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THE
CHURCHMAN

APRIL, 1891.

ART. I.—THE PERMANENT CLAIMS OF THE OLD
TESTAMENT.

THERE is a very general impression abroad in the present day that even if the New Testament is able to maintain its ground as an authoritative definition of Christianity, it is impossible for the Old Testament to secure its hereditary position as an authoritative record of divine revelation. So much doubt has been thrown upon its history, its antiquity, its genuineness, and its authenticity, that to defend it is regarded by many as a forlorn hope, and the attempt to do so as simply labour lost and the extravagance of folly; while it is currently supposed that the New Testament is the charter of Christianity, which is, therefore, independent of the Old. But though it is not wise to make Christianity answerable with its life for every statement of the Old Testament or for the genuineness of every one of its books, yet it is certainly true that if the credit of the Old Testament is destroyed as an instrument of Divine revelation, the authority of the New Testament will be very seriously impaired, and the authority of Christ Himself will be shaken if it can be shown that He was wrong in the use He made of the Old Testament Scriptures.

For example: we are told by St. Luke that after our Lord's resurrection He said unto His disciples: "These are the words that I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses and in the Prophets and in the Psalms concerning Me." It is possible for us to reject St. Luke's testimony in this matter, and to affirm that he misrepresented his Master. But putting aside such an extreme course as fatal to anything like loyalty to Christ or the evangelists, we may note, first, that as these words were spoken after the resurrection, it is impossible to suppose that they were in any way conditioned by the limitations, real or imaginary, of Christ's humanity.

If the words were those of the risen Christ they can in no degree be open to the suspicion of fallibility. We may implicitly trust them, if we can trust any words of Christ. But, secondly, He tells us Himself that what He taught His disciples then was in the main identical with what He had taught them while He was with them and before His death. Consequently there can have been no essential variation between His teaching before and after His resurrection. What He was teaching them then did not differ materially from what He had taught them previously. What, then, was this? That there was a necessity that the Scriptures of the Old Testament should be fulfilled in Him. That, therefore, these Scriptures were not merely supposed to look forward to, to anticipate, and to predict certain incidents or events in His career, but that it was a fact that they did so. That they did so, therefore, was not a matter of chance or opinion, but a matter of fact; that in the providence of God they not only did so, but were intended to do so, and that it was as He had said, easier for heaven and earth to pass than for one tittle of the law to fail (St. Luke xvi. 17). If, therefore, this was so, as He said it was, it must follow that, at all events, the Scriptures of the Old Testament were the vehicles of the intents and purposes of the Divine mind. They could not have this forward-looking significance, this distant reference and meaning, without having been selected to that end and endowed accordingly.

The Scriptures of the Old Testament, then, must have differed intrinsically from all other books, because no other books had the same function or the same characteristics. No other books were in the same way vehicles of the intents and purposes of the Divine mind, as it is obvious that no other books had intentional references to Jesus. Perhaps it would not be unfair to go even further, and say that the order in which our Lord spake of these works agreeing, as it did, with the Jewish belief in their sanctity, was His confirmation of their legitimate order in point of importance. He implied, even if He did not intend us to infer, that the Law was of higher authority than the Prophets and the Prophets than the Psalms. We can well believe this in the latter case. The prophets, if their mission was a reality, were entitled to more deference than the unknown authors of spontaneous poetical effusions. But with regard to the Law, it would be simply preposterous to rank that before the Prophets if the great bulk of it was of Exile origin.

We have, therefore, a statement made by the risen Christ which undoubtedly lends countenance to the traditional belief of the nation with regard to the authority and im-

portance of the law; and when this is set over against the other statement in the Sermon on the Mount, that no tittle of the law should fail, we see not only that the teaching of Christ in this matter was identical, as He said it was, before and after His resurrection, but also that we are not at liberty to pass lightly over His words on the latter occasion as if they were only a casual adoption of the common belief of the nation with regard to their sacred writings. This does not seem to be an undue pressure of His words; but, at all events, it is patent and undeniable that we can only infer from what He said that there was in the Scriptures of the Old Testament an element that was intended to be understood as having direct reference to Him, and which, whatever its primary meaning may have been, received only the complete and intentional fulfilment of its meaning when interpreted of Him. But if this is so, then it is impossible to regard the Old Testament as any ordinary book, because this very fact of its ulterior meaning distinguishes and differentiates it from all other books.

It seems, then, that our Lord distinctly taught us to believe that the Old Testament was intended to refer to Him; but intended by whom? In the great majority of cases, probably not by the original writers, but by the Spirit and providence of God, which, as far as they were concerned, unwittingly directed and overruled their writings to such an extent as to make them more applicable to another than they were to themselves. We are told, indeed, by Christ that Abraham rejoiced to see His day—that he saw it, and was glad—and therefore we must suppose that some special illumination was vouchsafed to him, which enabled him to see it; but even then it would not follow that the writer of the narrative about Abraham shared also in that illumination. He may have written down in ignorance a narrative of the things that befell Abraham without understanding them himself. This is conceivable, whether or not it was the case. In like manner the patriarchs and David may have had knowledge vouchsafed to them which faintly glimmers in the narrative about them, though it may have been hidden from the narrator. Moses, it may be conceived, but partly understood the purpose and object of his mission, and though he spoke confidently of the prophet that was to succeed him, he can, without special illumination, have known but little about him or about what his own words meant.

When we come to such passages as Ps. xxii. and Is. liii. the case is different. It is actually more easy to believe that these Scriptures were overruled to correspond as they did with subsequent events, than it is to believe that they were the

plain and literal description of events that happened to their writers. Instead, therefore, of adopting the course that some critics are disposed to take, and arguing that *Psa. xxii.* cannot be David's, because we know and can conceive of no events in his history answering to it, we should rather say that we know of no one in the whole circle of Old Testament history of whom it is likely to have been literally true; and, therefore, on the supposition that the Spirit of God spake by David, as he said it did (*2 Sam. xxiii. 2*), the very historical improbability of the incidents described in the Psalm is in favour of the correctness of the superscription, seeing that our Lord took the first words of the Psalm into His own mouth in the supreme hour of His death, and afterwards led us to believe that there were things written in the Psalms concerning Him. This may not be a position that commends itself to the critical mind, but it is one that can be established logically step by step, and it is wholly unassailable if only we accept our Lord's testimony concerning Himself. The question is, Given the Old Testament as we have it, and how is it to be accounted for? Is it merely the spontaneous production of a particular nation, like the literature of other nations; or is it marked by features totally distinct from those which characterise other literatures, and which cannot be explained as they stand, but which are supposed to have received an immense accession of illustration and explanation from events which occurred many ages afterwards? If it were simply like the literature of other nations, then it would not differ from them in being capable of receiving this accession of unexpected illustration from after-ages. For it is clear that the early history or literature of Greece and Rome did not resemble it in this respect. No one pretends that Alexander the Great or Cæsar was the person whose coming had been anticipated ages before by poets or seers; nor is there anything in either literature which can be reasonably taken to render this probable. But with the Old Testament it is different. We may dispute the propriety, the probability, or the possibility of applying the Scriptures of the Old Testament to Christ, but there can be no question that it was the fact of this having been done which to a large degree laid the foundations of the Christian Church. This is a mere matter of history, of which there is abundant documentary evidence. We have, then, to account for the fact that what was not possible and did not occur in the case of the literature of Greece and Rome, not only was possible, but did actually occur in the case of the Old Testament literature. Why was this the case? Simply because there were notorious features in the Old Testament which lent themselves with remarkable readiness to the

Christian interpretation. Take, for instance, the Book of Genesis, a book of whose author we know absolutely nothing, and whose date has been assigned to any period between 750 and 1500 before Christ. With regard to this book, I am disposed to think that from whatever sources it may have been compiled, Moses was acquainted with and to a certain extent responsible for it, though manifestly a great deal of it must have been in existence before his time. This is unquestionable if it is to be relied upon as history, and that it is our only authority for the earliest history of mankind and of civilization is obvious. But, as a matter of fact, it is commonly recognised that we are under great obligations to the Book of Genesis for the early history of the race, and that many particulars have been preserved to us therein which we should not otherwise have known. But it may at once be said, What about the opening chapters of Genesis? Is it possible that they can be worthy of a moment's attention in view of the modern researches and conclusions of geology? I answer most emphatically, Yes; and I would ask, Is it possible that at any period, even 800 or 1,000 years before Christ, this narrative of creation is likely to have been written down conjecturally? I do not believe it for a moment; but if this narrative is not conjectural, it must have been derived from some other sources. Where are those sources to be found? There is, however, so much in these chapters that is illustrated by modern science and, so to say, verified thereby, that the writer, whoever he was, is entitled to the credit of so far anticipating modern science. Of course, it is needless to observe that there are many points of conflict—or, at all events, of apparent conflict; but I am prepared to maintain that there is so much in these chapters that is confirmed rather than contradicted by science, that our estimate of them is at once raised very greatly; and, at all events, the unity of the worker and the oneness of his work stand out in striking contrast to the puerilities of other cosmogonies, and bespeak our reverential attention to his message.

