Deuteronomy to "the things that we do here this day," it must be regarded as polemical, and is "rightly therefore assigned by historical criticism to the period of the attacks made on the Bamoth by the reforming party at Jerusalem" (p. 33). Here our author has made a slight slip. A "reforming" party is usually supposed to be striving to bring back things to the former and better usage. But he assumes that there was *no* prohibition of the high places antecedent to Deuteronomy. It is clear that the

<sup>1</sup> We shall see further on (p. 344) that if an ancient historian refers to a variety of authorities, and he happens not to be in favour with the critics, he is charged (or someone is charged) with having falsified his sources, and referred to a number of documents which are in reality the work of one writer. So that when several authors are referred to, they are not several, but the same. When a book comes down to us as written by one hand, it is analyzed into six or seven different "sources." One might as well attempt to bind Proteus as to enter into controversy with critics such as these.

language used in Deut. xii. is at least as reconcilable with the traditional view as with that which is suggested instead of it. This passage, therefore, must take its place among the dogmas of the new criticism, which are to be imposed by authority on the votaries of the new faith. Our next instance shall be the way in which Wellhausen deals with the story of the altar Ed in Josh. xxii. He passes over it in most gingerly fashion, for it is in truth rather an awkward fact to deal with on his theory that the command to offer sacrifice at one place only is first given in Deuteronomy and is thence assumed in the Priestly Code. If this theory be correct, then the whole account in Josh. xxii. is an invention. No words can do justice to the ingenious manner in which Wellhausen (p. 38) contrives delicately to insinuate that this is the case without attempting to deal with the narrative. A fair and honest effort to grapple with the details in this chapter on the part of the critics is, and is likely to remain, a *desideratum*.

In p. 46 Wellhausen, in dealing with an argument of Nöldeke's, eminently characteristic of the new criticism, but asserting that "a strong tendency towards unity of worship *must* have arisen as soon as Solomon's temple was built," is actually compelled by the necessities of his position to deviate into common-sense. "What *must* have happened," he says, "is of less consequence to know than what actually took place." Precisely so. We want to know, not what German or other critics think "must" or ought to have been the case, but what our historical authorities tell us to be such. If Wellhausen's principle in this passage be borne in mind throughout the study of his book, it will be an excellent antidote to his own conclusions. He tells us, possibly because it "must have" been so, that "it was Amos, Hosea and Isaiah who first *introduced* the movement against the old popular worship of the high places" (p. 47); and they were led to this, not by any abstract preference for the temple at Jerusalem, but by "ethical motives" which may very easily be discerned. But these prophets distinctly charge those whom they rebuke with a breach of a Divine law. It is this spirit of disobedience to God's enactments which points the reproaches in their pages. And it is in strict keeping with this that we find worship at the high places spoken of as unlawful throughout the whole of the books of the Kings, from the time when the temple was dedicated. If we are to judge of "what actually took place" on historical evidence, instead of on the history as conjecturally reconstructed by the critics, we have no alternative but to reject this statement of Wellhausen's, which has no basis of historical fact to support it. If the prophets sternly, nay, even fiercely, accuse Israel and

Judah of having broken the Divine law, there must have been a Divine law already in existence for them to break. But we are practically told that they had no such law, until the book of Deuteronomy was written, hid in the temple, and then "found" and declared to be the original law given by Moses. If any law, we are further told, existed before this period, it was not committed to writing, and was known to few beside the priests. If so, what a mockery were the rebukes of the earlier prophets! What hypocrisy was their assumed sternness, unless we are to subject their contents to a revision as thorough as that of the Pentateuch, and assign all allusions to the broken law to a date at least posterior to that assigned to Deuteronomy.

We proceed to another curious piece of argument. We are told that "we expect to find" the altar of incense mentioned in Exod. xxv.-xxix., whereas it is not actually mentioned until chap. xxx. There, we are further informed, it is an "appendix." Why, asks Wellhausen, is it not mentioned where, in his opinion, it ought to be mentioned? The answer is clear. The reason why the author of chaps. xxv.-xxix. does not mention it is because "he does not know of it. There is no other possibility, for he cannot have forgotten it." In other words, if an author does not marshal his facts in exactly the order a German critic considers he ought to have mentioned them, the critic aforesaid is entitled, not merely to suspect, but to assume, that not one, but two authors have been at work. It is not too much to say that on all ordinary principles of criticism this assertion is simply astounding. So astounding, that we may be pardoned for repeating this remarkable syllogism in another form. The mention of the altar of incense is not found in chaps. xxv.-xxix. of the book of Exodus. But Wellhausen thinks that this was the proper place for it. It is found in the very next chapter. But as it does not come in where, in Wellhausen's opinion, it should come in, we are to regard this as indubitable evidence that chap. xxx. is by a later hand. Is this criticism? or is it not, rather, to use the words of our great dramatist, "very midsummer madness"? There are few books in the present day, it is to be feared, which are so unexceptionable in their logical arrangement as to escape being held, on Wellhausen's principles, to display indubitable traces of composite authorship. Then we are told (p. 72) that eating before Jehovah "nowhere occurs" in the Priestly Code, "or, at all events, is no act of Divine worship." The account of the peace-offerings in Levit. vii. does not seem to bear out this statement. And when Deut. xxi. 1-9 is cited to show the vast difference between the Deuteronomist and the Priestly Code, one may, perhaps, be permitted to express a

little surprise—if, indeed, one has a right to be surprised at anything which may be said on this subject. The occasion in Deut. xxi. 1-9 is as different as possible from those contemplated in the Priestly Code, nor is it at all singular that it should have a ritual of its own. But when you have a case to make out, any and every instance of diversity of ritual must be pressed into the service, even though, as Sir Lucius O'Trigger puts it, "one would think it was quite out of hearing."

Again, in 1 Sam. vi. 15 we read of the Levites taking part in the proceedings relating to the return of the ark from the Philistines. But as this contradicts Wellhausen's theory that there is "no individual whose profession it is to take charge of the cultus" (p. 127), it must be got rid of at all hazards. It is a "gloss." And besides, does it not contradict the previous verse? The cart had already been offered for sacrifice, and the Levites proceed to "lift the ark from the now no longer existing cart" (yet Wellhausen admits that the verb relating to the action of the Levites is "in the pluperfect tense"!), "and set it upon the stone where the sacrifice is already burning—of course only in order to fulfil the law, the demands of which have been completely ignored in the original narrative." We might ask where the sacrifice is said to have been offered *on* the stone? But we confine ourselves to the repetition of the observation we have already made, that there is no historical event ever reported to have happened which could not be disproved by such a method as this. First of all, the reference to the Levites is arbitrarily asserted to be a "gloss." And then it is triumphantly asserted that "in the original narrative" not a word is said about the "demands of the law."

But Wellhausen's climax is reached in dealing with Chronicles. It is sufficiently obvious that the aim of the author of the books of Chronicles, writing as he does after the return from the captivity,<sup>1</sup> when the fortunes of the Jews are at their lowest ebb, is to encourage the Jews by dilating upon the ancient glories of the race, and especially by enlarging on the grandeur and dignity of that law through neglect of which the Jews had fallen so low. This attempt to glorify what, according to Wellhausen, had no existence in the best days of Jewish history, requires summary treatment. And summary treatment of a condign character, to do Wellhausen justice, is promptly meted out. The offender is called up for judgment to receive rather more than "forty stripes save one" from the pedagogue. First of all, the "cunning and treachery and battle and murder" of David, we are told, are disgracefully

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen gives the date as 300 years after the Captivity. As usual he deigns to offer no proof of his assertion.

passed over, as if there were any duty incumbent upon the historian of dwelling on the one shameful fall of a man otherwise exceptionally distinguished for his greatness and his goodness. Then the author of Chronicles seems to "refresh himself with a little variety," but he rapidly descends to "rude and mechanical" passages "torn from" their connection. Then we come to "startling instances" of the "statistical phantasy of the Jews which revels in vast sums of money on paper, in artificial marshallings of names and numbers<sup>1</sup> in enumeration of subjects without predicates which simply stand on parade, and neither signify nor do anything." We are bid to try to read chapters "the monotony of which is," however, "broken" occasionally by "unctuous phrases." It is unfortunate, perhaps, for the books of Chronicles, that they were not written to please a German critic in the nineteenth century. They were written in the spirit of their own age, in which things may now be regarded as uninteresting were not so regarded. It is a question whether the books of Chronicles would have been so roughly handled if they had not had the misfortune to contradict so flatly the doctrines which Wellhausen and his school are so anxious to disseminate.

Wellhausen has another fling at Chronicles because it does not dwell on the inglorious facts which sullied the conclusion of Solomon's reign. After this he becomes quite calm, if perhaps a little patronizing. The "legendary anachronisms and exaggerations beside" are indulgently dismissed as "harmless." He even admits (p. 223) that the author may have produced his picture from "documents that lay before him." But then so much the worse for the documents. Their contents do not please Wellhausen, and therefore their historical credibility is called in question. The various works, seventeen in number, cited in Chronicles, have been "shown by Bertheau and others" to be one book under different names. A "*propheta eponymus*" has been found for each section. How this can be proved, as Hooker would have said, "doth not immediately appear." We are not allowed even a sketch of Bertheau's conclusive arguments. If we want to know what they are, we must resort to Bertheau for them. It is a little hard upon us, in matters of such importance, to be compelled to run the gauntlet of baseless assumptions and unproved assertions in this way. If the distinct statements of our historic authorities are to be thus con-

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<sup>1</sup> We might ask whether Wellhausen has by any chance ever heard of similar and yet more uninteresting lists on the Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian monuments? A little more familiarity than his writings display with the facts of contemporary history would entitle him to more respect as a historical critic.

temptuously set aside, it would be a little more respectful to their readers if the critics would condescend to tell them why, instead of telling them that someone else had "shown" that it was the case. But if a plausible case can be made out, that is quite enough for our author. Chronicles conflicts with his theory, and therefore is to be discredited. Bertheau has endeavoured to disparage the authorities which the author of the books of Chronicles tells us he has consulted. What needs more? When the critic speaks, there is no appeal. One book must, when he pleases, be resolved into six or seven sources, or seventeen sources must at his bidding be fused into one.

It is not intended to deny that Wellhausen states well and ably the discrepancies between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, and that he handles with much ingenuity and keenness the argument from the silence of the earlier narratives in regard to the observance of the Mosaic Law. But as this silence involves the observance of the Sabbath, and as such observance forms part of that "original form" of the Ten Commandments, which are admitted on all hands to have been given by Moses, his arguments can hardly be regarded as decisive. But in the few illustrations which have here been given of the scope and tendency of his book no injustice has been done to him. Occasionally, as has been said, one meets with solid argument and a fair and even striking statement of difficulties. But these are by no means the staple of his matter; the book literally bristles with unproved assertions, and this on a question in which, more than any other, it is impossible that assertion can be taken by earnest-minded men in the place of proof. The matter, however, may safely be left to the judgment of the public at large.

If any man of ordinary judgment and capacity is disposed—and many such men are at present so disposed—to accept the new criticism on the ground of the "general agreement of scholars," we should recommend him, before doing so, to study carefully the writings of Wellhausen. He will then be able to appreciate the methods by which this agreement is reached, and to rate them at their proper value. For the sake of those who have not time for this, we have given some specimens of his mode of dealing with the sacred record. They are, as has been said, a fair and honest sample of the whole. Why so strange combination of submissiveness to authority and devotion to fashion should have laid hold of so many of our leading Hebraists it is impossible to say. But the question is one for sensible men to decide. It does not rest with the devotees to a theory. And if sensible and unprejudiced Englishmen shall be found, after examination, to accept the dicta of a critic like Wellhausen, it will be one of the most remarkable events in a century of surprises.

J. J. LIAS.

## ART. II.—THE SERVANT OF CHRIST.

## No. IV.—DUTY.

IF I were asked what was the most striking characteristic of the best kind of Englishmen, I should reply, without hesitation, that it is the faculty of doing their duty. I do not for a moment mean that the idea is peculiar to them. Wherever the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ is at all understood, there implicit obedience to an enlightened conscience has grown as naturally as the flowers spring from the earth. And I do not forget that in the third century before our era there flourished at Athens the celebrated philosophers of the Porch, who taught the noble and Christian doctrine that the supreme end of life, or the highest good of all for man is virtue, and that virtue is a life conformed to the true ideal of nature—the agreement of a man's conduct with the all-controlling law of his being, of the human will with the Divine. There is much to admire, to study and to imitate in the moral teaching of the philosophers of the Porch. The names of Zeno and Cleanthes, of Seneca, Epictetus, and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, are justly immortal. But these high and pure thinkers had to discover for themselves what was this desirable agreement between a man's conduct and the all-controlling law of his being of which they spoke; and about that they were not always united. They had to decide for themselves what was the will of God, and their ideas were frequently hard, austere and impracticable. And the motives which they could offer to men as a reason for following the exalted ideal which they had framed were sometimes not enough to convince even themselves. They never largely influenced mankind. The later of their teachers had to make the lamentable confession that no individual corresponded fully with their ideal, and that in fact it was only possible to discriminate between fools and those who were advancing towards wisdom.

Altogether different is the position of the servant of Christ in the field of morals. He has not only revealed to him by the will of God a set of precepts and instructions which are at once the sublimest and the simplest which ever were given to man, containing in themselves the wisdom of all times and all good men, but he has the complete picture of how they can be practised and brought to perfection in the human life of the Son of God. He has, further, the true motive for following them, and the power of Divine grace, such as never before was given to mortal men, to carry them out into daily life. He has not to ask from whence it is that he obtains his idea of obligation, nor whether it has grown up in him as a hereditary influence through the progressive moral training of

his ancestors, nor what are its limits, its extent, its sanction, its authority, its general principles or its particular laws. "The righteousness which is of faith speaketh in this wise: Say not in thine heart, 'Who shall ascend into heaven?' that is, to bring Christ down from above: or, 'Who shall descend into the deep?' that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead. But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach." In becoming a Christian he has acknowledged once for all that there is a Divine Lawgiver, that He has revealed His law, that he is not merely bound to follow that law, but that by a living faith in the Son of God that law becomes implanted in his very heart of hearts, and is made actually his second nature. It is not enough for him to wish well, but he feels that by God's grace and by earnestly and humbly walking with Him, he can and will be led so far that not only will he be able to do what is right, but he will be unable willingly to do what is wrong.

Stern daughter of the voice of God!  
O Duty! if that name thou love,  
Who art a light to guide, a rod  
To check the erring, and reprove;  
Thou, who art victory and law  
When empty terrors overawe;  
From vain temptations dost set free,  
And calmst the weary strife of frail humanity!

Never was the absolute imperative of the moral law obeyed and illustrated with such completeness and perfection as in the life of our Lord Jesus Christ. "Wist ye not that I must be about My Father's business?" is the first recorded saying of the child of twelve years. The reason why He witnessed in His own person to the baptism of John was the same ideal: thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. In the early days of His ministry, when the people wished Him to stay with them, the unceasing impulse of duty would allow Him to take no rest: "I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: for therefore am I sent." "I must work the works of Him that sent Me": that was the absorbing spirit of His whole ministry. "The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again." That was the prospect which He had always before His eyes, and from which He never flinched. "I say unto you that this that is written must be accomplished in Me"; He was utterly prepared to bear in His own person all the awful signs of the Son of Man. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." It was before Him from the very beginning.

“Other sheep I have, them also I must bring.” That was His view of the whole human race. His whole life was one long sacrifice for their good. “Behold I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected: nevertheless, I must work to-day and to-morrow, and the day following.” That was the Divine beauty which, when He was lifted up, drew all men unto Him; “Who, in the days of His flesh, when He had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him from death, and was heard in that He feared; though He were a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things which He suffered; and being made perfect He became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey Him.”

It is because for three hundred years the revelation of God's will has been the chief education of our people in England and Scotland, nigh them, in their hands and hearts, that Duty has become so thoroughly an English idea, almost a characteristic English word. I do not believe that in any country of the world, up to the last twenty-two years, has the sense of glad, spontaneous and immediate obedience to an enlightened conscience, that noblest spur to the best seat of action, been so habitual and familiar as amongst our own countrymen. And never has the revealed will of God been so admirably and concisely summed up for plain practical simple men as in that priceless inheritance of the Reformation, the National Catechism, which until twenty-two years ago it was the birth-right of every English boy to learn. We should like to know the names of those fathers of the Church whose work has been such an inestimable blessing to their fellow-countrymen; but we can only guess. Bishop Goodrich, of Ely, was one of the Committee of Convocation by whom the first Prayer-Book of King Edward VI., in 1549 was prepared; and in his palace at Ely he placed two stone tablets, one inscribed with the “Duty to God,” the other with the “Duty to our Neighbour.” Of this part, therefore, it is not at all unlikely that Bishop Goodrich was the author. The names of Nowell, then a master in Westminster School, and of Poinet, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, have been associated with the name of Bishop Goodrich. At any rate, whoever the authors were, they were men formed by that glorious outpouring of the Spirit of God which passed, like a Divine gale, over Europe and Britain at the time of the Reformation, and filled them with its temper and wisdom. Happy the country of Scotland, which still maintains its own National Catechism undisturbed in its supremacy over the consciences of the people! Happy, until two and twenty years ago, the nation of the English also,

where, until the apple of discord was thrown amongst them in the irony of fate by one of the most well-meaning of statesmen, the vast and overwhelming majority of the children learned in their day-schools, as the very basis of all their other education, these noble and invaluable words, which remained with them to the very close of their lives, and which entered into their very being as an element of moral life never altogether to be overlaid: "What dost thou chiefly learn by these commandments? I learn two things: my duty towards God and my duty towards my neighbour. What is thy duty towards God? My duty towards God is to believe in Him, to fear Him, to love Him with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength; to worship Him, to give Him thanks, to put my whole trust in Him, to call upon Him, to honour His holy Name and His word, and to serve Him truly all the days of my life. What is thy duty towards thy neighbour? My duty towards my neighbour is to love him as myself, and to do to all men as I would that they should do unto me; to honour and obey the Queen, and all that are put in authority under her; to submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters; to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters; to hurt nobody by word or deed; to be true and just in all my dealing; to bear no malice nor hatred in my heart; to keep my hands from picking and stealing, and my tongue from evil speaking, lying and slandering; to keep my body in temperance, soberness and chastity; not to covet nor desire other men's goods, but to learn and labour truly to get my own living, and to do my duty in that state of life *unto which it shall please God to call me.*"<sup>1</sup> Wretched indeed the religious jealousy which could make a Christian nation discard these sublime and beautiful sentences from the public teaching of their children! Miserable indeed the quarrel which permits the Bible certainly to be read, but allows no summary of its inspiring lessons to be stored in the minds of our restless, bright-eyed boys and girls, to be their safeguard against all the moral perplexities and dangers of modern life! Never were words put together better calculated to unite the citizens of a commonwealth in one healthy organism, or to secure the personal peace and prosperity of each individual of its members. Those who should follow out in their fullest meaning these wise counsels will be in the best sense of the word gentlemen. They are a faithful and extended echo of the vigorous epitome given by King Solomon in the days of

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<sup>1</sup> I have placed these words in italics, because they are so constantly misquoted by the political enemies of the Church, as if they ran "unto which it *hath* pleased God to call me."

inspiration, after his survey of human life; "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." Alas! that to nearly half the children of England, and more than 400,000 of the children of London, the privilege is now denied of learning those duties in this inimitable language; and that unless they chance to gain that knowledge in Sunday-schools, which we have reason to fear are, for the most part, a very poor substitute, it lies at the discretion of their teachers whether they become acquainted at all with the virtues and obligations of the Christian life, or are baldly taught the mere facts and narratives of Holy Scripture! Can we wonder that during the last twenty years the sense of duty amongst the younger generation of Englishmen seems weakened in all classes, and that more than ever now devote themselves instead to the pursuit of pleasure and of self-aggrandisement? "There are persons," wrote Thomas Hood, "who have so far outgrown their catechism as to believe that their only duty is to themselves." By how many do you think that he would have to multiply his estimate at the present day? We can but hope that some of them at least may be as those described by the charitable spirit of Wordsworth:

There are who ask not if Thine eye  
Be on them; who, in love and truth  
Where no misgiving is, rely  
Upon the genial sense of youth:  
Glad hearts! without reproach or blot,  
Who do Thy work, and know it not:  
Oh! if, through confidence misplaced,  
They fail, Thy saving arms, dread Power, around them cast!

It is with the moral welfare of our own country that we are chiefly concerned, and we are not called upon to criticise our neighbours. But we cannot but notice, as perhaps the dawn of a new day for France, the name of the newspaper published by the Familistère of Guise, that great co-operative society in which 450 families of workmen are banded together in the pursuits of peaceful industry, living in a magnificent building, which is named, and rightly, the Palais Social, and, under the direction of their great-hearted employer, Monsieur Godin, building up a grand industrial commonwealth, all of which will probably, in the course of three years, be their own property. What is the name of this little newspaper? What is the signal of this brotherly union which would abolish the struggle between capital and labour? They call it *Le Devoir*—Duty. That is the master-word of the enterprise and of the civilization of which it is the herald. That is the word which we long to hear "above all the strife and fury of these stormy days; a word at whose bidding, when once it is clearly

spoken," and conscientiously and intelligently understood, "the angry waves of social strife will sink to a great calm." That is the feeling of our greatest British writers, trained in the good old school which made Britain at one time the noblest of nations. "Duty is the same thing as happiness," said a learned Scottish physician. "Perish discretion whenever it interferes with duty," was the fine saying of Hannah More, the English poetess and moralist. "Duty is the sublimest word in the English language," said the famous American confederate commander, General Lee. And it was the English humourist, Douglas Jerrold, who said, in words that multitudes have found true without being able to express the truth, that our duty, though it is set about with thorns, may still be made a staff, supporting even while it torments.

Each day its duty brings. The undone task  
Of yesterday cannot be now fulfilled  
Without some current work's displacement. Time  
And tide will wait for none. Then let us act  
So that they need not wait, and keep abreast  
With them by the discharge of each day's claim ;  
For each new dawn, like a prolific tree,  
Blossoms with blessings and with duties, which  
So interwoven grow, that he who shirks  
The latter, fails the first. You cannot pick  
The dainty, and refuse the task. To win  
The smile of Him who did His Father's will  
In the great work assigned Him while 'twas day,  
With love self-sacrificing, His high course  
We must, with prayerful footsteps, imitate ;  
And, knowing not what one day may bring forth,  
Live so that death, come when he may, shall find  
Us not defaulters in arrears with Time,  
Mourning like Titus : I have lost a day !  
But busily engaged on something which  
Shall cast a blessing on the world, rebound  
With one to our own breasts, and tend to give  
To man some benefit, to God some praise.

The servant of Christ is not called upon, perhaps, to do heroic things. But, if we wish to regenerate England, the best way is to begin in our own hearts, in our own homes. It is wonderful how eager many people are in the present day to make other people do their duty. It is the fashion of the hour. We have whole armies of inspectors, and regenerators, and officials, and authorities, the business of each of whom it is to look after their neighbours in this point or in that. But it is not every man who quietly goes about to do his own work as thoroughly as it can be done. If each one of us ourselves were to be content to do the duty that lies nearest to us, and were punctual and careful at any cost to fulfil it, for no conceivable enticements of friends or pleasures to let

it pass, that would go far to make our place and day a praise in the earth. "It is an impressive truth," said a wise and acute writer, De Quincey, "that sometimes in the very lowest forms of duty there is the sublimest accent of self-sacrifice; to do less would class you as an object of eternal scorn; to do so much presumes the grandeur of heroism." "Let him," says our uncompromising Scottish moralist, Carlyle, "who gropes painfully in darkness or in uncertain light, and prays vehemently that the dawn may ripen into day, lay this precept well to heart: Do the duty which lies nearest thee, which thou knowest to be a duty; thy second duty will already have become clearer." "The true hero," says another, "is the great wise man of duty; he whose soul is armed by truth, and supported by the smile of God; he who meets life's perils with a cautious but tranquil spirit, gathers strength by facing its storms, and dies, if he is called to die, as a Christian victor at the post of duty."

I sought to do some mighty act of good  
 That I might prove how well my soul had striven.  
 I waited, while the days and hours passed by,  
 Yet bore no incense of my deed to heaven.  
 Sad, without hope, I watched the falling rain:  
 One drop alone could not refresh the tree,  
 But drop on drop, till from its deepest root  
 The giant oak drank life and liberty.  
 Refreshed, like nature, I arose to try  
 And do the duty which should nearest lie:—  
 And, 'ere I knew my work was half begun,  
 The noble deed I sought in vain was done!

Ah! what difficulties and sorrows should we all spare ourselves if we could determine once for all never to neglect the present duty for one which is perhaps after all nothing of the kind, but only some pleasant task or occupation delightful to our own taste or ambition, and chosen by ourselves. Weary we may often grow of our obligations, but they are ours, and with them nothing else can legitimately compete. I think very little of the man who undertakes a duty, shirks it, cools in his ardour, and leaves it to others. For such there is no excuse. For such there can be no respect. "In every profession the daily and common duties are the most useful, the most important, the only duties which really press." "Let this day's performance of the meanest duty be thy religion."

There are some to whom life seems empty and purposeless; who wake nerveless in the morning, and saunter through the golden hours, and sink to sleep at night with no consciousness of a design accomplished, or a deed achieved; but merely with the burdensome deadening sense of time killed and amusements pursued which ever flit away in tantalizing unreality.

Ah! what an aching heart is often theirs! What mischiefs and sins have made their way into their life because its energies were unoccupied with healthy useful aims! What a future of remorse are they preparing for themselves when some day the clouds shall be rolled away from their past history, and with eyes hot with shame and anguish they will see all that they might have done, and all that they have neglected! If they would but turn with all their heart to their Father in heaven, and cry to Him to strengthen their faith, and kindle their conscience, and give them the firm resolve, and the quick unflinching performance, and the steady perseverance that flags not, and the calm brave eye that looks fervently and with unswerving directness to the goal of glory, the experiment would bring its own proof.

Serene will be our days and bright  
 And happy will our nature be,  
 When love is an unerring light,  
 And joy its own security.

And they a blissful course may hold  
 Even now, who, not unwisely bold,  
 Live in the spirit of this creed ;

Yet seek Thy firm support, according to their need.

I, loving freedom, and untried,  
 No sport of every random gust,  
 Yet being to myself a guide,  
 Too blindly have reposed my trust :  
 And oft, when in my heart was heard  
 Thy timely mandate, I deferred  
 The task, in smoother walks to stray,

But Thee I now would serve more strictly, if I may.

Through no disturbance in my soul,  
 Or strong compunction in me wrought,  
 I supplicate for Thy control,

*But in the quietness of thought.*

Me this unchartered freedom tires,  
 I feel the weight of chance desires :  
 My hopes no more must change their name,

I long for a repose that ever is the same.

Stern Lawgiver ! yet Thou dost wear  
 The Godhead's most benignant grace ;  
 Nor know we anything so fair

As is the smile upon Thy face ;  
 Flowers laugh before Thee on their beds,  
 And fragrance in Thy footing treads ;  
 Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,

And the most ancient heavens through Thee are fresh and strong !

To humbler functions, awful Power,  
 I call Thee : I myself commend  
 Unto Thy guidance from this hour ;  
 Oh, let my weakness have an end !

Give unto me—made lowly, wise—  
 The spirit of self-sacrifice ;  
 The confidence of reason give,  
 And in the light of truth Thy bondman let me live !

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

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ART. III.—DIFFICULTIES IN ACCEPTING THE NEW  
 PENTATEUCHAL THEORY.

THE position combated in the following remarks is that which assigns "the Middle Pentateuch," including most of Exodus after chap. xxiii., with nearly all Leviticus and Numbers, to the authorship of a committee of Jewish priests during the Captivity, and the first promulgation of this Babylonian novel matter to the "priest and scribe" Ezra in 444 B.C.