Take, then, the words attributed to Noah: "God shall enlarge Japheth, and dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be their servant." It matters very little when these words were written, for we gain next to nothing by putting them as late as they can possibly be put. If we suppose them to have had any reference to the subjugation of Canaan, that does not explain the clause, "God shall enlarge Japheth." I maintain that, assign what date we please to these words attributed to Noah, and it is impossible to explain them as having been suggested by the writer's survey of the world in his own time. And yet there is that in them which, even now, thousands

of years after they are supposed to have been spoken, is no bad generalization of the facts of ethnology. The vast expansion of the Japhetic races, the unique position of the family of Shem, and the degradation of the Hamite races, are facts which are patent to our own observation and experience; but it is too much to suppose that they were as obvious a thousand years before Christ. And we may remark in passing that this is not a case in which retranslation helps us to any extent. It matters little whether we read the words precatively or affirmatively. There is still a similar correspondence with fact; and it is the apparent anticipation of fact at an age when naturally there can have been no such anticipation that is at once striking and inexplicable. It is perhaps worth while to add that in the light of St. John's statement, "The word was made flesh, and dwelt in our tents," there is probably a significant allusion to this early promise, which may serve largely to illustrate the character of events which are sufficiently striking independently.

Take, again, the history of Abraham. If it was written to gratify the family pride of his descendants, we must still put it early enough to be a factor in the history of the Exodus; for there can be no doubt that the promise of the possession of Canaan professedly given to him acted as a motive with the people to obtain it. But even then this does not suffice to explain the form of that other promise: "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." What explanation can be offered of the simple fact that this promise is recorded as given, to Abraham and repeated to Isaac and Jacob, but is not mentioned or barely alluded to again in the Old Testament?—*e.g.*, Micah vii. 20. It cannot be said that the form of the blessing is a natural or a common one, because it is found nowhere but in the Book of Genesis. The promise of the land is frequently referred to in the Psalms and elsewhere, and this seems to show the kind of hold that the history of Abraham had acquired on the people; but the notion of the blessing through the seed seems to have slumbered from the time of the patriarchs till it was revived and burst out with full maturity and vigour in the Epistle to the Galatians and the Gospel of St. Matthew. Yet the promise of blessing through the seed had been on record for many hundreds of years before a line of the New Testament was written. It was not, therefore, written designedly with any reference to the use hereafter to be made of it—to imagine that is an absurdity; and yet there it was, unique and solitary in its character, and no less so in the use to which it was afterwards applied, and in respect of the events which occasioned the application.

Take again, in this same book, the supremacy promised to

Judah in the blessing of Jacob. He is the lion-like tribe. The sceptre and the ruler's staff are assigned to him for a definite period, no matter what, for it is useless to discuss the disputed "Shiloh," though a consensus of rabbinical interpretation refers it to the Messiah, and to Him is to be the gathering or obedience of peoples. We do not know the date of this blessing. Let it be granted that it was intended to refer to David, and was of his time, which, however, I personally do not for one moment believe. At all events, as a matter of fact the tribe of Judah was that which retained possession of the throne till the time of the Captivity, and after the Captivity it was a representative of this tribe that led back the tribes who returned to their fatherland. These are facts which cannot be questioned, and the New Testament is a witness to the belief in the time of Christ that the Messiah was to spring from the tribe of Judah; and in the Book of Revelation, rightly or wrongly, Jesus is called the Lion of the tribe of Judah. It is undeniable that for centuries this promise had been recorded in the literature, and served as a basis for the belief. If we set aside the New Testament application, that does not remove the promise any more than it explains it; if we accept the application of the New Testament, that at once enhances the value of the original blessing, while it invests it with a possible significance which, if it is allowed, constrains us to acknowledge the indication of Divine prescience and prediction.

We pass on to the Book of Exodus and the ordinance of the Passover. He must be a very incompetent critic who, in reading the twelfth chapter, does not see in every verse the tokens of authenticity and genuineness and the living memorial of "that night to be much observed unto the Lord by all the children of Israel in their generations." After a lapse of more than three thousand years the rite then instituted is still observed by the children of Israel in professed obedience to this original command, and no one pretends that any other explanation or origin can be found for it than this which the history supplies. The essential character of the Passover was that of a feast upon a sacrifice, and there is every reason to believe that every year since the first Passover the commemoration of the deliverance from Egypt has been observed in this way. The annals of the world supply no similar instance of anything like the same antiquity. But it cannot be denied that the Jewish Passover was virtually the parent of the Christian Easter, which in like manner perpetuates the sacrifice of Christ our Passover year by year at the corresponding season, and has done so for more than eighteen centuries and a half by a feast upon the sacrifice. It is possible to deny that there is anything more than an imaginary connection between

the death of Christ and the Passover. At all events, the Passover for fifteen centuries laid the foundation for this connection, and if it is anything more than imaginary, then it is not possible that the interest attaching to the institution of the Passover can ever fail; while, if the connection is a real one, it stamps the institution as Divine.

The sacrificial system of Leviticus is minute and burdensome; it is so elaborate that there is an increasing tendency in the present day to regard it as a parasitical growth on the simplicity of the primitive worship, and as the late invention of the priests at Babylon. If this were so, then it is impossible to acquit them of the most barefaced forgery and the most impious imposture, seeing that the individual precepts purport to be the direct commands of the Lord to Moses, or to Moses and Aaron, and twice over in the last two chapters the bulk of them is described particularly as given to him for the children of Israel in Mount Sinai; so that in view of the proposed exilic origin, there is a deliberate falsehood both as to time and place. It has to be explained by what method the nation was prevailed upon to accept a system so burdensome on the mere assertion that it was a thousand years older than they knew it was. Would it be possible to get the English nation at the present day, or any considerable body of any nation at any day, to consent to be bound by a recently introduced ritual code on the mere assertion that it was a thousand years old? We have a right to press the necessary improbability of such a course, because we are able to form a sufficiently accurate idea of the practical difficulty attending it; whereas we are not competent to decide upon the extent to which prescriptions apparently inconsistent or contradictory may have been reconciled in practice according to circumstances or conditions of which we are ignorant.

But, apart from this, the generally sacrificial or mediatorial character of the tribe of Levi requires to be explained. This is recognised by Malachi, and there are continual traces of it in the earlier books. How came the nation to acquiesce in the priestly character of a certain tribe? According to the history this is plain, and it apparently dates from the time of Moses, as it is recognised in his blessing of the tribes, although in the corresponding blessing of Jacob there is no hint of it, though there is an unfavourable promise of their being divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel, which, as a matter of fact, was the consequence of the other blessing, and the condition under which it was fulfilled. It does not seem that this position was a self-chosen one; nor is it likely to have been allowed by the other tribes if it were. It is represented as the deliberate assignment of God; but in this case the selection of Levi as

the priestly tribe becomes indicative of a principle in His action, which is that He selects the conditions under which He is willing to be approached. He appoints and authorizes a system of mediation in virtue of which the priesthood is not a human device for drawing near to God, but a divinely ordained means of bringing men near to Himself. That is to say, by it He is seeking men, even the bulk of the nation, according to certain prescribed methods which He has appointed, and not they invented. If this is so, it overthrows the notion of priestly invention at Babylon, which would have been an elaborately graduated human method of approaching God, and would have furnished no Divinely appointed basis for that scheme of mediation through the sacrifice of a well-beloved Son which the New Testament makes known to us as the fulfilment of the sacrificial types and shadows of the Old.

If we accept the Epistle to the Hebrews as in any sense an authorised interpretation of the ritual of the tabernacle, we see at once how impossible it is to submit tamely to the suggestion of an exilic origin for the law; for, if that supposition is allowed, not only is the authority of the Levitical law destroyed, but it is no longer possible to attach any weight to those minute correspondences which the writer of that epistle has delighted to point out and to interpret; and in depreciating the value of the law we reduce his interpretation of it to nothing more than a fanciful inculcation of certain principles which rest upon a fictitious and worthless basis. For instance, the ritual of the Day of Atonement is especially dwelt upon by him, as having priceless Divine significance; but, according to recent theories, the ritual of this Day was one of the very latest additions to the law, as late as, if not later than, the time of Nehemiah. On this hypothesis we may rightly ask what evidence is there in fact or reason for believing that these prescriptions had any Divine authority, or that they were, without such authority, worthy of being presented as the Divine foreshadowings of Christ's entrance on our behalf into the holy of holies of the tabernacle not made with hands? In all earnestness and sincerity I commend these considerations to my brethren of the laity, believing that it is impossible to discredit or disparage the main features of the Levitical law without impairing to an equal extent the reality of those evangelical truths which are proposed to us as fulfilling them.

We pass on to the Book of Numbers. In the fourteenth chapter we read: "And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word; but as truly as I live all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord." Let it be granted that we do not know the date of this. At all events, it would seem

to be earlier than Habukkuk and Isaiah and the seventy-second Psalm, all of which presuppose it. And if it was earlier than the time of David, it may well be as early as the time of Moses; and from its threefold quotation afterwards it is evident, at all events, that it was not without its influence on the national mind. But we are constrained to ask, How is it that this thought found expression fifteen hundred years before Christ under the conditions described; and, finding expression as it did, how has it been vindicated as it has? It is to be observed that it is declared to be the very promise of Almighty God. This must either be a gross instance of prosopopœia, utterly unwarranted and unwarrantable, or it must be taken as genuine. In the former case, it is not explained by assigning it to such an origin, for even then it turns out to be a wonderful anticipation of the fact; but in the latter case it is at once explained, and our astonishment at its apparent correspondence with the fact gives place to the perplexity we feel in explaining in any adequate manner the way in which a promise so apparently valid was made known to the historian of the book; while we are totally baffled by the effort to explain the means by which any mortal man could be so made the instrument of a Divine communication as to leave the evidence of it on record for countless ages, with the prospect of each succeeding age affording fresh and fresh demonstration of its truth.

We now come to Deuteronomy. We have lately been told that "the true author of Deuteronomy is the writer who introduces Moses in the third person." Then on precisely the same principle we may fairly ask, Who is the author of the history of Thucydides or of the commentaries of Cæsar? If it were suggested that these works were written by an unknown author in their name, we should say they were spurious; and most undoubtedly, if Deuteronomy is not the work of Moses, as it professes to be, it also is spurious, and the writer of it guilty of forgery. It matters not how pure and laudable his motive may have been, because, as a matter of fact, he has imposed upon the world, and intended to do so; and if Moses did not write Deuteronomy, then we can place reliance on no single statement that purports to be made by him that we do not choose to believe is corroborated from other sources. The communications, then, and exhortations made in the Divine name are reduced to ideal and imaginary harangues of no value whatever, because they have no foundation of truth or fact on which to rest. If God did not speak to Moses, what becomes of the Mosaic dispensation? What becomes of the law which St. Paul tells us was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator, and of which Christ told us that no jot

or tittle should pass till all was fulfilled? It is all very well to say that such "critical investigations" as these do not really touch "the *fact* of revelation," because it is precisely that which they do touch, and it is solely on this ground that they are worth refuting. We want to know whether we have any real revelation, say in the Pentateuch and in the Mosaic dispensation as there preserved, or not; and, if so, what is the nature of that revelation. Because, if the bulk of the Pentateuch was written in Babylon, and if Deuteronomy is of the age of Josiah, it is all moonshine to talk of *that* as revelation; and then in that case there is left us we know not what, whether the Decalogue or anything less than that, to regard as the original Divine revelation given to Moses. It is absurd to say that if this was the "mode" or "form" that the revelation assumed, it can still be regarded as a fact; for most assuredly a revelation so communicated would be a fiction, and not a fact. It could only by a very fallacious figure of speech be called a revelation of which the *fact* would be the creation of our own minds and nothing more. Have we any ground to believe that God spake to Moses at all; and, if so, what are we justified in believing to have come from Him? Is it the Decalogue, or certain parts of Exodus or Deuteronomy, or what is it? For that our Lord taught us that "the Law" generally came from God is beyond all doubt or dispute. But we are bold to say that if the bulk of the law was concocted in Babylon, or Deuteronomy written merely in the name of Moses in the age of Josiah by a literary adventurer unauthorized and unknown, or by a body of priests on their own responsibility and for their own ends, which they mistook for, or identified with, the ends of God, then it is entirely gratuitous and fatally misleading to say or to suppose that God was in any sense the author of it.

It is, then, of the highest importance that we determine with ourselves in what sense and to what extent God spake by Moses, for beyond all question our Lord has led us to believe that He did so in some special and exceptional way. Deuteronomy has represented to us pretty plainly what that way was. If Deuteronomy is a forgery, we can give no credit to its representation. If Deuteronomy is genuine it is the sublimest book that ever was written, and gives us the sublimest conception of the revelation of God by the hand of the mediator. But it is an error to say that the majesty of its conception is independent of its truth of fact. If it is not true in fact, it is, for aught we can tell, not true in its representation of God. Take, for instance, the ninth chapter. What is the nucleus of fact that underlies it? How can we tell if what we read is not based on the authority of the Lawgiver

Himself? We may brush it aside as imaginary, improbable, untrue. Take, again, the promise of the prophet in the eighteenth chapter. If this was written under the monarchy it simply cannot be true, it is absurd to suppose that there is any truth in it, for we have no other authority for the fact, and the bare memory of the circumstance, personal as it was to Moses, cannot have been preserved for seven centuries. If, therefore, it is not genuine, it is not real, it is not true, no such promise was ever given. For to suppose that it was the ideal setting of an imaginary promise, based upon the actual experience of the rise of the prophetic order, is to deprive it of all value as an actual promise in the past, and to render it worthless as the basis of hopes for the future, and of hopes, moreover, that were fulfilled in Christ.

If we are prepared to say that God was content to take this forgery of the eighth century B.C., and to make it the vehicle of this imaginary and pretended promise which He was, nevertheless, content to honour, as He did by Christ, then be it so; but it remains to be shown in what way this is a conception more worthy of God or more probably consistent with the truth than that which receives it in its literal sense as a definite and distinct promise given to Moses, and recorded by him as it manifestly and undeniably professes to be. It is one of the perplexing problems of this book how to explain this promise of the prophet like unto Moses in the eighteenth chapter. It is clear that the writer of the last three verses of the book had it before him, and the later that addition is supposed to be, the greater is the significance of the comment it makes upon it. But it is not difficult to see that the canon of the Old Testament closes without any apparent realisation of the hopes inspired by this promise, for no one between Moses and Malachi can compare with him; and yet there it is, either to give the lie to the pretensions advanced by the Old Testament itself, or put forth by others in its favour, or else to stand as a challenge to the world to account for its existence apart from its possible reference to Christ, who taught us to believe that Moses wrote of Him. At all events this is one of the many features which stamp the Old Testament as a unique literary phenomenon, and it utterly defies explanation unless we accept it as a Divine promise which Christ recognised and fulfilled. But as long as these features are characteristic of the elder volume of Revelation, it may confidently lay claim to be the record of a Revelation, and as such may rely on its permanent interest for mankind.

With regard to the history of the Old Testament, it must be borne in mind that in many cases it is our only authority, and that in many its testimony has been confirmed contrary to all

expectation by the course of modern discovery. This is especially true in the case of Nineveh and the Hittites. The Book of Genesis is indispensable for the study of the earliest dawn of history and ethnology. But the later historical books also have laid us under obligations which are shared by no other sources of information. And the history itself is very remarkable. For a long while the nation seems to have resisted the tendency to develop into monarchy. The Pentateuch bears witness to this natural tendency, Gen. xvii. 6, 16, and xxxv. 11; Deut. xvii. 14; but it is clear that from some reason or other Samuel was very reluctant to yield to the wishes of the people to have a king, and after his election he was set aside in favour of an unknown rival, in whose family the throne continued for nearly five centuries. It is evident that the most explicit promises were believed to centre in David and his house, but the ideal king seemed never to arise. Solomon, in whose reign the kingdom attained its acme of splendour, was a conspicuous failure, and the disruption of the monarchy which followed threatened to be the destruction of all the national hopes, which, nevertheless, though they languished, never seemed wholly to fail until a thousand years after David. A professed descendant of his suffered death at Jerusalem under the charge of being the King of the Jews, and after that promise and expectation alike seemed to fail, and the nation and the national hopes together passed away.

Conjecture and hypothesis may do what it will with the details of this history, but it will be difficult to disprove the main facts of the outline as now given; and as long as the world lasts there will survive the memory of David and his throne, with all the associations of poetry and promise connected therewith, and there will survive also the known historic fact of the life and death of Him who was called the Son of David, and whose title over His cross was the King of the Jews. These two facts, the distinct landmarks of a millennium, are simply indestructible, and the problem with which from age to age the world will have to deal is the relation in which they stand to each other. It is impossible materially to alter either, and it is impossible to deny the relationship which *may* subsist between them. But as long as this is a possible relationship, and as long as the world lasts, it is one which will appear to many more or less obvious; it is one which will require a full and sufficient explanation, and it is one which will bear witness to the undying interest inherently attaching to the Old Testament and to its permanent claims on the attention of mankind.

There still remains the entire field of the prophetic and

poetic books of the Old Testament, the psalms and the prophets. This in some respects is the more important part, inasmuch as it is of more general interest and corresponds more nearly with the ordinary literature of other nations. The Hebrew prophets present a unique phenomenon in literature; there is nothing which even faintly answers to them elsewhere, and no treatment of them can be fair and adequate which does not do justice to this unique character and recognise it as the evidence of a unique cause producing it. The question whether or not there is a natural genesis for the Old Testament seems to me to be decided by the prophets and the Psalms. Take, for instance, the prophet Hosea. He was a prophet of the northern kingdom, and flourished in the eighth century before Christ. How, then, are we to account for his saying that after many days the Children of Israel should return and seek the Lord their God and David their king? The very form of the words shows that they contain a promise; they throw down a challenge to futurity, and they show that the prophet, though of the northern kingdom, recognised the authority of David's throne, and looked forward to a descendant of his, in accordance with the promise given to him. What justification, we may ask, could the prophet find in the survey of his times to warrant such an assertion as this? Can we venture to say that it was a random utterance of no value and no meaning? Does not the most cursory glance show that the subsequent history of five-and-twenty centuries has many times amply vindicated it, while it gives thereby a sufficiently intelligible pledge that a far more significant fulfilment may still await us if we tarry for it? Kuenen regards the moral earnestness of the prophets, combined with their deep piety, as one of their principal characteristics. Where was the moral earnestness of Hosea, if he wrote down such a promise as this, and meant nothing by it; and if he meant nothing by it, how are we to regard it in the light that subsequent history has thrown upon it? How shall we disregard the seal that the Spirit and the providence of God has thereby set to its authority and truth?

Prophecy, however, presents the fatal difficulty that unless we ascribe the knowledge of future events to the writers, which we are not at liberty to presuppose, it is always possible to deny that their language has any relation to such future events. How can their words be referred with any show of reason to events and circumstances of which they had no knowledge and cannot, unless by a miracle, have had any? And if they had no knowledge of certain events, how can we be sure that their language can rightly be referred to those events? To this we may reply that we know it by the best

of all tests, by a process of induction. If there were but one passage in the prophets which we could refer to any future event, we might well doubt about the reference of that. But when we can gather together, not from one prophet, but from many, passages to which no adequate meaning can be assigned from the history of their times, but to which a most remarkable meaning is only too obvious if we can but be allowed to find it in the history of Christ, it becomes a question whether it is more reasonable to reject this multifold and converging reference than it is to deny to the Spirit and providence of God the will and the power to select this method as the means of indicating what He intended to be understood by the correspondence of prophecy with the facts of history. It must be borne in mind that the mission of the prophets was acknowledged, not only in their own day, but also by posterity and the nation at large, and it was the long result of time and history which vindicated this claim, which was rather given to than assumed by them.