The first and most obvious comment upon such a theory is that the entire directions for the construction of the Tabernacle and its furniture, and the narrative of their fulfilment in Exod. xxv.-xxxi., and xxxv.-xl., would be, according to this theory, drawn up (450 to 500 B.C.) about 500 years *after* any realization of those objects had become impossible by the completion of Solomon's Temple, dedicated *circa* 1005 B.C. These directions and their fulfilment are given with such precision of plan and minuteness of detail that various schemes of the area, elevation, and sections recorded have been drawn by measurement. According to our critics, the "Tent of Meeting" either never existed at all, or was something far more rude and simple. *The* Tabernacle as described in Exod. xxxv.-xl. none of them will allow. It had by their verdict no place in the past; it was *ex-hypothesi* impossible in the future, when the council of priests in Babylon took in hand to design what it *should* have been. It had been impossible, not only ever since Solomon's time, but probably ever since Joshua's settlement set up the Tabernacle at Shiloh, converting what had been movable into a permanent erection, with probably such modifications as the case required.<sup>1</sup>

That any tradition of such preciseness in details as would enable the priests to adjust according to it every board, pillar, socket, curtain, and pin, could have descended orally through all the ages from the time of Joshua to that of the exile—a thousand years in round numbers—is more than the most

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<sup>1</sup> In 1 Chron. i. 3 we read that at Gibeon "was the tent of meeting of God, which Moses the servant of Jehovah had made in the wilderness." No doubt this may have been in some effectually representative sense true, as by incorporation of the more solid and stable materials of the older structure in some later one, or the like.

robust believers in traditional possibility would probably venture to claim. To call in inspiration to supplement the defect of tradition would be unreasonable. It is hardly possible to state with sufficient reverence a supposition that the Holy Spirit should have moved men to describe with elaborate exactness what had become antiquated and outside the sphere of the possible for a thousand years. Besides, if inspiration be admitted, how much simpler and easier to admit it at the fountain-head than all this long way down the stream. Better, surely, accept the tradition of the "Pattern showed in the mount," of Bezaleel and Oholiab divinely qualified to embody it, than assume the gift of seers *ex post facto* bestowed on priests of the Captivity for a fabrication thus belated by a millennium.

Whether, then, such a Tabernacle had existed or not in the Exodus period, is there not a gratuitous childishness in supposing thus, a millennium after date, the priestly conclave to commence their study of the impossible, and carry it out with an antiquarian pedantry of minuteness worthy of Swift's Laputians?

Nearly the same remarks apply to the census enumerations ordered by Moses (Num. i. and xxvi.), and to the tribal organization of the host in its wilderness encampments and marchings. To those who reject the tradition of a record contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the facts, the gap of about 1,000 years is fatal to all authority whatever for these details.<sup>1</sup> They must necessarily be rejected as either mere invention, or a calculation founded, so far as the numbers given are concerned, upon *data* which it was utterly impossible to verify at the period of the Exile, and *a fortiori* at any period since.

But there is one item of the enumerations in Num. i. and xxvi. worthy of special notice. The totals of the Levites in those chapters are 22,000 and 23,000 respectively. In the return under Nehemiah over 4,000 priests are reckoned, and, at the greatest number mentioned, less than 400 Levites.<sup>2</sup> Of course, in the totals of Numbers the priests of Aaron's house are included, but these, being the children and grandchildren of one man then living, or only lately dead, would be inconsiderable. Ezra himself records his finding at his first review of his own company "none of the sons of Levi" (Ezra viii. 15), and how an urgent message, sent back by him to "the place Casiphia," procured two detachments of only thirty-eight in all (vers. 17-19); whereas the Nethinim joined him at the same summons to the number of 220 (ver. 20). On the historical

<sup>1</sup> The same remark will apply to the totals given in Num. xxxi. 32-54.

<sup>2</sup> The total, including singers and porters, given in Neh. vii. 43, is 360; without these latter classes it is 74 only; cf. xii. 1-8.

reasons to account for this slender representation of the Levites in the Return we need not now speculate. There are the figures; and the contrast which they offer to those ascribed to the wilderness period is highly significant. The drop down would tell a tale *prima facie* of the worst omen for the leaders of the Return, exposing, as it must do, either the enormous attenuation of the sacred tribe, or its practical desertion of the restored hope of Israel. Such a dwindled remnant, or such a scanty support, would alike discourage the patriot Israelite and scandalize the Persian patron. But the ignoble present fact was beyond their power to alter. Ezra seems to have felt the stigma, made an effort to efface it, and failed, as aforesaid. The numbers of the past were, according to the critics' theory, *within* their power—nay, must have been their own device in conclave. What was to hinder them from altering or wholly suppressing those olden totals? It seems incredible that on that theory they could have been let stand. The fact that they stand there can only be explained by their being an authentic item in a sacred record; and this fact goes far to establish the traditional character of that record as a whole.

To assume, with these facts before us, the priestly committee to be such archæological bigots as to spend such minute care in elaborating "a past which had never been present" strains all the probabilities of human conduct so severely, that we ought to have clear historical proof of such a fact before we accept it. Instead of this we have a string of critical surmises founded chiefly on verbal criteria of style, and resting largely on negative evidence, so far as on evidence at all, and on assumptions regarding usages and periods all more or less debatable. But further, the figures of the Levitical census tell so adversely to the interests of the priests credited with concocting them, that we may, on the contrary, say that the theory is at this point *against* the evidence; since nothing but an imprescriptable authority in the record would have induced priests so circumstanced to accept them.

But further, the facts of the Return claim our consideration. It will be seen that their evidence, as far as it goes, is against the notion of a law first promulgated as a whole by Ezra, and to the extent of about two-thirds of its bulk of then recent origin.<sup>1</sup> It is not the priests, according to Nehemiah, who suggest, but the people who call for the law. "They spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses which Jehovah had commanded to Israel" (Neh. viii. 1). The eager attention of the people and their devotional attitude are

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<sup>1</sup> Reckoning, that is, from where the legislative portion may be said to begin, in the ordinance of the passover at Exod. xii., onwards to the end of Deuteronomy.

described with marked emphasis (vers. 3, 5-8). Interpreters are also needed who "gave the sense," marking the fact that the venerable language of the record had become antiquated; and that, on the theory of the critics, the priestly concocters had, of course, studiously cast the whole into a tongue patriarchal and obsolete. It is implied in this that, had the law been promulgated in the vernacular, it would have been at once detected as a later fabrication. On the second day the congregation hear the special ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles enjoined, and proceed to keep it in its duly peculiar form, which it had missed, as Nehemiah states (ver. 17), "since the days of Joshua the son of Nun." Here again we have a note of genuineness. The temptation to ascribe due celebrations to David or to Solomon's early reign would have been great if some over-ruling truth had not set aside such a notion.<sup>1</sup> But the truth of this tradition tends further to confirm the truth of the larger tradition concerning Moses' law and the substantial identity of it with that known to and rehearsed by Ezra.

Yet more, the earliest band of returning exiles under Zerubabel proceed to practise the law with a thorough knowledge, it seems, of its provisions, so far as altar, sacrifice, and ritual are concerned (Ezra iii. 3-6, and also vi. 19-22). Seventy or more years, therefore, before its promulgation by Ezra, in 444 A.D., this portion, at any rate, of the law was *in viridi observantia*. Further yet, Artaxerxes the king knows of the existence of some such law, addresses Ezra as "the Scribe of" it, and as going by royal commission to Jerusalem "with it in his hand." Six times, in this letter of fifteen verses long, is this law referred to expressly or by implication; considerable stress is laid on the teaching it, and severe penalties threatened for its neglect (Ezra vii. 12, 14, 21, 23, 25, 26). The close relation between "the House of the God of heaven" and the "law of 'that' God" is also known; the status of its ministers recognised, and valuable exemptions conferred upon them by the King of Persia. Ezra's description of himself is that of a mere functionary of the law and of Jehovah its Author. "He was a ready scribe in the law of Moses which Jehovah the God of Israel had given" (*ib.*, 6, 10). "That is to say," is the comment of the critics, "he was a ready tool of a party of priests who had carefully concocted the larger part of it in Babylon, had imposed its acceptance successfully on Artaxerxes, and were about to do the same on their own people." Thus it is necessary to overlook, falsify or garble the evidence, disparage the

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<sup>1</sup> The celebration recorded Ezra iii. 4 we must thus infer to have lacked this peculiar feature, and in this limited sense the non-celebration since Joshua's time must probably be understood.

simple candour of Ezra and the high-minded patriotism of Nehemiah, who, it should be remembered, is a layman and not a priest; and to represent all parties, from Artaxerxes downwards, as either conspirators, or tools, or dupes.

Difficulties grow thick and fast in the path of the theory as we thus peruse the narrative of the Return. We have seen how from the second year of Cyrus to the seventh of Artaxerxes, from the earliest practice of a ritual by the yet unhoused settlers, to the time when Ezra stood "before the Water-Gate" on his "pulpit of wood," and read it in their ears, we have glimpses of a knowledge of this law all along. That the belief, practice, and expectation was that of *one* distinct thing, and the promulgation, to the extent of about two-thirds, that of *another*, and that no one detected or even suspected the difference, is what we are asked to believe.

But a yet graver difficulty remains than all the above put together. Ezra is merely supposed the mouth-piece of the priestly party. He could not have succeeded—nor is it suggested that he did, by individual authority, succeed—in composing the "Middle Pentateuch" and procuring its acceptance. He had a strong detachment of priests with him, as shown above. To all these the recent manufacture of this large part of the law must have been an open secret. The high priest and his immediate circle must all have been, if not parties to it, at least, accessories after the fact. One of the earliest troubles of Nehemiah's administration arose from the complicity of Eliashib, the high priest, with Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh. iv. 1-9, xiii. 4-8, 28), now a leader of those "adversaries" who had caused trouble and delay in the early days of the Return (Ezra iv.). The story of their resentful animosity at their aid proffered and rejected is too well known to need more than a reference here (Ezra iv. 1-6, Neh. iv., vi.).

But the trouble which stirred most deeply the heart of the restored community arose from the alliances imprudently formed with these externs. Nehemiah resolves to cut down to the root of the evil. Those alliances must be renounced, or those who retain them cease to be citizens of Israel. Among those who accept the latter alternative is a grandson of the high priest himself—and we cannot suppose that he was the only one who did so—who had become "son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite." "Therefore I chased him from me," says Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 28, cf. vi. 17, 18). The course pursued would obviously intensify the enmity pre-existing. The Samaritan and hostile alien community would feel keenly the disgrace put upon them by this uncompromising policy. But their faction was strengthened by the active sympathy of the high priest himself through his intimacy, as above, with Tobiah, and

yet more powerfully and recently by his close affinity, through his grandson, with Sanballat. Thus, the leaders of the priestly circle are wholly in mutual confidence with those whose pride had been wounded and their domestic feelings outraged, in avowed compliance with the requirements of the Mosaic law. But these priestly leaders of the renegades know all about the Babylonish recent origin of the larger part of that law. They are supposed to remain faithful to the secret which forms the very corner-stone of that newly-returned community, with whose avowed and embittered enemies they had cast in their lot and cemented alliances. The divulgence of that secret would have enabled them at once to explode that corner-stone and effectively expose Ezra as either an impostor or the tool of impostors. That explosion would have shattered effectively Nehemiah's last hope of restoring the fortunes of Israel. Eliashib and his family would have been able to pose as the champions of ancient purity of text against modern concoctions, to denounce Ezra and Nehemiah to Artaxerxes himself as fabricators acting largely in the interests of a priestly oligarchy, and as tamperers with that "law of the God of Israel" on the teaching and maintenance of which the royal letter had laid such stress. With this all-powerful weapon thus ready to hand, and every inducement which faction, self-interest and angry feeling could furnish to the unscrupulous use of it, they are supposed not only to leave it unused, but actually—so we must suppose—to throw their influence into the opposite scale of *acceptance of the fabrication*.

For that the Samaritans took over the Pentateuch substantially as a whole, and as we and the Jews have it still, is absolutely as certain as history can make a fact. There are, of course, a swarm of errors of translation or transcription, and some probably arising from the garbling of the text to suit their own views and *status*. But these appear to be impartially distributed over the whole, at any rate, to be no more numerous proportionately in the "Middle Pentateuch" than in the other portions. Led by their estimate of the acrimony which so early arose between the Jews and these "adversaries," as probably fatal to any adoption of the Pentateuch at the time of the Return, some critics have supposed that that adoption took place far earlier, under the influence of the priest who, at the command of the King of Assyria, "came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them" (the newly-imported Samaritan population) "how they should fear Jehovah" (2 Kings xvii. 26-28; cf. Ezra iv. 2). But, then, what becomes of the theory of a Babylonish priestly concoction? But if that were not so—and its probability seems but slight—it remains that, finding Ezra *in flagrante delicto*, with the

newly-fabricated law in his hand, and knowing all about its origin and history from those whose first object it must have been to apprise them of it, they took it over from him without a murmur of suspicion, adopted it as theirs, and built it in also as the corner-stone of their own system! It will be observed further that those who knew best the inner history of this new codicil to Moses' law—in bulk so far exceeding the original instrument—were precisely those who had the strongest interest in letting its facts be known; further, that with all the intense animosity usually felt by renegades against the cause they have deserted, they united the influential position of being the natural guides—practically omnipotent on such questions at the moment—of those whom they had joined. What could Sanballat, Tobiah, and the rest of the aliens know of the Mosaic canon, as compared with such trained professional experts as the actual high priest, his kin, and their followers? Under that influence they must have acted; through them alone could they even procure the necessary copy or copies. To those whose every interest would have lain in impeaching the newly-enlarged canon, had impeachment been possible, they must have looked for counsel in the crisis, and under that counsel have accepted the whole, priestly supplement and all.

Thus Samaritan and Jew, differing implacably in everything else, agree in the equal acceptance of the whole Pentateuch. It seems to be an irrefragable conclusion that nothing but a sense *on both sides* of its being what it claims to be, the veritable charter of Israel, a document of antiquity which none could question, and authority which none could impugn, could ever have brought that agreement about. On the higher critical view of its origin, the Samaritans' acceptance of it would have been, as if the Eastern Church had accepted the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and given them a place of incorporation with the Apostolic Constitutions.

But further, the jealousy, ill-will and resentment, instead of abating, went on, we know, growing like a debt, gathering interest from age to age, until it hardened into that bitterness of estrangement and rancorous animosity which made Jew and Samaritan a proverb among all nations through all ages for the *odium theologicum*. If to receive a law known to be so largely fabricated anew was impossible in the days of Ezra, it would not be facilitated among the inheritors of that enmity which the era of Nehemiah bequeathed to both parties. It would, in fact, be less and less easy to bridge the gulf, as time widened and deepened it; say in the times either of Jaddua, of Onias, or of John Hyrcanus.

Thus with any special difficulties arising from the precise date of the Samaritan Pentateuch we need not concern ourselves. Its literary history and, indeed, the critical knowledge of its text are, and may probably be for some time, among the *valde desiderata* of Biblical scholarship. But until the "higher criticism" can dispose of the fact of its existence, that fact must fatally bar the acceptance of this cherished theory of the Babylonish origin of the "Middle Pentateuch."

Such are the "camels" which that "criticism" calls on its votaries to swallow, while straining out the gnats and microbes of a discrepancy here, a suspected omission there, a difference of style, diction and "presentment" between passages and sections as they stand in the context. These enormous difficulties pointed out above rest, on the contrary, on broad, solid grounds of history and of human motive, of which the merest tiro in Hebraistic minutiae can easily judge. *Verborum minutis rerum frangunt pondera* is, in fact, exactly descriptive of the attitude of these higher critics. I would add that they seem, in particular, wholly insensible to the grand, impressive, and unique personality of Moses himself, which has stamped itself more especially on the utterances ascribed to him in Deuteronomy, imparting a character of wholeness, consistency and antiquity to nearly the entire Book, as the last thoughts of a great mind, the last acts of a great leader. That personality is one which it seems to be morally impossible to ascribe to the middle or later monarchy. But on this wide theme I have no space further to dilate at present.

I may remind those who are startled at the inconsistencies, tokens of accretion and traces of later handling, which the sacred books contain, that from Moses to Malachi, and perhaps even later, a gift of inspiration adequate for its purpose is believed to have prevailed. Its purpose at the moment may have been to supplement, to modify, to antiquate and adapt to successive stages of development, the laws as originally given. Thus over and over again the various portions of the Pentateuch may have incurred competent revision, and every successive editor may have left his mark upon each or upon some. To assume that the Law, once given, sufficed for the changeful needs of all ages after it, would be to assume a miracle more startling than any recorded in Holy Scripture. The process seems to me to have been not to cancel, but to add corrective provisions, under competent authority, from age to age. But there came later and baser ages, when the will of the monarch suspended or effaced the action of all law, trampled on the charter of Israel, and led the way to idolatrous apostasy. This may have caused irremediable mutilation or capricious dis-

placement, perhaps involving subsequent attempts to remedy lost parts by imperfect recollection.

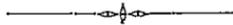
But I wish to add a word on the internal evidence, which yields a strong argument against ascribing the "Middle Pentateuch" to a priests' committee of the Captivity. They would have had ample leisure for arranging whatever material pre-existed, and the best knowledge which the age could furnish for supplementing its defects and applying to the whole the elementary principles of digestive jurisprudence. A system of regulative law, put forth, as we must assume theirs would have been, to guide the restored community to which they looked forward, should show some features of plan, symmetry, and orderly sequence. What we are told to regard as the "Priestly Code" is conspicuously defective in these qualities. Take as a sample the book of Leviticus, as the best compacted portion of the whole, and including the smallest amount of the historical element. On looking at the larger members of this dislocated *corpus iuris*, we seem to see an attempt at method, too soon abandoned and forgotten in the result as we have it. Chaps. xviii.-xxvi. have a distinct character, and perhaps contain the perplexed elements of a code of their own, to which, from certain fixed phrases of frequent recurrence, the title of "the Law of Holiness" has been given.<sup>1</sup> I cannot now pause to analyze it, but will cull a sample briefly. If chaps. xxiii. and xxv. were consecutive we should have in them a fairly complete summary of the rules of holy times and seasons. But they are divorced from coherence by xxiv., which is again itself incoherent, beginning with the sanctuary, lamps, oil, etc., and then branching off into blasphemy, with a *lex talionis* imbedded. Look next at the distribution of the laws on any one subject, that, *e.g.*, of vows, involving one of the oldest religious ideas to be found in patriarchal history (Gen. xxviii. 22). In Leviticus we find three widely dissevered sections of ordinance dealing with it, *viz.*, vii. 16, xxii. 18-23, and xxvii. But these are far from completing the subject, as treated in the "Middle Pentateuch." We must include two sections, again far apart, from Numbers, xv. 3, 8, and all xxx., to get a complete view of it. And so throughout each section, or each subject, take which you will. The sections are presented piecemeal, the subjects sporadically. Repetitions, digressions, retractations, abrupt transitions, dismembered fragments, wedge-like insertions are not the exception but the rule. This interspersed and fragmentary character distinguishes the Hebrew from all known coacervations of law. To call it a "code" is not a happy

<sup>1</sup> The same phrases, however, or others closely similar, occur also ch. xi. 44, 45, Ex. xxix. 45, 46.

thought, codification being the one element absolutely wanting.

If two-thirds of the legislation had been of Babylonian device, who can doubt that the priestly conclave would have smoothed away the inconsistencies, etc., noticed above, and given us a work harmonized and adjusted in all its parts? On the other hand, suppose the laws delivered at first *pro re nata*, a new occasion of fact making a call for a new departure on the legislator's part every month or even week; suppose that, as in Lev. xxiv. 10 foll., the case of an actual blasphemer called forth the law thereto relating, and, as in Num. xv. 32 foll., the case of an actual Sabbath-breaker drew down the capital sentence; so, generally, the unforeseen always happening, the legislation followed the facts and grew with the miscellaneous inequality of a community's requirements; and then suppose later legislators introducing their own provisions to limit, alter, modify, develop, and supplement, as aforesaid, and we can account, I think, for all the non-codistic features of the Mosaic Law. But the notion of a council of legislative priests during the Exile, or at the Return, producing *de novo* such a tangled mass, shot through in every direction with perpetual new departures, bids defiance to all reasonable probability. Let the venerable books tell their own simple story and show legislation springing from occasion and circumstance, and then, with the due allowance for after-growth, all this difficulty seems explicable. It is here, as in regard to the historical features above noticed, the theory of the critics which not solves but starts the gravest difficulty of all. Those who will have a "Priestly Code" in the Middle Pentateuch, formulated during the Exile, and sprung upon the people at the Return, must not only explode history to make way for their theory, but must suppose subverted the primary instincts of order which govern the human mind, precisely at the time when it was most necessary that they should be present and paramount.

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.



ART. IV.—NOTES AND COMMENTS ON JOHN XX.

No. V.

OUR last study brought us to the close of the account of the interview of Mary Magdalene with the risen Lord. In a passage so conspicuously rich in treasures of grace and truth, I make no apology for leaving some points quite untouched. But on two main points, which were touched

in some sort last month, so little was said that I offer some additional words upon them now, and at some length.

I refer to two topics given us by the utterance of the Lord Jesus in ver. 17: "*Do not touch Me, for I have not yet gone up to My Father. Go to My brethren, and say to them, I go up to My Father and your Father, and My God and your God.*"

I. The prohibition and command to Mary. I need not explain to my readers what difficulty this has presented to expositors. What was the touching? Why was it forbidden? What was the connection (observe the "for") between the "Touch Me not" and the "I have not yet gone up to My Father"? These questions have been very variously answered.

Yet we must be sure that the first meaning, however, must have been meant to be quite simple. Addressed to that loving disciple, in that moment of supreme emotion, the logic cannot have been recondite or involved in the blessed Speaker's purpose. In view of this, I incline to that explanation of the passage which connects as closely as possible the prohibition "Touch Me not," with the commission "Go to My brethren." We observe that the Greek verb is in the present, or continuing, imperative, not in the aorist subjunctive; μή μου ἅπτου, not μή μου ἅψη. Accordingly, by familiar laws of Greek usage, it conveys an order not to forbear touching Him *at all*, but to forbear a longer, a prolonged, touching. She is not to linger over it; it is enough; remove the hand which feels the sacred limb.

The verb ἅπτομαι occurs only here in St. John. But its general usage assures us that it indicates here nothing like clasping or clinging, as when the women (Matt. xxviii. 9) "held Him by the feet." It means no more than simple touching. It occurs, for example, where the Lord (Mark viii. 22) is asked to "touch" a blind man's eyes; and where the suffering woman (Matt. ix. 21) plans to "touch" just the fringe of His garment. Here Mary Magdalene may have just laid her hand, in felt contact and no more, on His foot, or on His hand; not clinging, not embracing, only *feeling*, as if to make certain that no vision, but the living LORD, was there. And it is this, then, which He thus gently checked. We cannot see in the prohibition, accordingly, anything like a reproof, as if she had taken a liberty, as if she had not been reverent enough. The thoughts familiarly associated with *noli me tangere*, as a quoted phrase, are quite out of place here.

May we not paraphrase the purport of the words of Jesus somewhat thus? "Do not linger here, touching Me, to ascertain My bodily reality, in the incredulity of your exceeding joy. I *am* in very fact before you, standing quite literally and

locally on this garden ground, not yet ascended to the heavens; you need not doubt, and ask, and test. And, moreover, there is another reason why not to linger thus; I have an errand for you, Mary. I desire you to go hence, and at once, for Me; to go to My brethren, and to tell them that I *am* about to go up thither; that I am in glorious fact risen, and therefore on My way to the throne; going to My Father and their Father, and My God and their God."

She might be sure that He was literally, and still, on earth; so she need not any longer touch Him. She was to carry the tidings to the disciples; so she must not any longer linger at His side.

Here, then, we may further trace, with thanksgiving, a lesson for all believers, for all and sundry who (Rom. x. 9; Heb. xiii. 20) "believe in the heart that the God of peace hath brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep." The lesson is, not to be too constantly and too anxiously tracing and retracing the evidence of the glorious fact of the Resurrection, vitally precious as that evidence is, and not to stay pondering and enjoying that fact for one's self only, and so, inevitably, with an imperfect realization; but to carry on to others the light and blessedness of the fact, of the truth, that He is "risen indeed," and ascended, too; saying to them (as He shall give occasion to the glad and ready messenger) both with lips and yet more with a life full of His resurrection-life: "I have seen the Lord; He is risen, He is ascended, and our life is hid with Him in God."

Beautiful it is to observe, in the Gospel narratives of Easter, this instant commission to *all* the newly enlightened disciples to tell to the rest, "as they mourned and wept," their glorious cause of joy, in simplicity, confidence, and love.

II. And now what *was* the message which Mary was to carry, and for which she was thus to leave the tangible presence of her risen Lord? Strange to say, it is the message of His approaching departure again. Not "I am come back," but "I am going away, I am going up."

Here is, indeed, a deeply spiritual aspect of the resurrection message. The return of the Lord Jesus bodily, for a season, to His people on earth, was much, unspeakably much, but it was not all; the Resurrection was the avenue to the Ascension. Or, to put it otherwise and perhaps in a safer way, as the blessed Death is seen in its comfort and glory only in the light of the Resurrection, so the Resurrection is fully seen in all its precious import only in the light of the Ascension. The Risen One is hastening on to His true place, the place of Rev. v. (where we are permitted

to see the Ascension, as it were, from its heavenly side); He is going to be the Lamb *upon the throne*. The finished work of His death and rising, what was it but the beginning of His continuing work of intercession? Let us not forget this in all our daily contemplation of, and intercourse with, our Lord; in our life in and on Him, who is at once our pardon, our power, and our holiness. After all, we are not so much to look back, as to look up, on Him who was crucified for us and rose again. His atonement is in one supreme aspect absolute, complete, never to be repeated. We rest on it as on "fact accomplished." We know that He did once, and now no more for ever, bear for us the unknown burthen of our guilt. But the application of His atonement, in some of its most precious aspects, is a thing incessant. Momentarily needed (for sin's prevention, as well as cure), it is momentarily applied to the believer's soul; it is free and efficacious each day and hour and moment, for our reception and possession and enjoyment:

His love intense, His merit fresh,  
As if but newly slain.

Our safety under that shelter, once given in covenant, is ever being given in actual mercy and truth; and so, too, is our fruition of the once-pledged gift of His Holy Spirit, that gift so profoundly connected (see Gal. iii. 13, 14) with our justification through the merits of the Crucified Jesus. And how do we joyfully know that this giving is thus continuous? We know it because Jesus Christ is not only risen, but ascended also. "It is Christ that died, yea, rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us." "He, by the right hand of God exalted, hath shed forth this."

The Epistle to the Hebrews, in its great picture of the Lord Jesus as the great High Priest, emphasizes this in a very remarkable way. The death, the precious blood, is everywhere in the Epistle; but it mentions the Resurrection only once (xiii. 20). The Resurrection, in the main argument, is merged in the Ascension; and this because the intercession of our Aaron-Melchizedek is essentially bound up with His Ascension. He intercedes "for ever" as "a Priest upon *His throne*." "When He had by Himself purged our sins, He *sat down* on the right hand of the Majesty on high" (i. 3; cp. iv. 14; vi. 20; vii. 25, 26; viii. 1; ix. 11, 12, 24; x. 12, 13; xii. 2, 24).

Thus the Ascension is, in deepest spiritual truth, the sum and crown of the work of Jesus Christ. Looking at it through the lens of Scripture, we see, gathered into one, the rays of the Cross and of the Resurrection, the atoning Work once and

for ever done, and the ceaseless Result, in the power of the Lord's endless life, ever flowing out, flowing down from Him who, as our Mediator and as our Head, ever liveth to make intercession for us; to receive for us, to give to us.

Thus, although that very evening He is going to visit His brethren, and fill them with the mingled natural and spiritual joys of His Resurrection, He sends on to them in advance the message of the coming joy, greater and wholly spiritual, of his Ascension. And note well the terms of the message: it is an Ascension not merely to heaven, but to a God and Father. And to what a God, what a Father! No mere Absolute or Supreme, no mere First Cause, unknown, perhaps, and unknowable, except as an antecedent Somewhat demanded by the logic of phenomena. Jesus Christ is going into the depths of the unseen universe; yet whither He goes we know, for we know to whom He goes. We have a double, nay, a quadruple description of *Him*, to fix and to fill our thought. *He* is Father, He is God, and He is each in two respects: first, in each case in relation to Jesus Christ, then in relation to His brethren. Here is a fourfold chain of truth, light and love by which the believing sinner, coming to the sinner's Friend, lays hold of nothing less than the throne, and of Him who sits thereon.