For example: the twenty-second Psalm, among others, is either an exaggerated description of the personal experience of an unknown writer, or it is the ideal and prophetic delineation of sufferings which the writer was privileged to conceive of as his own. In the former case it is devoid of all human interest, as it probably had no human analogue, and does not appeal to any general human interest; in the latter it is at once invested with the highest possible interest, because it depicts so graphically the sufferings of one with whom, on other grounds, our sympathy is enlisted; and I am bold to affirm that it is impossible to enter into His sufferings by the sympathy of faith and not feel that they are anticipated and described in the twenty-second Psalm, as if the writer also had been a witness of them, and as if the Holy Spirit, who was conscious of them, had Himself inspired the Psalmist's thoughts and directed the Psalmist's pen. Of course this is entirely on the supposition that Jesus was what we believe Him to be, and that the Psalmist was guided and enlightened in the way suggested. If we start with the *assumption* that any spiritual illumination of this kind is impossible, and that the Incarnation was a mistake, then these remarks are futile; but that is the very question that has to be proved.

Our position is this, That conceding hypothetically that the New Testament was Divinely intended to supplement and complete the Old, there is that in the Old Testament, which cannot adequately be explained, which is so elucidated by the New as to be not inconsistent with, but rather confirmatory of, this position thus hypothetically conceded; and if *on other grounds* the New Testament witness concerning Christ can

be established, then there is everything in the Old Testament to sustain rather than to disprove that testimony. We have manifestly no right to assume the possibility or the impossibility of such Divine direction or enlightenment as is implied by inspiration, or that the Old Testament does or does not contain the evidence thereof; but the question is, Which position is most consistent with all the facts; namely, that the Old Testament was so ordered and prearranged as to present an insoluble enigma, or that the New Testament was the result of a series of mistakes, based mainly upon an entire misconception of the Old; or that the New Testament and the Old, being what they severally are, and that, as is clear, independently of any human design, the relation in which they stand to each other is such as to warrant us in the conclusion that the Old was Divinely designed to foreshadow the New and the New the historic witness to the validity and reality of its foreshadowings? If there is, as I maintain, sufficient and valid ground for this conclusion, then it is simply impossible that the Old Testament can ever rightly be regarded as an obsolete collection of books. Its significance is determined by other considerations altogether beyond its sphere, and its interest is mainly derived from events and circumstances long subsequent to it, which combine to show that its claims on our attention are permanent and indestructible.

STANLEY LEATHES, D.D.

ART. II.—JOHN SINCLAIR, ARCHDEACON OF
MIDDLESEX.

(Concluded from page 308.)

IN 1853 the mind of the Church was much occupied with the proposal to throw the Crystal Palace open on Sunday; with the question of Church rates; with the proposed Charity Commission; and with the usual educational discussions. On these four topics accordingly the Archdeacon addressed the clergy. The Charge has a vigorous defence of the authority of the Lord's Day: it contains a useful history of Church rates; discusses the charities department, which was then being projected for the control of the 28,840 charities of England and Wales, with property estimated at 75 millions sterling. It contains also a very accurate forecast of the difficulties that would be engendered by any proposal for school rates. He earnestly deprecated suspicions, misapprehensions, and jealousies, reminding the clergy that the watchful

eye of the Papal enemy was never closed in slumber, and eager to profit by their own divisions.

In 1855 the Archdeacon gave a very useful and memorable address on preaching. He thought that there was not enough of faith and earnestness in the discharge of this great office, and pointed to some of the great monuments of the past as the result of preaching. He showed that thus an effective oral address might be attained by study and practice; he urged, however, that for the purposes of such oral speaking a previously written sermon was not less necessary than for one delivered from manuscript. He enforced the study of popular science amongst those who had to address educated audiences, and earnestly exhorted the clergy to some acquaintance also with mental and moral philosophy and economic thought. The passage on the latter study, delivered thirty-five years ago, is very remarkable, in view of the attention which has been lately turned to that subject. In language of humorous pungency he deprecated the evil of hasty composition, and of confusion and inappropriateness of thought and style. He pointed out that there were two dialects in popular use, the learned and the popular, and advised that sermons as far as possible should be in the latter. He recommended means for avoiding meagreness of thought, and showed the absurdity of such arbitrary restrictions as bringing all Christian doctrine into every discourse. He reminded the clergy that edification was more important in dealing with a settled congregation than conversion. "Personal appeals," he said, "were needed, not pulpit essays." He concluded with excellent and sensible rules for delivery.

The resignation of Bishop Blomfield in 1856 and the appointment of his successor gave a welcome pretext to the Archdeacon, whose unobtrusiveness was ever so distinctive a feature in his character, to retire for a while into the background, and not to anticipate the questions which were ripening under the newly-appointed Bishop. It was at this time that he wrote for subsequent publication that charming series of personal reminiscences and experiences, to which allusion has already been made, and from which many quotations have been borrowed in this short biographical notice.

The Charge of 1859 might be taken as a commentary on the statement made the other day by Mr. Charles Booth, the economist and statistician, to the effect that the one thing which had struck him more than anything else in his inquiries into the state of the poor in London was the enormous and unsuspected social benefit of the parish system of the National Church. The title was "The Parochial System of England," and it opened with the quotation from the American states-

man, Daniel Webster: "Among the many great advantages," he said, "which the English nation enjoy, the greatest is their parochial system. It not only is an institution of inestimable value in itself, but it gives stability to all the rest." After an eloquent appeal, suggested by an English landscape, the Archdeacon reviewed in detail the pastorate and its blessed administration, the visitation from house to house, the care for the education of the children, the influence for good over the powerful and wealthy, the auxiliary forces which the parish minister summons, the social benefits of provident funds, hospitals, asylums, wise charitable foundations of every kind, the benefits of toleration and civil liberty, and other like inestimable advantages. He pointed out, in language which is very appropriate to the present epoch of blazing self-advertisement, that this good comes not with observation, but is like the little leaven which leaveneth the whole lump, quiet, gentle, and unpretending. He showed in language which is even truer in the present day, when so many new and poorly-equipped parishes have been established, how grievously this great work was hindered by the poverty of ministers. Altogether opposed to robbing patrons and parishes, he suggested that poor parishes in public patronage should be transferred to any patron who showed his interest in the matter by providing the requisite endowment—a proposal which was afterwards embodied in the Act of Lord Westbury. The Archdeacon related how he had himself been the means of freeing poor parishes from certain inequitable burdens and rent-charges. He next spoke of the terribly redundant population of London, and described in vigorous language the heathenism of large districts of the Metropolis, earnestly bespeaking the cordial sympathy of all public bodies as well as private individuals with church builders.

The Charge of 1860 was on the subject of school rates in England and America. It is interesting to observe that at this time school accommodation had fairly advanced with the increase of the people. The total number of children in England and Wales between 3 and 15 years of age was in 1851 4,908,696, and was assumed to have since increased to 5,350,000. After necessary deductions, the whole number who ought to be in attendance in elementary schools might be estimated at 1,800,000. According to the returns of the National Society in 1857, the number of week-day scholars in Church schools alone was 1,187,000. For many years there had been a genial calm in the educational atmosphere. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the denominational system of education, because each religious body threw all its energy into its own schools. The Archdeacon, however, fully foresaw the

impending struggle with the rate system, which took effect ten years after, in the Act of 1870. He therefore reviewed the secular system in the United States, with a careful narrative of its rise and progress, and testimony from various sources as to its important results. He showed what all impartial people must acknowledge at once, that the Sunday-schools are a very impotent supplement. He quoted from the German Church in America, from the English Church in the States; he proved from facts how inefficacious secular education was in repressing crime, and how inseparably proportional were ignorance and vice; he gave the opinions of professors at New York; he related how the Americans had been driven to erect parochial schools in addition to the common schools system; and he produced real evidence as to the inefficiency and expensiveness of the educational system in Canada. He concluded with an impressive passage on the preciousness of the few years spent at school.

In the Charge of 1861 he dealt with the subject of modern scepticism, naturally suggested to him by the interest excited through the appearance of "Essays and Reviews." He recalled the interesting conference at the house of his old friend, Sir William Hamilton, the philosopher, at Edinburgh, at which he had been present, which included members of the Church of England, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and German Lutherans, where the latter had astonished the rest by their unshrinking scepticism. The Archdeacon, while not placing all the essayists or all modern rationalists on the same level, lamented that men among them, holding opinions so clearly contradictory to all that they had promised in their ordination vows, should think it right to remain in the orders of the Church; and he quoted the strong language of his learned and judicious predecessor, Archdeacon Waterland, in condemning subscription to the English formularies by men who were practically Arians as the plainest breach of sincerity and trust. He pointed out the false principle of all neology, the attempt to degrade and deprave the Divine agency. He showed that the idea of creation implied the arrangement by an eternal intelligence of all principles of development; every law of matter and mind which can be discovered only expresses the thought of God. In support of the ordinary theistical view of God, as the preserver of all things, he quoted the opinions of Bacon, Newton, Kepler, Reid, Stewart, and Clarke. He defended the unremitting energy of God, and put in a very strong and clear light, in opposition to Professor Baden Powell, the moral government of the universe. In describing the feebleness of modern Epicureanism, he asked in a passage of forcible eloquence whether the deity of Epicurus or of Christ

was the more rational. He showed how natural it is that mind should act on matter. Having an intimate acquaintance with the writings of Hume, he was able to show that Hume, far from denying the possibility of the miracles, questioned only the sufficiency of the evidence. He reminded his hearers that the purpose of the Bible miracles was fully adequate to their character. In contrast to the method insisted on by Bacon in the study of the Book of Nature, by first investigating the facts and then forming a theory, he pointed out how with regard to the Book of Revelation the Neologists first formed their theory of what a Revelation ought to teach, and then investigated the facts accordingly. He cautioned the clergy against relaxing in some fit of enthusiasm for liberality the subscription to the Church's creeds, so as to admit those who rejected the essential doctrines of Christianity; against taking up opinions as a matter of mere curiosity and speculation, when they were of serious and even vital importance; against being ready to accept almost anything which was taught by amiable and respectable men; and, lastly, against tampering with the authority of the Bible, for there was nothing else to stand upon.