We observe, of course, and have all done so a hundred times, the fact that the chain is not double but quadruple: not "our Father and our God" (the Lord Jesus never speaks so; His nearest approach to it, and that is not really the same thing, occurs John iv. 22: "*we* know what *we* worship") but "Mine and yours" in each case. It is the same relation but predicated in different respects, when the Saviour and the disciple are respectively in view. Can we fail, in the whole light of Scripture, to see what the difference is? "*My* Father, as by eternal generation, ἀρχονος γέννησις; *your* Father, by adopting and regenerating grace in Me; *My* God, as by Paternal Deity, by relations within the Godhead, and also in the bright mystery of Incarnation; *your* God, as in covenant through Me; Mine, and so therefore yours, yours because Mine."

I cannot but touch, with reverence, on a truth implied in this passage, though not directly taught in it, the Filial aspect of the Godhead of Christ. I humbly conceive that the words, "My Father and My God," have as much to do with the Divine as with the Human nature of the Son. Christ is God; yes, in all the fulness of the word. He is eternal, necessary, uncreated, absolute in every sacred attribute; co-equal with the Father in "majesty, power and

eternity," blessed for ever. Yet He is the SON. He is, while God, Filial. Unbeginning, He is yet eternally of the Father, and His blessed Being is in just such a sense subordinate that He is—with the "is" of eternity—the Son. Thought is lost, or rather silenced, when we come really in face of the revealed glory of the Godhead. But when we have just spelt out the revelation of It as it stands, we see in that light two truths most bright of all for us—the Godhead and the Sonship of the Lord our Saviour. And in the light of that view it is surely safe and Scriptural to see, in a passage like this, words which befit the voice of Jesus Christ, speaking, not as Son of Man only, but as God the Son.

But if the doctrinal value of these words is thus large and precious, how great is their practical power and sweetness in personal application to the Christian's soul! Do we really take in, to some degree, what it is to know God the Father as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *in this respect* our God and Father too? To know the Father in beholding (*θεωροῦντες*) the Son? To love the Father in loving the Son? To rest on the Father in resting on the Son, on God the Son, on "the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father"?

A very different view of God is this from that of the mere Theist. "The Absolute God," says Martin Luther,<sup>1</sup> "all men, who do not wish to perish, should fly from, because human nature and God Absolute are irreconcilable enemies (*infestissimi inimici*). From the Name of God we dare not shut out Christ. Not naked Deity but God robed and revealed in His word and promises we must lay hold upon, or inevitable despair must crush us. This God we can embrace, and behold, with joy and confidence; but Absolute Deity is as a wall of brass, on which we cannot strike without ruin."

How precious is that ancient, that old-fashioned faith, too often slighted under the unpopular designation "*orthodox*"—how precious, to the heart which craves, and discovers, a Saviour! In it the Lord is seen as not only God and Man, but God *the Son* and Man. He is revealed, He is believed in, as God the Son; not that we may worship Him less truly than we worship the Father, or trust Him less, or love Him less, but that we may all the more truly worship, trust, and love Him and His Father, who are One. He is the Eternal Son: who shall measure the love of Paternal Godhead for Filial? And—the Father "spared not His own (*ἑδίου*) Son, but

<sup>1</sup> On Ps. li. 1; quoted by Professor Stanley Leathes, "Witness of the Old Testament to Christ," p. 244. Professor Leathes says that Luther's "invaluable works were never more worthy of study than at the present crisis of the Church."

delivered Him up for us all" (Rom. viii. 32); "so loving the world that He gave His only-begotten Son." In the rapturous *Te Deum* we address our Redeemer as the Everlasting Son of the Father; and in that title we adore at once the love of the Giver and the love of the Given; and we feel that a subordination, not of essence, but of relation, a relationship just so far subordinate that it is filial, only intensifies our adoration of the Godhead of our Saviour. It shows us, through the fact of His Filial Godhead, something of the ocean of love within the Eternal Nature of the Triune; love in the Divine relationships within It; love in the outgoings towards us of such a salvation from It.

Is this too much of a digression? I knew not how to avoid it, for the very attraction of the blessed theme. The meditation of Him, the Lord Christ the Son, is sweet; joy in the Lord is kindled at it. In gazing on Him as the Son we understand *a little*, as in a glimpse, of what the Father meant when, from the heavens, He called Him "My Beloved." And if by Divine mercy we have been drawn to love the Beloved of the Father, shall we not be glad? Shall we not take home for ourselves the joy of this message which He sent on the Easter morning to the bewildered beings whom yet He was not ashamed to call His brethren—"I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and unto My God and your God"? It is the voice of the Beloved.

With such an errand, then, does Mary leave the garden.

She first, all-happy Magdalena, bore  
 From Joseph's grot the bliss unheard before,  
 And still her tidings was the broken tomb;  
 And still, though ages roll,  
 That message from the soul,  
 And that alone must chase the enfolding gloom.  
 Jesus, our Lord, the First and Last,  
 Thy rising work is past;  
 Then present is our strength and rest,  
 And all our future blest.

"*She comes, reporting to the disciples that she has seen the Lord, and that He said these things to her.*"

She obeyed at once. Quietly, with the joy of love (we seem to see her), she gives up her literal contact with His presence, and goes from the company of the risen Jesus Christ to the very different company of His mistaken and troubled disciples, all of them, save Peter and John (and they, perhaps, were still apart), still in the clouds of their awful disappointment, and not greatly disposed to see light through them. St. Luke tells us of the report of the women (and probably Mary's special message-bearing is included in that brief summary) as seeming to the disciples *λῆρος*, nonsense; and of

course they said so to the messengers. Perhaps the first theory of James, and Philip, and Andrew was what long after was the theory of Renan, that the report was the product of illusion, and the illusion the product of feminine emotion. However, Mary went, in that spirit of meek but mighty confidence which is given to the soul now, as well as then, by the certainty in itself of the life and the love of Jesus. "He that believeth shall not make haste"; "they which have believed do enter into rest," a rest full of power. All through that forenoon, probably, she saw her Lord no more; nor through that afternoon, which He spent upon the Emmaus road. And perhaps from time to time that day she heard much to distress her in the refusal of His followers, His brethren, many of them, at least, to believe Him risen. Yet we are quite sure that it was a day of unimaginable joy for Mary Magdalene. Her own load of hopeless grief was gone. If He had dismissed her from His side, if He remained hour by hour out of sight, what did it matter, beside the gladness of knowing that He was risen, and alive for evermore? An hour, a few hours, ago she had loved Him with a love full of despair; now, with a love full of immortality. Then it was comparatively a blind affection, now she had a sunrise-view of what He really was, and what He had done, and would for ever do, for her. Then the past seemed all failure, the present solitude and ruin, the future a cruel gloom. Now past, present, and future were all filled with the work, the love, the triumph of her dear risen Lord. Then she could go to the others only to mingle her fears and tears with theirs, now she went as her Saviour's own commanded messenger to them, to constrain them to believe and be glad because of Him, and she bore witness to Him by her own joy. Her own burthen was now gone; how much better now she could bear theirs! Her own perplexities were passed away now for ever; how gently and tenderly, while with confidence, she could now wait for the time when He should be pleased (as, of course, He would be pleased) either to open their hearts to her message, or in some other way to reveal Himself to them!

I do not apologize for thus dwelling on some of the possibilities of that day, as spent by the first messenger of the Resurrection. Our own hearts, surely, see in them more than possibilities, and they carry lessons of living power to ourselves as believers, not in ourselves, but in a risen Redeemer.

Throughout that day of joy and trial there must have been, for Mary, a wonderful conquest of joy over trial. She would be "at leisure from herself," and very full of Jesus Christ. She would be specially softened and sanctified, cut off delight-

fully from sinning in word or spirit, by the unselfish, adoring sense of His triumph, simply *as His*. It was not only that *she* was personally relieved, rescued, I might almost say immortalized already, by what she knew for herself; she knew now also something of the glory, the victory, the joy into which *He* had entered who had once expelled seven devils from her. And this would more than fill the blank which *nature* might feel when His visible presence was left behind her in the garden. *He*, she knew, was safe in His own blood-bought victory, and was on His way to His own Father's throne. He had suffered; it had pleased the Lord, the Father, to bruise Him; He had died, going through all that death is, and more than death can ever be to His followers; He had had to bear it all; His agony and death were now irrevocable facts. But so now also was His triumph. "The joy set before Him" had come. He was in the infinite repose of conquest over sin and death; He would need to die no more. And soon He would be receiving the eternal tribute of the praises of heaven, for He was going to the Father.

If all men disbelieved, yet was it all true *for Him*. And, though they disbelieved, they, too, would soon be worshipping with joy like hers—for He who had sent that message would not linger long behind it.

Nor did He do so. The Evangelist who dismissed Peter and John now, in turn, dismisses Mary, never to name her again, for she has done her work for us. He brings us face to face once more with the Lord.

The day has drawn to its evening. Many have been its alarms and surprises, and half-hopes, and troubled rumours, and obstinate reasonings of unbelief. And, now, as the shadows fall, the group of the Apostles, ten of the twelve, and others (Luke xxiv. 33) with them, are together. There they are, gathered after scattering, and with some glad awakenings of faith and hope in their souls, for by that time the rumours of the Resurrection had begun to tell, and Peter and John were now with them (see Luke xxiv. 34).

They were assembled, perhaps in John's lodgings, perhaps in the chamber of the Last Supper. The Evangelist takes no pains to tell us, nor does he give us a single extraneous detail; for instance, the manner of entrance of St. Luke's two travellers to Emmaus, who came in a little while before Jesus appeared. St. John gives the scene just so as best to show us the risen Lord Himself. And we will close this paper with the mere translation of the wonderful record.

Ver. 19: "*So when it was late evening, on that day, the first day of the week, and when the doors of the place where they*

were gathered had been shut because of their dread of the Jews, Jesus came and took His stand in (*ἔστη εἰς*) their midst, and says to them, Peace be to you." Ver 20: "And as He said so He showed them His hands and His side. So the disciples rejoiced (*ἔχαρήσαν*), seeing the Lord." Ver. 21: "So Jesus said to them again, Peace be to you. Even as the Father has sent Me out, I, too, send you." Ver. 22: "And as He said so He breathed a breath towards them, and says to them, Take (the) Holy Spirit." Ver. 23: "If you remit the sins of any, they are remitted to them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained."

Of course all study of details must be deferred. But let us at once carry away the fact of that scene and its blessing. In the hush of the deep evening, in that broad, dimly-lighted chamber, where the anxious group are listening for the tread of the enemy, heavy or stealthy, upon the stairs, and preparing, perhaps, for such defence as Galilean courage even then might try, on a sudden the Holy One Himself is there. And we are there to see Him, and to be glad with them in Him. It is our privilege, our right, our possession. For us He has died and risen; He is about to ascend for us; He brings for us the gift of the Spirit.

To us He shows His hands and His side, and we read there our salvation, as truly as Peter and John and James, and all the once fugitive disciples, read theirs there that evening. Like them, we receive it wholly from Him. Like them, we behold the Lamb of God, sacrificed, risen, ascending to the heavens, and in that view we, like them, looking on Him whom we have pierced, step off from the unrest, the languor, the cowardice, of Christless self into the rest and joy of Jesus Christ.

One of the witnesses of that evening, many years later, wrote as follows to all the sharers of his faith: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to His abundant mercy, hath begotten us again to a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead."

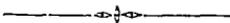
Why walk in darkness? Has the dear light vanish'd  
That gave us joy to-day?

Has the great Sun departed? Has sin banish'd  
His life-begetting ray?

Lord, Thou art risen; but Thou descendest never;  
To-day shines as the past;

All that Thou wast Thou art, and shalt be ever—  
Brightness from first to last.—*Bonar.*

H. C. G. MOULE.



ART. V.—THE DISCIPLINE BILL AND CANON LAW.<sup>1</sup>

THE Clergy Discipline Bill now before Parliament is an attempt to deal with an admitted evil in the Church of England, viz., the difficulty and the delay hitherto involved in the task of removing a clergyman guilty of grave crime from the benefice which he has disgraced by his misdoing. A statute was passed in 1870 which altered the law as to all persons guilty of felony or treason, and under which clergymen convicted of offences of that character are *ipso facto* deprived of their preferments without any process in the Ecclesiastical Court or any sentence by the Bishop. The Discipline Bill of last year (amongst other provisions), proposed to extend this enactment of *ipso facto* deprivation to certain other crimes which, although not less grave than many felonies, are, according to the artificial distinctions of English Criminal Law, classed under the minor category of misdemeanours. Serious objection was taken by a large section of the High Church clergy, on the ground that the cure of souls, being a spiritual thing conferred by the Bishop in his spiritual capacity, ought not to be, and, indeed, cannot be, taken away, even from an evildoer, except by the Bishop's sentence. The former Act applying to felonies was, it was said, passed without its defect being noticed, and ought now to be repealed rather than extended. There is much to be said on the other side.

The history of *ipso facto* deprivation may be very briefly stated. The old English Canon Law provides for *ipso facto* deprivation and *ipso jure* suspension in certain cases, but Lyndwood, in his notes, seems to indicate that a declaratory sentence was required, notwithstanding the apparently opposite statements in the text ("*Lynd*," p. 15, p. 137; "*Athon*," p. 46, ed. 1679).

The expression is not, it is believed, used in any pre-Reformation statute. It first occurs in Edward VI.'s Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Ed. VI., ch. 1), and subsequently in seven later statutes, ending with the Act already referred to as to felonies (33 & 34 Vict., ch. 23, sec. 2). Dr. Burn, in his "*Ecclesiastical Law*," vol. ii., p. 144, writes: "When an Act of Parliament creates an avoidance, no declaratory sentence is necessary. Otherwise, when the avoidance is created by a lesser authority, as an ecclesiastical constitution." He is supported in, and, in fact, founds, both branches of his

<sup>1</sup> This paper contains, in an extended form, the substance of a speech delivered by the writer in the House of Laymen on February 24, 1892. It is, in the main, a reproduction of an article signed "L. T. D." printed in the *Record* of February 26, 1892.

statement, one on Coke, and the other on Bishop Gibson. The former says definitely that "an avoidance by Act of Parliament need not have any sentence declaratory" (*Green's Case*, 6 Coke, 29 b). Bishop Gibson (Codex ii., 1,049) says: "When the Canonists speak of excommunication *ipso facto*, they are, I think, unanimous that a declaratory sentence is necessary." This year's Bill, however, does not provide for *ipso facto* deprivation, but requires the Bishop, on conviction of an incumbent, to issue a declaratory sentence vacating the benefice.