In the next Charge, that of 1863, he continued the subject by taking the question, "Is it possible to find out God?" He began by clearing the ground, and showing that it was to the ancients rather than to the moderns that recourse must be had in reference to such a question, because the moderns could not get free from the influence of the Bible. He quoted a number of sentiments from Greek and Latin authors illustrating the extreme poverty and inadequacy of their notions of the Deity, reminding his audience that even Socrates was waiting for a Divine messenger. With all this he contrasted the incomparable superiority of the teaching of Scripture; to find God, in short, we must go to Revelation. The heathenism and crime of the nations which had not the Bible was worse now than ever. In opposition to Romanists, fanatics, and infidels, he showed, alike from science and from Scripture, that reason must be used in matters of faith. In the work of reason he laid down that the evidences of the authenticity and authority of the Bible as the Word of God must still be studied; secondly, that the Bible must be investigated, not with respect to natural science or political economy, but to religion. He ridiculed the pretensions of the higher criticism, and recommended certain safeguards for the use of the reasoning powers. Among these were the Creeds, which are of the highest historical value. He pointed out the hopelessness of making gradual concessions to neology, for neology would be satisfied with nothing less than complete surrender. Hume

himself had pointed out that the best way to undermine faith was by small successive attacks—a position which Bishop Berkeley also illustrated in his “Minute Philosopher,” and which Sir William Hamilton enforced in repeated conversations. He concluded by showing that toleration and honesty were not incompatible, while he earnestly advocated the primary virtues of loyalty and sincerity. He added four very interesting appendices: (1) Plato on “Divine Providence”; (2) Berkeley on “Scripture Inaccuracies”; (3) that Hume was sceptical rather than infidel, with an estimate of his discourse on the evidence of nature; (4) “Socrates and the Messiah.”

In the Charge of 1864, which the Archdeacon called “The Rights of Bishops, Presbyters, and Laity,” he desired, amidst all the countless debates, theories, and discussions of the day, to lay down certain fixed principles, around which all these discussions might ebb and flow without harmful effect. In discussing the Episcopal constitution of the Church, he quoted from the Lutheran framers of the Augsburg Confession, in which they declared their desire to testify to the world that they would gladly preserve the ecclesiastical and canonical government if the bishops would only cease to exercise cruelty on the churches. Calvin, in the same way, in describing the character of a truly Christian bishop, continued: “I should account those men deserving of every the severest anathema, who did not submit themselves reverently and with all obedience to such an hierarchy.” The Archdeacon went on to express a desire for the erection of six or seven new sees as soon as requisite funds could be found—an aspiration which was translated into fact by Lord Cross’s Act about ten years later. The division of the Charge on the rights of presbyters is extremely interesting. To show that bishops are not autocrats, he quotes from Ignatius, Archbishop Spottiswoode, Archbishop Leighton, Field, and others; and he points out that, according to the constitution of the Primitive Church, all presbyters had the right to be members of diocesan synods, either personally or by representatives; that they ought to be more fully and fairly represented in the Convocation of Canterbury, to be included in commissions raised by the Crown on ecclesiastical affairs, and to bear testimony for any candidate for the office of ecclesiastical ruler. Amongst the rights of presbyters he included pew-rents, on which he gave a very learned and remarkable defence. In dealing with the rights of the laity, he recommended that, as in the days of the early Christian councils, the Christian emperors appointed learned and able laymen to sit as members or assessors, who were called “Judices gloriosissimi,” so it would be advantageous that the Convocations should include some of the highest judicial authorities, together

with a few Privy Councillors, being members of the Church and nominated by the Crown. If any national synod were ever assembled, he thought it just that the Crown should summon it in concurrence with the Metropolitans. The Charge contained two appendices: one on the re-establishment of diocesan synods by the Council of Basle; the other, "Boniface IX. on Pew-Rents."

In 1865 the Archdeacon investigated the question of "Free Thought." He began by pointing out the absolute freedom of the laity, from whom no subscription or test of any kind was required. With regard to disbelieving clergymen, he pointed out that every minister solemnly undertakes to teach certain doctrines, and to read in the congregation certain formularies of devotion. It would therefore be preposterous and intolerable that he should be at liberty to disbelieve those doctrines, and to have no sympathy with those formularies. The first security against such dishonesty is the ordination vow; the second, the fact that every incumbent, on taking possession of his benefice, is required to read the Articles of Religion; third, the form of subscription; fourthly, the public recitation of the Liturgy, which no unbeliever could go through with comfort to himself. Beyond these securities, he showed that the rules and precedents established by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council present almost insuperable difficulties to the conviction of an unsound clergyman. Their first principle, that of regarding a benefice, not in the light of a trust or office, but simply as a freehold, has done more than anything else to outrage the common-sense of the working classes against the Church of England. The Archdeacon mentioned other points, which in his opinion were still more dangerous. He then proceeded, in a very witty passage of considerable length, to imagine the trial of David Hume as a sceptical clergyman before the Judicial Committee, and showed how plausibly he might be acquitted. He argued for the establishment of a clerical tribunal, with aid from certain august laymen, such as secular judges; but he concluded that no Court of Appeal, however constituted, would avail without some change in the law. If the present view of the clerical freehold must remain, let the clergyman keep his income, but not be allowed to profane the pulpit and the holy table.

The Charge of 1867, on "The Morals of the Church of Rome," created a great stir. The Archdeacon began by pointing out the plausible pretensions of the Church of Rome in this country. Influenced by the presence of the English Church, it put forth its best side, and presented merely a popular variety of faith. He took as his theme the Romish system of casuistry, or the direction by precise rules of what it

belongs to feeling and to conscience only to judge. With vigorous sarcasm he demonstrated the absurdity of the science: "Casuists," he said, "are not only Jesuits—they have belonged to all religious orders throughout Papal Christendom during upwards of three hundred years. Some were cardinals, some bishops, some professors of theology, some confidential advisers to Roman pontiffs." He went on to show that Rome has not only to answer generally for the teaching of the casuists, but is especially responsible for the moral principles of the Jesuits. For although in 1773 the order was suppressed and abolished by Pope Clement XIV., it was fully re-established in 1815 by Pope Pius VII. The Archdeacon first quoted the teaching of the casuists on theft, citing in particular Diana of Palermo and Busembaum, and illustrated his citation with venial cases of stealing. With regard to murder, he showed when sons might kill their fathers; quoted the most startling opinions of Launay and Sattler, and related the story of Riembaur, the Bavarian Jesuit, who murdered his mistress, and for four years asserted his innocence. He showed when perjury might be excused according to this system, and how equivocation might be held venial, and a desire for a parent's death might be excused. In reference to the Seventh Commandment, he observed that there is scarcely any abomination which these fomenters of evil do not justify or extenuate. In the works of Antonius Diana alone there are passages relating to acts of fornication and lasciviousness of every kind, which almost exceed belief; and, hateful as are the maxims of Romish casuists on this subject, the questions which it is the duty of confessors to ask are still more atrocious. With regard to the first table of the Decalogue, he showed that indifference to God might be excused; and quoted, with regard to idolatry, from Gabriel Vasquez, that all inanimate and irrational things may be legitimately worshipped. The Jesuit Escobar, who, with the benevolent view of smoothing the way to salvation, published no less than sixteen volumes folio on morals and divinity, gravely stated that a man of a religious order, who for a short time lays aside his habit for a sinful purpose, is free from heinous sin, and does not incur the penalty of excommunication. In the same spirit very easy and indulgent excuses are brought forward for all kinds of blasphemy. The Archdeacon then proceeded to show how greatly all these evils were increased by the two terrible Romish doctrines of probability and obedience. In the language of Rome, an opinion is said to be probable, even when it appears to be more likely false than true, if there is some argument for it at all; and you are at liberty to take the less rather than the more probable opinion. No less dangerous is the doctrine of obedience.

"The Church," says Cardinal Bellarmine, "is inviolably bound to believe that to be morally good which the Sovereign Pontiff commands, and that to be morally bad which he forbids." As the whole Church is bound to obey the pope, so each individual member must yield obedience to a confessor. "Let him that desires to grow in godliness," says S. Philip Neri, "give himself up to a learned confessor, and be obedient to him as to God. He that thus acts is safe from having any account to render of all his actions. The Lord will see to it that his confessor leads him not astray."

Having given these instances, the Archdeacon proceeded to quote from Alfonso Liguori a complete defence of casuistry. The Archdeacon admits that there was a temporary reaction against the casuists during the pontificate of Innocent XI., which, however, was undone by the canonization of Alfonso Liguori by Pius VII. The Charge concluded with an expression of astonishment that any who had been accustomed to a scriptural form of religion should adopt one so corrupt as that of the Roman casuists. Secondly, he pronounced a solemn warning against the practice of auricular confession, from which had originated all the frightful evils which he had been exposing. Thirdly, he showed how it had been observed by philosophical moralists that the only way the moral sentiments of mankind can be seriously perverted is by false views of religion. Any doctrine must be vigorously opposed which would make Christ a minister of sin.