To some minds the fact of an Act of Parliament commanding a Bishop to use his spiritual jurisdiction and to pronounce a sentence of deprivation, in obedience to, and in order to carry out the verdict of a Common Law jury, seems not less anomalous, and even more difficult to defend, than the proposal contained in the former Bill. But this difficulty would, in the opinion of a large class, be surmounted if a Canon were made giving Ecclesiastical sanction to the proposed enactment, and it is understood that an attempt will be made to obtain leave to pass such a canon. Any innovation in procedure which this course would involve is not worth considering in view of the immense importance of unanimity amongst Churchmen of all opinions and parties in getting rid of a scandal which is oppressing the life of the Church. But, unfortunately, it has recently become apparent that the concession described above is not likely to have its designed effect. Either the objections of the opponents have been misunderstood, or these objections have changed, and have become so much more fundamental as to make the proposed modification quite inadequate. A few weeks ago the Council of the English Church Union issued what was termed a "Statement of Canonical Principles concerning Clergy Discipline." It consists of a series of propositions of a very remarkable character, dealing with a great number of points, the due discussion of which would fill a large volume. But the substance of the "Statement," at any rate for the purpose of the Discipline Bill, is that the Church has inherent power to make laws and to administer laws in the spiritual domain with regard to clergy discipline; that the law to be administered is the Canon Law, which binds intrinsically in conscience; that any scheme for the alteration or regulation of procedure in the matter of discipline must be embodied in canons enacted in Convocation; that Acts of Parliament dealing with discipline are "mere temporal"; and that the proceedings of Ecclesiastical Courts acting under statute are in spiritual matters, *e.g.*, the deprivation of a criminous clerk, null and void. In other words, it is claimed—

- (i.) That an accused clerk shall be tried by Canon Law in an Ecclesiastical Court instead of by the secular law in the Civil Court. This is, of course, a very different matter from a sentence in the Church Court following necessarily, and as it were formally, after a trial and verdict before judge and jury.
- (ii.) That any new procedure that may be necessary must be by canon, amending the Canon Law, the statute (if any) following as only supplemental and incidental.

This "Statement" of the English Church Union has attracted much notice, and has startled many Churchmen. Lord Selborne referred to it pointedly in the House of Laymen during its recent session, and said that the propositions enunciated were inconsistent with the present relations of Church and State, and could lead to but one result—Dis-establishment.

It is proper to speak with respect of this manifesto, not only because it has considerable representative importance, but also because much care and erudition have evidently been bestowed upon its preparation. It is fair, also, to add that those who have the best opportunity of knowing what its compilers intended to say repudiate the meaning given to it not only by its critics, but also by very many of its supporters. But in the absence of any public and authoritative explanation of the hidden signification which we are told lies buried in the document, it must be dealt with like any other document as meaning what it says, or, at least, what to the ordinary reader it seems to say.

The underlying idea of what is really a new position, far in advance of any hitherto occupied by even the extreme High Church party, is the sacredness of Canon Law. It is assumed all through the "Statement" that there exists in the English Church a system of law and procedure formulated by the Church without the interference of the State, and that this system of law and procedure is a holy thing, binding on the consciences of Christian men and women. But Canon Law in reality, and certainly in England, is something very different from this.

When an Englishman talks about Canon Law, everyone will understand him to refer to one of two things—either (1) the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, i.e., Roman Canon Law, or (2) the English Law. It has been said<sup>1</sup> on behalf of the English Church Union that the "Statement" does not refer to either of these, but to the "universal principles of ecclesiastical jurisprudence," "the essential conditions of purely spiritual jurisdiction," and, again, "the fundamental and universal principles of spiritual

<sup>1</sup> See Rev. T. A. Lacey's letter to the *Record* of March 18, 1892.

jurisdiction." But I am unable to understand this disclaimer because no "principles," apart from their embodiment in some code, can try crimmious clerks, or fill the position claimed for "the Canon Law" in the "Statement," as the substitute for Acts of Parliament. Speaking with all respect, and with certainly the fullest desire to appreciate the real intention and meaning of the "Statement," it seems to me impossible that its language can point, so far as the Discipline Bill is concerned, to anything except English Canon Law. Roman Canon Law is out of the question. First, because a claim on behalf of Roman Canon Law would be inconsistent with history to a startling degree, and would be a claim which both the State and Church of England have continuously and ostentatiously repudiated for the last 600 years. Secondly, because the Roman Canon Law involves in every part of it the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope so unmistakably that no member of the Church of England could without absurdity accept the one and still belong to the other.

English Canon Law, as is well known, consists of (i.) such parts of the Roman Canon Law as, not being contrary to statutes, have been accepted and acted on in England so long as to have become part of the customary or Common Law; and (ii.) all such Provincial and Legatine Canons made in England as have received proper sanction and fulfil certain conditions. It is mainly a code of law—that is, a collection of commands and of penalties for disobedience. Of procedure, which the E.C.U. document speaks of—that is to say, machinery of litigation, pleadings, rules of trial, and so on—the traces are fragmentary. As a matter of fact, the Spiritual Courts in England have always used the Roman *Civil* Law to regulate their practice. It need scarcely be said that the Civil Law is pagan in its origin and altogether secular in its development.

When the established methods of the Ecclesiastical Courts are remembered, it surely requires some courage to claim for them any peculiar sanctity. The oath *ex officio*—a term once well-known and hated in England—had nothing, despite Bishop Gibson's opinion to the contrary, to recommend it to modern ideas of justice and fair play. A man suspected of crime was cited, and without being proved guilty was required to swear to his own innocence. He was then required to find a prescribed number of "compurgators" from amongst his neighbours who would swear that they believed him to have spoken the truth. If he could not find "compurgators," as might easily occur with an innocent man who happened to be little known or unpopular, he was condemned and punished as having been guilty. On the other hand, as

Archdeacon Hale ("*Ecclesiastical Precedents*," p. lx.) writes, "Many a hypocrite was enabled by his own perjury and by the ignorance of his compurgators to escape unpunished." This system was one of the national grievances abolished by statute on the eve of the great Civil War; and even at the Restoration its abolition was confirmed, so strong was the public feeling of abhorrence at it. No canon was ever made to confirm the statute. Parliament acted alone in effecting its abolition. Again, evidence was formerly taken in the Church Courts according to an utterly vicious though strictly canonical plan. The present system, by which a witness gives his evidence *vivâ voce* in open Court, is a quite modern reform, effected by the late Sir Robert Phillimore, and carried through by statute without canon.

But the matter which it is most important to make clear is the real nature of English Canon Law. It is a mistake to suppose that English Canon Law is of purely spiritual or even ecclesiastical manufacture. The State has had nearly as much to do in directing its growth as the Church. The Saxon Canons were made in assemblies in which the State and the Church were alike present and alike active. Until the Conquest the Bishop and the earldorman sat side by side in the same court, and, according to the Bishop of Oxford, "the character of the procedure" (in Church cases) "differed in nothing materially from the lay procedure." William the Conqueror divided the Civil and Spiritual Courts, and established the latter without the aid of any canon or synod. Again, as has already been stated, no part of the foreign Canon Law (which itself, be it remembered, has elements so undeniably human as the Forged Decretals) was at any time received as binding in England because it was Canon Law. But certain of the provisions of the Canon Law, having been used and observed for a long time with the consent of the people and the sufferance of the prince, became binding, not as "the laws of any foreign prince, potentate, or prelate, but as the accustomed and ancient laws of this realm." The Roman Canon Law was thus absolutely subordinate to the State in England; the secular power took what it liked, and rejected what it did not like. What it took it stamped as its own and enforced as national law. There is a ready illustration of this in the old story of the Barons of Henry III. declining to accept the Canon Law as to legitimacy because *nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*.

But if the State has had the controlling voice as to the introduction of the general Canon Law into England, it has had as much or more to do with the production of the collection of canons and constitutions made by Archbishops and

their synods and by Papal Legates, which make up our home-grown or specially English Canon Law. It will be sufficient to quote a sentence from the Bishop of Oxford's "*Constitutional History of England*," vol. iii., p. 349:

"The calling of the assemblies in which such legislation could be transacted was, as a matter of fact, subject to Royal permission or approval, and the right of the King to forbid such a Council or to limit its legislative powers was, during the Norman reigns, both claimed and admitted. William the Conqueror did not allow the Archbishop in a General Council of the Bishops to 'ordain or forbid anything that was not agreeable to his Royal will, or had not been previously ordained by him.'"

This refers to the period after the Conquest. Becket's feuds with Henry II. and the long series of Acts on Provisors and Statutes of Præmunire carry on the story. The contention of the State, no doubt, was more with Rome than with internal ecclesiastical power. The actual amount of interference by the State with the action of Convocation varied from age to age, but the right to interfere and the subordination of Church law to Statute law were never doubted. The effect of Henry VIII.'s legislation is well known. By 25 Henry VIII., ch. 19, secs. 1, 3, and 7, it was, in substance, enacted:

(i.) That such canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial being already made which were not contrariant nor repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the King's prerogative royal, should still be used and executed as they were before the making of the Act until their revision provided for by the Act, but never in fact accomplished.

(ii.) That no canons, constitutions, or ordinances should in future be made or put in execution without the assent and licence of the Crown, and none were to be made which should be contrary or repugnant to the King's prerogative, or the customs, laws, or statutes of the realm.

Under this second enactment all binding canons since 1534, and especially what are popularly called *the Canons* (of 1603), have been made. The Crown has first to authorize convocation to meet and to act, and after it has acted to approve its decisions; and finally, its resolutions only become canons by being published under the Great Seal. It was long ago decided that even then such canons are not part of English Law, do not bind the laity at all, and only bind the clergy so far as they are internal regulations or bye-laws within the power of the Sovereign, as Visitor of the clergy, to lay upon them.

For the last 350 years, therefore, Canon Law in England has been, perhaps, not more thoroughly than before, but yet more definitely, under the control of the State. No new canon can be made without the initiation of the Crown at the start and the sanction of the Crown at the end. Existing canons are only recognised in England so far as they are not contrary to the statute and common law of England for the time being. There is an absolute subordination of the Canon Law to Acts of Parliament, which renders it impossible that there can be any competition or conflict between the two. If, at any time, a statute is passed which is inconsistent with any previously received canon, from that moment the Canon cases to be acknowledged in English law. To get rid of the Canon it is enough to prove its inconsistency with statute law. It would be impossible to express more pointedly the absolute dependence of Canon Law on the secular power than by this simple statement of an elementary fact in English law, the substantial accuracy of which can hardly be matter of controversy. Nevertheless, that the true state of the case is being forgotten by some well-informed and zealous Churchmen is plain from the "Statement of Canonical Principles" of the E.C.U., and also from the terms of a petition from the same body presented the other day to both Houses of Convocation. The petitioners deplore (with very good reason) the ever-increasing scandals of the Divorce Court. But the remedy they propose is curiously significant. After reciting that English Canon Law allows no divorce; that Parliament, first by private Acts in separate cases, and in 1857 by the general Divorce Act, has provided for divorce; and that the Canon and Statute Law are thus in conflict, the petitioners "pray your reverend House in your wisdom to take such steps in the premisses as may best serve to secure obedience to the Canon Law." In no century since the Conquest would this petition have been accurate in its argument. No such thing as a conflict between Canon Law and Statute Law in England has at any time been possible, because, wherever such a conflict would exist, that very fact prevents the Canon Law, in that particular, from being law at all. If it were not certain that the petitioners are very much in earnest, one would be tempted to suspect they were poking fun at Convocation.

To return to the "Statement." It asserts that the Catholic Church is the visible Kingdom of Christ upon earth, and as such is possessed of an inherent power of ruling and governing its subjects in matters of positive discipline as well as of doctrine; and, further, has, by its own inherent authority, power to make and to administer laws, *i.e.* the

Canon Law which binds intrinsically in conscience. It is singular that this notion of the Church being a Kingdom was expressly repudiated by Archbishop Laud in his conference with the Jesuit Fisher (p. 133, ed. 1673). "The Church militant is no kingdom, and therefore not to be compared or judged by one. The resemblance will not hold."

But if the "Statement" is accurate, it must be apparent that the Catholic Church has never (to put it mildly) been in full working order in England, for it is an indisputable matter of history that the Church has never exercised these independent powers of making and administering laws of discipline and doctrine. On the contrary, the Canon Law has been the work of the Church and State together, in which the latter has had a final and preponderating voice. Either the Canon Law was never intended to be—and the Church does not profess that it is—a purely spiritual code independent of the State, or else the Church as it has existed in England for more than eight centuries has acquiesced in a state of things utterly inconsistent with its spiritual constitution. There is simply no escape from this alternative, and it is because, when the question is fairly faced, the dilemma must make itself obvious to honest minds that the exaggeration of the claims of the Canon Law seems full of elements of the gravest danger. On the assumption that the true Church must have its own self-made and spiritual law for external application in Ecclesiastical Courts, it is not only hard to recognise the notes of orthodoxy in our communion, but it becomes difficult to find anywhere in the world a body really fulfilling the necessary condition. The assumption is attractive enough to many minds, but, once brought to the test of history, it becomes transformed into a virtual menace to belief in the existence of a visible Church as an actual fact.

Canon Law is a system of rules for the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction in the external *forum* of the Ecclesiastical Courts. It ought not to be confounded with Spiritual Jurisdiction itself. No one who pays regard to the opinions of the great Church writers, from Hooker downwards, can doubt that the teaching of the Church of England is that our Lord conferred on the apostles a power, now vested in the Bishops, of punishing sin by exclusion from the visible communion of the saints, and of again admitting the repentant sinner to fellowship. As the Church grew into an organized and complex body, the simple acts of excluding from and admitting to participation in the Holy Communion developed into a more elaborate system of censures. The Bishop's list of penalties came to include (1) monition or mere rebuke and caution;

(2) suspension of a clergyman from his spiritual office and from his benefice; (3) deprivation of a clergyman from his benefice; (4) degradation from Holy Orders; (5) excommunication, applicable to laymen as well as clergy. All these are called spiritual censures, and the authority to inflict them is what is meant by Spiritual Jurisdiction. It is certainly in agreement with the teaching of the Church of England that this jurisdiction can neither be conferred, nor modified, nor taken away by the State, but is purely spiritual. But, as Sir Matthew Hale, speaking of external discipline, says, "Christianity entered into the world without it." Our Lord when He conferred the power of the Keys (as it is often called) on the Church, gave no rules for its exercise. Speaking with all reverence, the reason seems clear enough. Except in the most elementary form, that of simple exclusion from the religious rites of a minute and unknown sect, jurisdiction cannot be exercised without the acquiescence and assistance of the State. Coercion must support the sentence of the spiritual judge, or it is useless. But the Church of Christ has no coercive power of its own. Hence the Christian State came to have an important share in ecclesiastical jurisprudence. That share is twofold. (1) The spiritual or inner jurisdiction cannot be used without the permission of the State. In other words, every Church Court exists by leave of the State, without which it could not be held. (2) The State gives the coercive power by which the spiritual judge is able to summon witnesses and try causes, and finally enforce his sentences.