In 1868 he chose a topic which is much before us in the present day: it is that of the Indifference of the Working Classes to Religion. He showed how God is less prominent in town than in country; he quoted an interesting passage from Dugald Stewart on "Civic Irreligion"; and he pointed out how, to a very large extent, love of nature is love of God. He next discussed the license of the press, noting how very considerable a proportion of the working classes never read anything but what is antagonistic to the Church and to religion; at the same time warning the clergy against underrating the intelligence of the mechanics, or placing before them arguments which were beneath their ability. The next section was devoted to the temptations to a death-bed repentance; and in proving how improbable it was, he quoted strong testimony from Archbishop Leighton and Governor Maconochie, of Norfolk Island. Fourthly, he investigated the alleged indifference of the clergy to the movements of artizans in the case of Benefit Societies; but stipulated that before the clergy sympathized actively with them, it must be shown that their financial principles were sound. With regard to Trades Unions, he vigorously defended the liberty of men

who did not belong to the Unions, and protested against all interference with the liberty of the subject, and all tyrannical and arbitrary restrictions. In dealing with the next reason for the indifference of artizans, the prevalence of intemperance, he quoted a very valuable report of the Kirk of Scotland. It may be noted that the example of that Church was followed not long after by the report of Convocation of the province of Canterbury. He spoke very strongly of the tremendous evil of filthy and crowded dwellings. In considering complaints about the length of Church services, he advocated that sub-division which has since become so frequent. He also pointed out the absurdity of expecting unlettered persons, totally unaccustomed to worship, to enjoy the Prayer-Book of the English Church, and heartily rejoiced that the practice was becoming more general throughout the diocese of assembling the working classes in unconsecrated buildings. He proceeded to urge on Churchwardens the duty of making full accommodation for the poor in the churches, and of welcoming them and making them comfortable. He concluded by an urgent warning against neglect in training children of the rising generation; against allowing the working classes to identify religion with capital and the aristocracy, showing them how all the blessings of modern civilization are directly owing to the preaching of the Gospel of Christ.

In the Charge of 1869 Archdeacon Sinclair examined the question of Progress: Was it a fatalist groove, in which everything alike must advance willingly or unwillingly for good or for evil? He began by sketching the physical and civil limits to progress. It was highly improbable that the human body would ever become much stronger, or that there would ever cease to be a class who must perform the most elementary kinds of labour. He pointed out the possibilities of progress in taste. Progress he showed to be possible in knowledge, but unlikely in intellect; in the spread of science it was extremely probable. With regard to progress of government, he showed that a republic had no antecedents of necessary superiority over other forms of constitution; a republic required special circumstances, and was always more open to violent changes and personal ambitions than a limited monarchy; in most cases it seemed to rest on the principle of federation. With regard to Church principles, he did not see what progress there could be in measures of disestablishment and disendowment; union of Church and State dated from the Christianization of the State in the time of Constantine. Romans, Goths, Germans, Saxons, Episcopalians, Nonconformists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zwinglians,

all had the option in their different countries of establishment and endowment. It was libellous to say that the Church of England was alone in ascribing authority to the civil power; and he quoted, in acknowledgment of the authority of the supreme magistrate, important passages from the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Bohemian Confession, the Belgian Confession, the Confession of Helvetia, and the Confession of Saxony. Where were the Church endowments more respected than in America? As to matters of faith, he showed that natural religion was continually progressive. This was also strictly the case with revealed religion until the death of the last of the Apostles; in revealed religion since that time progress lay rather in the direction of understanding more fully what was revealed. There must be progress in the interpretation of Scripture; the early Creeds might be taken as sufficiently expressing, without additions, the mind of the Primitive Church. With regard to the progress of the extent of Christianity, he pointed out hindrances which might be removed, as well as reasons for the most hopeful anticipations. He concluded by a contrast between zeal in the progress of science and the unfortunate lukewarmness that was shown by so many in the advance of Christianity; and he eloquently urged the Clergy, while remembering the heathenism abroad, to be still more keenly alive to the mass of heathenism in their own country.

The Archdeacon did not charge again till 1873. In that year the restless spirit of change displayed by the Convocation of Canterbury in its appointment of no less than thirty-six Committees on Church matters of more or less importance led him to invite his Clergy to consider the advantages which they already possessed. He showed that it was their duty to inquire into the principles and example of the Primitive Church rather than of mediæval times. He reminded them that this position had been fully established in the Charge of ten years previously. He applied the example of the Primitive Church first to Diocesan Synods. He showed, what he had laid down in previous years, that it was an essential of a Diocesan Synod to be representative of the whole clergy of the Diocese. The Diocesan Synod must meet for business, not for talk, and by this means the power of the Bishop for usefulness would be greatly multiplied. He next examined the example of the Primitive Church with regard to Creeds; and showed that the Athanasian Creed, although an admirable doctrinal canticle for singing, was not suitable for public recitation by the congregation in church. In sketching the history of the Creeds, he related how the simple Apostles' Creed was first added to, in 325 A.D., by that of Nicea; how

many excellent persons were at the time of an opinion that the earlier Creed was sufficient, and how others were afraid that this would lead to the multiplication of such documents. It was stated at the Council of Florence that no fewer than thirty different Creeds, contributed by thirty different Councils, were actually in circulation. St. Hilary of Poitiers pronounced those Christians happy who neither made nor received any other symbol besides that most simple Creed, which had been used in all the Churches ever since the days of the Apostles. St. Athanasius, in writing about the Nicene Creed, pronounced that no such Creed ought to be composed. The Archdeacon quoted three other passages from Athanasius; he quoted also passages to the same effect from St. Basil, the second General Council of Constantinople of 381, the third General Council in 431 at Ephesus, the stringent Canon of the fourth General Council in Chalcedon of 451, against any other faith or creed; St. Cyril of Alexandria, the Council of Constantinople in 553, the Council of Constantinople in 680, the second Nicene Council of 787, the Great Western Council at Aix-la-Chapelle in 809, Bishop Jeremy Taylor and others, against all additions to the Nicene Faith.

In the last Charge—that of 1874, the year before he died, when the friends of the Church had recently come into power—the Archdeacon discussed the subject of Church Reform, describing the recent lull in politics as a chance for the clergy to put their house in order. With regard to the ecclesiastical legislature, he pointed out the absurd anomaly of two Convocations sitting at York and London for one nation, while only a few hours' journey from each other by railroad. He also protested against the preponderance of the official element in the Lower House. With regard to lay representation, he showed that the first Christian Synod consisted not only of the Apostles and elders, but also of the brethren, and reminded the clergy that in the Œcumenical Councils lay representation was most efficiently secured by the presence of the Imperial Commissioners, or "Judices Gloriosissimi." He showed that Diocesan Synods, properly constituted, should have an authoritative and coercive jurisdiction, which could not be safely entrusted to a single individual—quoting the remarkable passage from Bacon on "Episcopal Autocrats." With regard to the proposal for the establishment of Parochial Councils, he referred to the example of the Kirk of Scotland, only stipulating that the lay members of the Council should unquestionably be members of the congregation, as also should be the electors. In conclusion, he dealt with the important and interesting question of Church patronage; he showed the value of

having a variety of patrons, representing numerous schools of thought. While deprecating all public elections in so sacred a matter as the appointment of the parish minister, he proposed a plan for the gradual transference of patronage, where so desired, to Parochial Boards, chosen for the purpose, who would thus have to compensate the private patron, if they desired to acquire the right. He added a proviso, that if the patron pledged himself not to select the next presentation, he might be empowered to retain the advowson. In the case of public patronage of parishes with a vicarage under £150 a year, he would allow such Parochial Boards to acquire the patronage, on making up the stipend to a suitable sum.

These Charges, extending over a period of thirty-two years, were edited in 1876 by the present writer for his father, William Sinclair, Prebendary of Chichester, Rector of Pulborough, and formerly Vicar of St. George's, Leeds. Their style is remarkably terse and pungent; a model of English prose composition, full alike with learning and humour. A passage may be quoted from the Archdeacon's life-long friend, Canon Jenkins, who wrote an historical introduction to the book:

The union of the teaching and the life was eminently seen in him whose loss our Church may well deplore; the prudence, sagacity, clearness, and above all, the enlightened charity and manly piety of all his teaching, cannot but render it increasingly valuable at a time when "fighting without and fears within" are threatening every Christian community, and which may be learned by all from that calm and unobtrusive life, which illustrated the parting prayer of a great man of old:

Make me a streamlet flowing toward the sea,
That I may seek the lowest place in Thee;
In wisdom prove my soul's humility,
And shun the heights of pride,
Then happy in the path by Thee assigned,
I still shall walk with firm and willing mind,
Till that last gift of love in Thee I find,
Thy peace, Eternal Guide!