Now Canon Law is the code, which this exercise of spiritual jurisdiction, with the permission and help of the State in external Ecclesiastical Courts was certain to develop, and which, under the circumstances, was a necessity. It is ecclesiastical rather than spiritual. The external Court, because it is external, is dependent on the State's support, and is largely controlled by the secular power. Although it deals with spiritual matters and wields spiritual power, it is in the world, and cannot escape mundane conditions. Canon Law exhibits, as we have seen, precisely the same mixed character. The State controls it, modifies it, keeps jealous guard over it. This is all quite natural, so long as we remember that Canon Law has (so far as judicature is concerned) sole and exclusive application to external Ecclesiastical Courts, which only exist by the permission of the State, and in some countries, England amongst them, were created by the State. For although William the Conqueror did not create the spiritual jurisdiction of his Bishops, he did establish the Courts in which they exercised it.

It is not of course denied that portions of the Canon Law

are of the very highest spiritual obligation. For instance, there are large extracts from Holy Scripture incorporated, and also the decisions of those General Councils, the authority of which is admitted by the Church of England. But the sanction of these is independent of their place in the Canon Law, and is neither lessened nor increased because they form a part of it.

In deprecating an exaggerated and, it must be added, an ill-informed view of the nature and obligation of Canon Law, there is, perhaps, danger of seeming to underrate its importance. The truth is, that such a petition as that of the E.C.U. on the Divorce Law does harm chiefly because it creates an impression that there is something grotesque and unpractical in the whole subject. Canon Law is certainly not a Divine code; neither is it so sacred in its nature and growth as to make it Erastian for the State to override or supersede it. But, nevertheless, the law of the Church of England for the time being is binding on Churchmen. The members of every Society are morally bound to obey its laws or to leave it. Members of the Church are not less bound to obey its laws, because the Church is the greatest of all Societies, and membership of it the most valuable of all privileges. If the present writer may express his own profound conviction, it is that the most urgent need of the Church of England now is, and for some time past has been, a more dutiful regard to every branch of Church law by clergy and laity alike. In other words, we want better discipline. It is not simply in one context, as, for example, the conduct of public worship, but in every department and on all sides, that there exists a tendency, it might almost be called a habit, of self-will, which seems remote enough from the spirit of the New Testament and is surely full of menace for the future. For disorder and weakness are the inevitable results of loss of control. The success which has attended the recent attempt to get students at one of the universities intending to take Holy Orders to attend elementary lectures in Church Law seems to show that a better state of things is possible. The utter neglect of Canon Law, as applicable to the circumstances and modified by the changes of modern times, has done great mischief. The clergy are blamed for their lawlessness and derided for their unbusinesslike ways, but never since the Reformation has any machinery existed for instructing them in the Ecclesiastical Laws, which, on the one hand, they are bound to obey, and, on the other, as benefited incumbents, they are required to administer. Sober, practical training in necessary knowledge will do much to make Canon Law a living reality, but mere attempts to magnify its claims and exaggerate its

importance will detach the sympathy of sensible Churchmen and excite the ridicule of the world outside.

The Discipline Bill is an attempt in the right direction. Either the Civil Court or the Church Court must try a delinquent clergyman. Both cannot. Common sense revolts against two independent trials, which might result in a man being sent to penal servitude by the State, and retained in his cure of souls by the Church. On the other hand, the country will never consent to a clergyman being exempt from the ordinary criminal law which governs lay people. In fighting for trial by Canon Law in an Ecclesiastical Court Churchmen are making a demand which no Parliament will ever concede, and are thus rendering an urgent Church reform impossible, to the joy and satisfaction of the Liberationists. And for what? For the sake of preserving for the Church imaginary rights which never existed, and of vindicating for the Canon Law a spiritual character which it never possessed.

LEWIS T. DIBDIN.

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ART. VI.—“THE LAW IN THE PROPHETS.”

*The Law in the Prophets.* By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, D.D. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891.

A WELL-KNOWN critic of the “advanced” school—I think it is Wellhausen himself—has somewhere described the delight with which he arrived at the conclusion that the prophets preceded the law, and not the law the prophets. Before this he found the history of Israel an unexplained riddle. The law forbade high places, but Samuel and Solomon sacrificed in them without incurring censure, and Jehoiada the high-priest and Jotham the king did not remove the high places. Hence arose the dilemma: either this part of the law existed and was broken by the best men of Israel, or these men were blameless because no law existed to blame what they did. It was this second solution which our critic accepted with so much joy.

But if there was no special law existing even as late as Jotham (the grandfather of Hezekiah) against high places, was there, therefore, at that time no Pentateuch, no book or books of Moses at all? There was at least, says the newer criticism, no Book of Deuteronomy, neither was there a book beginning with the story of six days of creation, and including the account of the construction of the tabernacle and the list of laws touching the rights and duties of the priesthood. There may well have been, however, according to the newer critics, a historical work, or, at least, the materials of one, beginning

with the allusions to creation contained in Gen. ii. 4, ff., and covering most of the ground covered by our present Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. It is allowed, in fact, that there may have existed in the time of Jotham, and perhaps a hundred years earlier, a writing or writings containing the lives of the patriarchs, the story of Joseph, the history of the Egyptian oppression, of the plagues, of the exodus, of the wandering and of the conquest of Canaan. Thus the question between the newer criticism and the old view is not, Were there "books of Moses" at all in the eighth century B.C. ? but, Were the writings then existent practically identical with our Pentateuch, or did they lack a great mass of material consisting of many separate narratives, the great bulk of the ceremonial law, and the whole Book of Deuteronomy ?

For a decision both sides appeal to the prophets of the eighth century, particularly to Hosea and Amos, who prophesied during the first half of the century, and to Isaiah and Micah, whose activity belongs to the second half. It is necessary to recognise clearly what are and what are not decisive elements in the decision. The new critical school rely partly on the silence of the prophets just mentioned as to the Book of Deuteronomy, and as to those sections in the remaining books of the Pentateuch which are styled "Priestly," and partly on the supposed actual antagonism of the prophets to the principles and injunctions of the priestly sections.

Two courses are open to the opponents of this school. They may, in the first place, produce external rebutting evidence. They may call attention to allusions to Deuteronomy or to the "Priestly Code," or to both, occurring in the prophets of the eighth century, but overlooked by recent critics. Secondly, they may put to the proof the arguments based on internal evidence against the unity of the Pentateuch. If these arguments can be shown to be unreasonable, then the many acknowledged allusions to Pentateuchal narratives and ordinances occurring in the prophets of the eighth century will be most reasonably referred to the Pentateuch as we have it, and the theories that Deuteronomy was first published under Josiah, and that the "Priestly Code" was first codified under Ezra, fall to the ground.

Of course, even so the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch is not *proved*, for it is a far cry—six centuries at least—from Hosea to Moses ; but if it can be shown that Hosea and Amos, Isaiah and Micah, all refer and appeal to the Pentateuch, it becomes clear that the Pentateuch has a history behind it, and the supposition of its Mosaic authorship becomes reasonable.

The course adopted by the author of the "Law in the

Prophets" is the accumulation of external evidence for the existence and authority of the Pentateuch. Dr. Leathes, beginning with Isaiah, goes through the prophets in the order in which they are arranged in the Authorized Version, quoting parallels from the law wherever possible. He rarely deals with the suggestion often made by recent critics, that in such passages the Pentateuch depends on the prophets rather than *vice versa*.

Out of the mass of parallels produced by the author, a few of the more striking may be given here. The author himself prefixes an asterisk to distinguish them:

Isa. i. 9. "The reference to Sodom and Gomorrah," writes Dr. Leathes, "presupposes the narrative in Gen. xix. . . . The word in [Isa. i.] ver. 7, 'as *overthrown* by strangers,' is used again of Sodom and Gomorrah in Isa. xiii. 19; but the original of the expression is that in Gen. xix. 25, 'and He *overthrew* those cities.'"

(It must be acknowledged that this parallel does not of itself score any point against the newer criticism, which assigns Gen. xix. 25, and the narrative to which it belongs, to the "Jehovist," *i.e.*, to a date between 750 and 900 B.C.)

Ver. 12. "'To appear before Me' = Exod. xxiii. 15, 'They shall not appear before Me empty.'"

(Neither does this parallel touch the results of the newer criticism, for Exod. xxiii. 15 is likewise assigned to the "Jehovist.")

Ver. 13. "'Assembly' (Heb. 'Mikra')."

(This word occurs some twenty times in the Pentateuch, and always, as far as I am aware, in "Priestly" passages. Further, we have, as Dr. Leathes points out, the word "solemn meeting" ('Atsarah) in the same verse. The word in its alternative form ('Atsereth) occurs once in Deuteronomy and twice in the Priestly Code. The union of Mikra and 'Atsarah forms a noticeable parallel to Lev. xxiii. 36 (a "Priestly" passage), for both words are special rather than general in their reference.)

Ver. 24. "'The mighty one of Israel' = Gen. xlix. 24, 'the mighty one of Jacob.'"

(The word here is a very peculiar one, אֵלֵי. A translation has been suggested, "The Bull (the Apis) of Israel," as though the word were אַבְיָר. Here, again, it must be confessed that the parallel does not, taken by itself, affect the results of the newer criticism. Gen. xlix. 24 is ascribed to the "Jehovist.")

Let us now pass to a prophet whose activity was almost over before Isaiah's began, Hosea, the great prophet of the Northern Kingdom. We will again quote from those parallels which Dr. Leathes has marked with an asterisk as most important:

Hos. ix. 10. "'They went to Baal Peor, and separated them to that shame' = Num. xxv. 3, 'And Israel joined himself to Baal Peor.'"

(Again the parallel is drawn from the "Jehovist," and so does not meet the newer criticism.)

Hos. xi. 8. "'How shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim?' These places," writes Dr. Leathes, "are not mentioned except in Gen. x. 19; xiv. 2, 8; and Deut. xxix. 23."

(Gen. xiv. is said by the newer critics generally to be taken from a special source. Probably they would accept this reference in Hosea as proving that this "special source" existed in the prophet's day.)

To the objection that the most striking quotations cited from the prophets do not affect the theories of the critics, Dr. Leathes might make one of two answers. He might say that his book is written to reassure those who imagine that the new criticism has proved that the whole Pentateuch was a forgery composed after the Captivity. For such a purpose Dr. Leathes' quotations from the prophets are fully adequate. But the author would more probably give a different answer. In the latter half of the book reference is made to some of the arguments against the unity of the Pentateuch based on internal evidence. Dr. Leathes brings forward some important considerations affecting this internal evidence, and would probably, therefore, claim his quotations from the prophets of the eighth century as evidence for the whole Pentateuch, and not merely for the so-called "Jehovistic" sections.

Among these considerations is the note on the use of the Divine names (p. 295, ff.). When the critics teach us that we must distinguish between a later "Elohist" (the "Priestly Writer"), who is everything that the "Jehovist" (the "Prophetical Writer") is not, and an earlier "Elohist," who is related to the "Jehovist," when, further, the existence of a redactor is maintained who introduced the name "Elohim" into "Jehovistic" sections, and the name "Jehovah" into "Elohistic" sections, it is clear that Professor Leathes is right when he says that "this test (the test of diversity of Divine names) alone is one that cannot be trusted absolutely" (p. 301).

Again, on the same page, there are some just observations on real and imagined difference of language as a test of different authorship. "It was asserted," says Dr. Leathes, "that the Elohist would use the phrase 'establish a covenant,' *hekim berith*, while the Jehovist would prefer the expression 'make a covenant,' *karath berith*; but it was entirely forgotten that these two phrases were no more identical and inter-

changeable...than our own to *make* a promise and to *keep* one.”

On p. 290 Dr. Leathes rightly challenges the assumption that the text of Exod. xx. 24 (“In all places where I record My name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee”) gives the virtual permission in consequence of which the worship on high places was adopted and allowed. I am, however, unable to accept the author’s correction of the translation, viz., “in all the place” (*i.e.*, throughout all the land). It seems better to accept the second of Dr. Driver’s alternatives (“Introduction,” p. 81, *note*): “The expression [“In all places”] may include equally places conceived as existing contemporaneously *or selected successively*.” In this second case the promise of blessing would attach to Shiloh, Kiriath-jearim, the house of Obed-edom and the city of David in succession, and the history of Israel from Joshua to Solomon is the fulfilment of the promise.

Not the least useful part of Dr. Leathes’ book is the collection of passages from the New Testament illustrating our Lord’s appeal to the Old Testament (pp. 239-244). The Christian must look upon the Jewish Scriptures as Christ looked upon them. He will not regard them as perfect, for Christ said that some precepts were given because of the hardness of heart (*i.e.*, the inability to receive anything higher) of those who received them; but he will regard them as Divine, because Christ said, “These are they that bear witness of Me” (St. John v. 39).

In conclusion, a word of general criticism may be allowed. The book as a whole seems somewhat hastily put together. The critics, with great expenditure of learning, have entrenched a position, not impregnable indeed, but too strong to be taken by a hastily organized assault. It must rather be assailed by a patient investigation as thorough as the work of the critics themselves.

W. E. BARNES.

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## Notes on Bible Words.

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### NO. XIX.—“VISITATION.”

**V**ISITATION, in A.V., is the Hebrew בְּקָרָה, and the Greek ἐπιστοπή, the Vulgate being usually *visitatio*. (Our ecclesiastical word “Visitation” is suggestive.)

The Hebrew word means care, oversight; God looking into, searching out, the ways and character of men.

Job x. 12, "Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit,"—providence, continual care.

Isai. x. 3, "What will ye do in the day of visitation?" See Jerem. viii. 12. Hos. ix. 7. Mic. vii. 4.

The Greek word, investigation; visitation, comes from ἐπισκοπέω *to look upon or after*, care for. 1 Pet. v. 2, "exercising the oversight,"—ἐπισκοποῦντες. (Ignat. ad Rom. 9, 1, with τὴν ἐκκλησίαν added.)

First, ἐπισκοπή is used of God's oversight.

Luke xix. 44, τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου, "the time of thy visitation,"—the season of salvation, or τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπεσκέψατό σε ὁ θεός (Grimm).

1 Pet. ii. 12, "may . . . glorify God in the day of visitation"; interpreted by some, *in the time of divine judgment*, but the passage points to a season of gracious oversight, in which—watching, and being taught—they should gladly acknowledge the glory of God (Matt. v. 16).<sup>1</sup>

Second, of man's oversight.

Acts i. 20; "his bishopric (his office; *sa charge*) let another take." Vulg. *episcopatum ejus*.

1 Tim. iii. 1, εἰ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ, "if a man desire [*seeketh*] the office of a bishop he desireth . . ." Spec. *overseer*, or presiding officer, of a church.<sup>2</sup>

The verb ἐπισκέπτομαι, mentioned above, is *to look upon in order to help*; God's graciously providing for. Luke vii. 16: "God hath visited (ἐπεσκέψατο) His people"; also i. 68 and 78. Compare Heb. ii. 6, "that Thou visitest him."<sup>3</sup>

It is mainly to the action of God that this Bible Word refers.

Taking together the noun and the verb we see that *visitation* may apply to an act or a period. (Luke xix. 42; "at least in this thy day.") God *visits* a people, and a person, in differing ways. A visitation may be one of pity and grace, or in the way of chastisement, or for punishment. Sickness may be a "visitation";<sup>4</sup> so may the reception of some most welcome gift. A crisis in man's life may be called a "visitation."

See Hooker on Prayer (*Ec. Pol.*, v. 23): "The most comfortable visitations which God hath sent men from above have taken especially the times of prayer as their most natural opportunities."

<sup>1</sup> See ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ ψυχῶν, *when He shall search souls*; Sap. iii. 13; ἐν ὄρφ ἐπισκοπῆς, Sir. xviii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cix. 8, "let another take his office."

<sup>3</sup> See ἐπίσκοπος, 1 Pet. ii. 25. "Bishop (guardian, overseer) of your souls." Spec. Acts xx. 28, Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 7. Vulg. *episcopus*.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxi. 1. "The LORD visited Sarah as He had said." ׀ָרָאָה, to visit; look after. Gen. i. 24, "God will surely visit you." 1 Sam. ii. 21, "visited Hannah."

<sup>5</sup> See the "Order for the Visitation of the Sick," and the "Thanksgiving for Deliverance from the Plague."

## Correspondence.

## THE HOLY COAT OF MTZKHETA.

To the Editor of the CHURCHMAN.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Cust's interesting account of his visit to Trèves reminded me of this same Holy Coat in another part of the world, namely, Georgia. According to the tradition prevalent in the Georgian Church, the Gospel was first preached in the parts about Georgia by the Apostle St. Andrew, who took for his fellow-apostle Simon the Cananite, whose tomb at Nicophia—also called Bitchwinta—in Mingrelia, was shown until lately.

But according to the same tradition, the preaching of St. Andrew had been preceded by the arrival of Elioz, a Jewish soldier, who was present at our Saviour's crucifixion, and to whose share fell "the coat without seam, woven from the top throughout." He brought it to Mtzkheta, the seat of the kingdom, where King Mtzkhetos built a church wherein to deposit the precious relic.

Ever since the sixth century this coat has been emblazoned on the arms of the Bagratides, whose dynasty dates, they say, from David and Solomon. On their arms, the seal of Georgia, were emblazoned (1) the sling that served to kill Goliath; (2) David's harp; (3) a pair of scales, as emblem of the wisdom of Solomon; (4) a lion, on which his throne rested; and (5) the coat of our Lord, with this inscription around it: "Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout." All round this coat of arms is the inscription taken from Psalm xxxii. 2: "The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David, He will not turn from it: of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne."

As there are more than one head of St. John the Baptist, so there may also be more than one Holy Coat. When I was at Mtzkheta some years ago, and went to the cathedral there, I was shown the place where that Holy Coat was kept, and from whence it had been removed many years ago; but nobody could tell me either by whom or whither it was taken; neither could I learn where it is at present. The whole interior of the church had been adorned with frescoes that dated from almost Apostolic times, but were whitewashed all over by an archbishop, who, I was told, lost his see on that account. The process of scraping off the lime was going on at the time, but not without injury to the original paintings.

Believe me, dear sir, yours faithfully,

S. C. MALAN.

BOURNEMOUTH,  
March 6, 1892.

## Short Notices.

*The Resultant Greek Testament.* By R. F. WEYMOUTH, D. Lit., Fellow of University College, London. With an Introduction by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of WORCESTER. Cheap edition. Pp. 640. Elliot Stock, 1892.

THIS work, when it first appeared five years ago, was reviewed in the CHURCHMAN by Dean Perowne, and was warmly commended. The book enables the student, says Bishop Perowne, "to see at a glance what the present state of the Greek Testament is, as determined by the consensus

of the most competent editors." Dr. Weymouth, in constructing his text, has not only availed himself of the labours of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort; he has made use of Alford, the Bâle edition of 1880, Bishops Ellicott and Lightfoot, Weiss, and the Revision Committee. Further, for the sake of comparison, he gives the readings of Stephens, 1550; the Complutensian Polyglot; Erasmus, 1516, etc. The work is, in fact, a marvel; and the accuracy, as well as the completeness of it, reflects the greatest credit on the accomplished scholar to whom all critical students of the Greek Testament are indebted.

*The Early Religion of Israel*, as set forth by Biblical writers and by modern critical historians. By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. Pp. 520. William Blackwood and Sons. 1892.

Have the Biblical writers received fair play? I think they have not. So says Dr. Robertson in his modest and liberal, but pungent, Preface to the Baird Lectures, now before us. He pleads for a criticism that shall start by admitting that the writer possesses ordinary intelligence, and shall interpret his words in a fair and common-sense fashion, and be bold enough, when necessary, to confess its own ignorance. He does not acknowledge Criticism in the sense in which it is sometimes spoken of as if it were some infallible science.

Dr. Robertson's work shows ability, learning, and acquaintance with Oriental ways, together with strong common-sense, and a keen sense of humour. A book of this character can hardly fail to do good service; and certainly it merits a larger notice than in the present CHURCHMAN can be given. Chapter xv., "The Three Codes," is excellent, particularly the passages dealing with the argument from silence and the place of worship. But the whole work, as we have said, is lucid and strong.

Dr. Driver's "Introduction" appeared after nearly the whole of Dr. Robertson's book was in type. But the Preface contains two or three references to it. For instance, Dr. Robertson says: "While concluding that 'the completed Priests' Code is the work of the age subsequent to Ezekiel,' he is careful to add the qualification that 'the chief ceremonial institutions are *in their origin* of great antiquity' (p. 155). Whether he would include in this category as many institutions as König accepts, I cannot gather. . . . Statements such as I have quoted amount, in my opinion, to a set of critical canons quite different from those of Wellhausen; and Dr. Driver would have been no more than just to himself if he had (as König has done) accentuated the difference." Elsewhere (p. 517) Dr. Robertson explains König's position. Thus:

He declares himself an adherent of the view of Reuss and Graf that the Priestly Code is later than Ezekiel; yet he strenuously asserts that the historical order, law and prophets, is to be maintained, and says that the Grafian hypothesis does not involve a denial of this order. His own position is that Moses received a veritably supernatural revelation, that through him God brought Israel in a miraculous manner out of Egypt, and concluded a covenant with Israel at Sinai, where the foundations were laid of Israel's ordinances for religion, morals, worship and daily life (p. 333). As to the extent to which König differs from the prevailing school, it may be mentioned that he defends the Mosaic origin of the tabernacle (*ibid.*), and holds that the absence of mention of the Great Day of Atonement in Nehemiah is no proof that the law relating to that institution was not then known (p. 331).

*Prayers for the Home*. A month's cycle of morning and evening family worship, with some occasional prayers. By H. C. G. MOULE, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge. Seeley and Co. 1892.

We heartily recommend this Manual of Family Prayer. In some respects, among the similar books which are sound and generally

acceptable, it stands alone. Thus, as to definite arrangement. On Monday the Church is specially remembered, on Tuesday the State, on Wednesday our children, on Thursday missionary work. We do not remember in any Manual a plan of this sort. On Wednesday and Friday, of course, confession of sin is made prominent, on Friday the Lord's death, on Saturday His burial, on Sunday His resurrection. On Saturday prayer is made for Israel. We should add that the book is admirably printed in large, clear type.

*The Autobiography of Isaac Williams, B.D.* Edited by his brother-in-law, the Ven. Sir GEORGE PREVOST, late Archdeacon of Gloucester. Pp. 186. Longman, Green and Co. 1892.

On the title-page of this book appear the words, "as throwing further light on the history of the Oxford movement." And undoubtedly the autobiography, with the editor's notes, *does* throw further light on that history, particularly with regard to Newman. Isaac Williams was author of several of the "Tracts for the Times," and his own position among the Tractarian leaders has not been always distinctly marked. The editor's own recollections of the great actors in the movement, especially of John Keble, are inserted, as we have said, in footnotes. The original preface to the autobiography, it may be stated, is dated December, 1851.

Here is a specimen passage (page 103):

The first secret misgiving which arose into something of distrust was when two of Newman's pupils . . . were translating and on the point of publishing the Roman Breviary (with the hymns translated by Newman) without any omissions. On Prevost's earnestly deprecating this, a dispute ensued, and I thought Newman showed some want of meekness.

The writer then refers to Newman's "peculiar temperament," and expresses his conviction that Newman's leaving the Church of England was *not* owing to the treatment which he received from the Heads of Houses at Oxford. "I doubt it," he says. "I think it more owing to his own mind." Upon this, Sir George Prevost, while asserting that "the Heads adopted the line of conduct that was most calculated to goad a sensitive nature like Newman's to desperation," comments thus: "I believe that Isaac Williams may be right in attributing his change *more* to what was working within him—to his natural restless temperament." Again, on p. 97, we read of "fears for the result of Newman's restless intellectual theories." On p. 70 we find that Newman said to H. Wilberforce, "*My temptation is to Scepticism*," a very remarkable confession. Later on he said things in favour of the Church of Rome, which "quite startled and alarmed me," writes Isaac Williams, p. 108. And *after* the publication of Tract No. 90, he said that he thought the Church of Rome was right, "so much so that we ought to join it."

*The Foreign Church Chronicle and Review* is a little Quarterly to which we have always been pleased to invite the attention of our readers (R. Berkeley, 29, Paternoster Row). The March number opens with an "In Memoriam" article on Bishops Harold Browne and Harvey Goodwin, Archbishop Heykamp (Utrecht) and Professor Damalas (University of Athens). It contains an extract from the paper on Dr. Cheyne in a recent CHURCHMAN, in connection with the "Declaration on the Truth of Holy Scripture." In an article on "The Later Jansenism," based on M. Séché's valuable History, the *Chronicle* says: "There is one question which the consideration of the *Petite Eglise* forces upon us. What has "M. Hyacinthe Loyson done for these simple folk? They are walled round with prejudices, granted, but they have much in common with a "protest against Rome, which is, at the same time, Catholic. Has any "effort been made to gather them round the eloquent ex-Carmélite? If not,

"why not? Has M. Loyson made any steady and persistent effort to "attach to himself the members of the *Petite Eglise* in the Isère and La "Vendée? If not, why not?" From a reference in the *Chronicle* to this Magazine we may with all modesty quote as follows: "Anyone wishing to know the sober views of thoughtful English Churchmen may well read the CHURCHMAN each month."

The fifth volume of the new issue of Maurice's *Lincoln's Inn Sermons*, in six volumes, has now reached us (Macmillan and Co.).

*The Clergy List* for the present year, admirably arranged, and altogether an excellent directory, is published by Messrs. Kelly and Co., 51, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, E.C. To the completeness and accuracy of the work we bear witness with much satisfaction. The editor, Mr. Hailstone, is evidently careful as to the smallest details. It is a handy volume, very well printed.

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### THE MONTH.

THE Clergy Discipline (Immorality) Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but an inquiry in the Lower House drew from Mr. Balfour the statement that it is still a Government measure. It has been read a third time.

The Government persevered with their proposal to vote £20,000 in aid of preliminary surveys for the Mombasa railway; and the majority was encouraging.

The *National Church* has an excellent article on the useful debate on the Church in Wales. The Solicitor-General's speech was indeed "closely reasoned." The speech of the First Lord of the Treasury was also eloquent and effective.

Amongst the signatures to the Counter Declaration in the matter of the Dublin Ordination appear the names of the Deans of Canterbury, Llandaff, Lichfield, Ripon, and Norwich.

Mr. Eugene Stock and the Rev. R. W. Stewart (of Foochow) are the two members of the C.M.S. deputation to Australia.

At some of the things said by speakers—Conservatives—in the majority on the Eastbourne question we confess we were surprised. The lawlessness of the Salvation Army at Eastbourne has been scandalous. The *Guardian* says:

We do not deny, of course, that occasions may arise from time to time which compel men to choose between obedience to the law of the land and obedience to the law of God, and if there had been any prohibition of Salvationist preaching in the Act our sympathies would have been wholly with General Booth. But when the Salvationists claim to be the sole judges, not merely of the end they propose to themselves, but of the methods by which that end is to be attained, the case is different. To set the authorities at defiance for the sake of beating a big drum is to our minds wholly incompatible with the respect which every good citizen owes to the laws under which he lives.

An appeal from Irish Nonconformists to their brethren in England and Wales is an address against Home Rule, on the ground that "almost every one of the 990 non-Episcopal ministers in Ireland" is opposed to "any scheme which would establish a Parliament in Dublin possessing legislative and executive authority."

Bishop Oxenden's autobiography was reviewed in a recent CHURCHMAN. The good Bishop died at Biarritz.