Sermons of the Archdeacon were published from time to time, but they were not collected into a volume. The style of the sermons is like that of the Charges; and they contain many passages of great originality and beauty. Besides a Defence of the principles of the English Church, which he published in 1833 before the issue of the "Tracts for the Times," he wrote a very interesting life of his father, Sir John Sinclair, the well-known agriculturist and statistician, in two volumes, in 1837. In 1875 he published the charming little book of personal reminiscences, to which reference has already been made. Although he was unmarried, his social life was extremely pleasant. The old vicarage at Kensington, a large roomy house in the style of

Queen Anne, has now been swept away by the enlargement of Church Street, Kensington. It stood amongst many acres of ornamental grounds, kitchen gardens and hay meadows. Here the Archdeacon lived in the quiet enjoyment of abundant work and unimpaired intellect till the last day of his life. From time to time he received visits from his brothers and sisters from Edinburgh, among whom should be specially mentioned Catherine Sinclair, the authoress of "Holiday House" and "Modern Accomplishments," and many other works, well-known in the earlier part of the century. The most frequent visitors were the family of his brother, Prebendary Sinclair, with whom he stood on terms of absolute understanding and esteem. The household was completed by three secretaries, who alternately read and wrote for the Archdeacon, and managed the business matters of his various churches. He was of a very sociable disposition, and mixed whenever he had time in congenial society. He entertained his own friends frequently at his own table, and as he had an extraordinary memory and a keen humour it was a great privilege to enjoy his conversation. The hearty laugh which he freely indulged in as he lay back in his chair, after some point had been made, showed that care and trouble, however deeply felt at the proper moment, sat very lightly on his conscience, "void of offence before God and man." "Who that had the advantage of personally knowing him," writes his successor, Archdeacon Hessey, "can forget his kindly presence, his courteousness, his chastened hilarity, his knowledge of men and books, always ready to be communicated to all, but never rudely forced upon any?" "Erat in illo viro," says Cicero, speaking of the capturer of Tarentum, "comitate condita gravitas;" and this is my recollection of our friend's demeanour, whether in private life or in the public societies over which he had to preside, and the internal storms which his geniality of temper not unfrequently allayed." In person he was tall, spare, and athletic, with a manner and carriage remarkable for grace and dignity. His face had a mixture of keenness, shrewdness, kindness, and humour, and his long white silvery hair was hardly thinned at all at the time of his death; his complexion was as fresh as that of a child. There were few figures better known in the West of London than Archdeacon Sinclair's, or, as he was familiarly called, "the Bishop of Kensington," as he paced along with his head a little bent forward in silent meditation, with long ecclesiastical great-coat, broad-brimmed hat, and white-handled umbrella—accompaniments from which he never varied.

In May, 1875, he had driven over to Tottenham to visit his friend Prebendary Wilson. An east wind was blowing.

As he had an habitual delicacy of the chest the windows of the carriage were kept closed. He arrived home rather heated, and threw open his coat to take his usual walk under the lime-tree avenue in the vicarage grounds. He thus caught a chill, and after a few days' illness passed unconsciously away, from congestion of the lungs, before any of his family could be summoned. His secretaries continued almost to the last the usual reading of the *Times*, Sir Walter Scott, and other literature, as well as the daily religious exercises. The last of his great works, except the rebuilding of the parish schools, was the erection of the splendid new Parish Church of Kensington, in which he preached for about two years, including the very last Sunday of his life. His elocution was so perfect that there was not the least difficulty in hearing him all over that vast building. His remains were buried at Hanwell, and his funeral was a very remarkable sight. Every shop in Kensington was closed, and every inhabitant seemed to have come out to pay their last tribute of respect to their revered Archdeacon. His life was very unobtrusive, but his work remains in the foundations of that national system of Church elementary education which, vigorously followed up by his successor, the present Dean of St. Paul's, now has 2,257,000 children in average attendance, or more than one half the children of the country; in the great work of Church building and parish organization, to which he devoted his energies; and in that education of modern and clerical opinion, which his earnestness, learning, abilities, and sound judgment, conspicuously qualified him to promote.

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.

ART. III.—A VERY EARLY CHRISTIAN ROMANCE.

A Study on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

SOMEWHERE, probably in the first or second decade of the second century, a Jewish Christian, not unlikely living in Pella¹—a survivor of the Jewish congregation of Jerusalem, wrote the fanciful but deeply interesting book which is the subject of the present article.

He called it the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," and it purported to be a writing containing the last utterances of the twelve sons of Jacob.

These "Testaments" contain solemn warnings to the descen-

¹ *Pella* was a small city of the Decapolis, the "other side" of Jordan, about twenty miles south of the Sea of Tiberias.

dants of the writers to guard against the special sins and follies into which they, the writers, during their lifetime had fallen. This was the *apparent* object of the book. But its *real* design was to induce the Jews living in the second century of the Christian era to adopt Christianity, not as a new religion, but as a development of ancient Judaism—a development known, predicted, and carefully provided for from the days of their great ancestors, the twelve sons of Jacob, the original fathers of the twelve tribes.

These "Testaments" were evidently well-known to the very early Christian Church. Origen ("Hom. in Jos. xv.," c. 6) quotes them by name, and Tertullian in two places ("Adv. Marc." v. 1; "Scorp.," c. 13) weaves into his argument not only the thought, but the very words of our writing.

It was therefore well-known as a work of some authority and importance in the schools of Alexandria and Carthage in the early years of the third century.

From the days of Origen we lose sight of the book for many hundred years. Grostête, the learned and practical Bishop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, discovered it, and caused a Latin version to be made from the original Greek.

This Latin version of the great Bishop of Lincoln gradually made its way in different European countries, and from it many translations into modern languages have been made.

It was, however, some four centuries after Grostête's Latin version was made that the Greek text was published in 1698 by Grabe, from a Cambridge MS. Since then several editions of the Greek text of the "Testaments" have been put out. A general interest in this most ancient and curious writing seems to be growing up.

The more prominent aspect of the writing is its *moral* teaching; though underneath the moral exhortations which run through all the doctrinal details we can trace a distinct thread of Christian teaching.

The doctrinal statements scattered up and down the "Testaments" are numerous, but are seldom clear cut, definite articles of faith. They are just what we should expect in a very early Christian writing, emanating from a somewhat obscure centre, and in a work probably of one unskilled and untrained as a writer or thinker.

In each "Testament" details—some lengthy, some very brief—are given of the life of the Patriarch whose dying charge the "Testament" in question purports to be. The peculiar sin which seems especially to have sadly coloured the

life-story is in several cases dwelt on, and his children are warned of the consequences which will surely follow them if they in their turn yield to a similar temptation.

The Biblical story in most cases forms the basis of the exhortation, but many details are given of which no trace¹ appears in the Pentateuch. The writer must have drawn them from some other sources.

Thus REUBEN dwells on *fornication*, alluding to his fatal sin with Bilhah. He styles this crime the destruction of the soul—it separates man from God, and brings him near to idols.

SIMEON speaks in the "Testament" of *envy* and *jealousy*, remembering his conduct towards his brother Joseph, because his father loved him.

LEVI. Here we recognise the hand of the Jew still jealous of the law of Moses. Levi is represented as thus reminding his descendants: "Lead your children to read unceasingly *the Law of God.*" "All," he goes on to say, "who know the law of God shall be honoured; such an one shall not be a stranger wherever he happen to go." In the course of his "Testament" he warns his posterity, curiously enough, against arrogance, lest, because of the priesthood, they shall think too highly of themselves.

JUDAH, too, alludes warningly to the sin of *fornication*, referring to well-known scenes in his own life-story, and urges moderation in wine. He speaks, too, of the inordinate love of money—ever a characteristic feature of his people. He dwells on the supremacy of Levi because to his brother God gave the priesthood, whilst to him, Judah, only the gift of the kingdom was allotted, and he set the kingdom beneath the priesthood.

ISSACHAR enlarges on *simplicity of heart*; he, too, exhorts his posterity to keep the law of God.

ZABULON'S theme is especially *compassion*; he strangely presses home the duty towards the neighbour, and even towards beasts.

DAN dwells on *anger* and *lying*, with special reference to the betrayal of Joseph their brother.

NAPHTALI curiously charges his children to reverence *order*, giving instances of the grave consequences which follow any departure from obeying the "order of nature," such as adoring stocks and stones instead of the Lord.

¹ Many of these details are especially based upon the Jewish "Book of Henoch," compiled about B.C. 107, and upon the Jewish "Book of Jubilees," compiled some time in the first century of the Christian era. In addition to these well-known books, there is no doubt but that the writer of the "Testaments" used a very large Haggadah literature.

GAD, again, presses home the effects of hatred, having regard to the sin of the sons of Jacob against Joseph.

ASHER urges his descendants not to be *double-faced*, but to be one-faced, clinging alone to goodness.

JOSEPH, as might be expected from his eventful history, exhorts his children to *brotherly love*, and dwells on the advantage of *constancy*.

BENJAMIN urges his posterity to be faithful followers of Joseph. He paints *the end of the good man*, taking for his example his brother Joseph's life story.

The thought underlying the "Testament" of Joseph is the following: Joseph is the type of a suffering Christ. The idea in the writer's mind appears to have been so to group the sons of Jacob round Joseph that he shall be the object of the hatred of them all in their manifold sins, and yet, while apparently perishing at their hands, be their deliverer. His history thus becomes a type of the history of Christ, who suffers in consequence of the sins of His people in order to bring spiritual redemption as the atoning Lamb.

The writer of these "Testaments" evidently knew much of Jesus Christ. It is probable that he had before him, at least, a large portion of the canonical books of the New Testament. It is certain that he had been instructed with considerable care in the great truths connected with the Redeemer, for, as far as the author goes in doctrinal teaching here, he is orthodox in the word's highest sense. When he errs it is by defect only; what he tells us is strictly true. His doctrine is evidently derived from the purest, highest sources; it only fails in points—notably, in the teaching respecting the Holy Spirit, in which evidently he had received but scant instruction. In the "Testaments" Christ is God and man in one. It was the Most High who died upon the cross, and yet he is distinguished from God by being His Son.

We find amongst other details careful and accurate statements respecting the person and office of Jesus Christ:

(a) Concerning *His birth*.—Messiah is to be born of a virgin of the tribe of Judah. His name should be Saviour. A star shining in the daytime should announce His coming as King.

(b) *His baptism*. While in the waters the heavens should be opened to Him, and from them, accompanied with the Father's voice, should come forth upon Him the spirit of knowledge and of sanctification.

(c) *His life on earth*.—The "Testaments" dwell upon what His work was to be. How He was to dwell in poverty. In His character He was to be long-suffering, meek, simple of heart, righteous.

He was to be wholly sinless. Though seemingly a man, walking among men, eating and drinking with them—though really a man, He is God as well, God and man in one.

(d) *The manner of His reception among men.*—Although the great God of Israel, He would be counted as a deceiver, and slain by Israel. The sons of Levi shall lay their hands upon Him and crucify Him, taking His blood upon their heads. Though God, He shall die, and that on behalf of men.

(e) *The effect of His death.*—Spotless He shall die on behalf of the impious, and sinless for the sinner, His blood being the blood of the covenant. The end of His death would be the salvation of the world. He dies as the "Lamb of God," or Mediator between God and man.

(f) *Immediate result to Israel of their rejection of Messiah.*—As a punishment for their great wickedness, terrible woes should come on Israel, among which a special dispersion and contempt.

(g) *Ultimate pardon to Israel.*—Israel shall not always rest under her punishment. The Lord will come a second time in pity, and will redeem her through faith and water (baptism).

(h) *The Lord's resurrection and ascension.*—The Crucified One shall rise again from the grave and ascend into heaven.

(i) *Destiny of men who have called upon the Lord Jesus Christ.*—The time of the general resurrection should come, some men rising to glory, some to shame. The time of judgment should come, too; some shall be sent to eternal life, some to eternal punishment. Everlasting peace shall be given to all that have called on the name of the Lord. The saints shall rest in Eden. The Lord Jesus shall open the gates of Paradise, and remove the threatening sword against Adam, and shall give to His saints to eat of the Tree of Life.

With all these abundant references to the person and office of Jesus Christ, to the doom of Israel, and the destiny of men, it is remarkable that the passages which treat of the "Holy Spirit" are very few in number, and are remarkable for their paucity of detail. Two, however, of considerable interest may be quoted: "The Spirit shall be poured out as fire." "Through the Spirit sent forth by Christ, the Spring of life, men shall become sons of God in truth, walking in His commandments."

Some of the teaching of the "Testaments," especially as regards the *nature of man*, is very singular, and is suggestive. It would seem as though the thoughts afterwards developed in the great Gnostic schools very early had begun to perplex men's minds and to lead them astray out of the old paths of Gospel simplicity.

“Man made in the image of God,” writes the author of our book, is composed of two parts—body and spirit. Seven spirits were given to man at his creation; viz., the spirits of life, sight, hearing, smelling, taste, speech, and of begetting; to which Belial opposes seven other spirits; viz., the spirits of fornication, contention, gluttony, deceiving, pride, lying, and injustice.”

The perpetual conflict that is going on in man is thus defined. “Learn, therefore,” says our author, “that two spirits wait on man—the spirit of truth and the spirit of error; and in the midst is the spirit of the understanding of the mind, which can turn to whichever spirit it pleases. Man has a free will, and can choose accordingly, since there are two ways of good and evil. . . . Man is weak and inclined to error, yet if he perseveres in his efforts to do right, every spirit of Belial will fly from him.”

The character of morality pressed home in the “Testaments” corresponds very closely to the gentle, quiet, though somewhat ascetic tendency which was remarked at a later period by St. Jerome to exist among the Nazarenes.

Compassion for the unhappy, charity, and kindness to the poor, gentleness, love to animals, peacefulness and quiet are especially enjoined in this most ancient Christian book.

Its *ascetic* tendency is curiously shown in the repeated warnings against women; in its recommendation to temperance and even abstinence in the matter of wine; in its exalted estimate of voluntary poverty; in its high commendation of fasting.

Generally, to sum up the question of its *date* and probable authorship. It seems fair, on the whole, to assume that it was a writing of some authority, put out between A.D. 100 and A.D. 120.

As *Tertullian* in the beginning of the third century twice uses thoughts and words from the “Testaments,” and *Origen* before the middle of the same century quotes the work by name, it is clear that the writing was known and used *before* A.D. 200. A reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, allusions to the heathen constituting the majority in Christendom, the evident use of many of the books which make up the present canon of the New Testament, forbid us suggesting any date for the composition of the book *within* the first century.

We are thus limited to some time in the second century for a probable date.

No trace, however, appears of the long troublous period

which set in for the Jewish people about A.D. 117-120, and which culminated in the disastrous rebellion of Barkokebar, A.D. 135.

There seems, therefore, little doubt but that it first appeared some time between A.D. 100 and A.D. 120, and the majority of scholars who have carefully examined the work, such as Bishop Lightfoot, Vorstman, De Groot, Ewald, Wieseler, Dorner, and Sinkler generally agree in assigning this early date to our book.

The spirit of the "Testaments" is evidently Jewish. The thought, the imagery, the language forbids us thinking of anyone but a Jew by birth, by education, by surroundings, as the author. He was living evidently in an atmosphere of Christianity where Christianity was looked on not as a religion superseding or taking the place of the Mosaic law, but as a belief to be added to the sacred tradition of their fathers. His doctrine respecting the person of Christ scarcely falls short of the standard set by the great primitive Catholic fathers. His views respecting the admission of the Gentiles to all the privileges belonging to the children of God are broad, generous, and liberal. His view of the work and mission of St. Paul—one of the burning questions of the sub-Apostolic age—is as accurate as it is far-reaching.

Yet we see clearly he is writing to a *Jewish church*—or to a little group of churches, still proud of their position, still cherishing as their proudest heritage their undoubted descent from the twelve sons of Jacob, to whom the sacred promise for so many centuries back had been entrusted.

Now, in the earliest years of Christianity we know that such a Jewish-Christian Church existed. In the stormy days which immediately preceded the siege and fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) the members of the Church of Jerusalem fled in great numbers from the doomed city; and the famous mother Church, mainly consisting of Jews, was formed again at Pella, a city of the Decapolis beyond Jordan.

These Christian Jews, we read in Eusebius (H. E. iii. 5) were warned by an oracle to flee from the guilty city. When, years after, the Emperor Hadrian built on the ruins of fallen Jerusalem his new city of *Ælia Capitolina*, some of the Pella Christians returned to the old scenes of Jewish greatness, and consented to live in the new city as Gentiles; but not a few, we know, preferred to cling to their old laws and cherished customs. These remained behind at Pella beyond Jordan.

Many of these Pella Jews were, without doubt, Jewish Christians, separated only from their Gentile brethren by their retention of the Mosaic laws.

These Jewish Christians, whose centre seems to have been Pella, were the sect known as *the Nazarenes* in the early Christian Church. They were the fugitives, and the children of the fugitives, of the primitive Jerusalem Church.

Our book, the "Testaments," is a very early witness to their doctrine, their teaching, and their hopes. The writer was most likely a Nazarene. Those whom he addressed in the book were Christian Jews, dwelling for the most part in the little City of "Refuge" beyond Jordan, where they had found a home.

These "Testaments" were intended to confirm in Christianity, Jews already believers in the name of Jesus Christ, by showing them that the Master's religion was but a development of the most ancient orthodox Judaism—a development, too, known, foretold, and prepared for from the days of the great forefather of the race and his famous sons, the twelve patriarchs.

Hence the peculiar form of this strange religious "romance," partly didactic and explanatory, partly hortatory and prophetic, known as the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs."

It is right to say, however, that there is a modern school of German thought which (in the words of one of its latest exponents) looks upon the "Testaments" as a writing lucid and simple, vivid and pointed in its language, filled with exhortation characterized by rare beauty and originality, but at the same time as *honeycombed with interpolations*.

The writer of the present little study on this most curious and interesting book, which, in common with many other scholars, he believes belongs to the very earliest days of Christianity (its author might probably have conversed with St. John), feels that this is not the place to discuss at length either the allegations of the German school in question or the exhaustive replies which could be given to them.

This little study of a most ancient Christian writing would be incomplete without some notice is taken of the witness which it bears to the existence and acceptance as authoritative of the New Testament books.

Now, it is impossible, from the very nature of the "Testaments," that any *direct* reference to the New Testament writings should be found; for our "religious romance" purports to give the dying utterances of men who lived centuries before the New Testament books were put forth. We can, therefore, only look for unconscious allusions, more or less direct; for similarity in language, in thought, in teaching;

for occasional facts derived from New Testament sources, woven into the Messianic or national prophecies of the "Testaments."

In the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" there are a number of peculiar *words* apparently taken from the vocabulary of the New Testament. There are also a few unmistakable *phrases* borrowed—perhaps unconsciously—from the same source, while a vast number of New Testament *facts* are scattered over the whole book—facts especially bearing upon the work and office of the Lord. After a careful examination it appears that a majority of the books of the New Testament were certainly used and studied by the writer of our book. This is especially noticeable in the case of the books written by, or under the influence of, St. Paul.¹

On the whole—granting that the present text of the "Testaments" (as we believe it does) fairly represents the original document—it seems clear that the writer of the "Testaments" was acquainted with the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, but more especially with St. Luke; with the Acts, the Epistle to the Romans, the second Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians; with the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 1 John, and Revelation. It is probable, but not so absolutely certain, that he made use also of several of the remaining New Testament books.

In the last "Testament," that of Benjamin, occurs a striking passage, in the course of which he lets his readers know something of the form in which he possesses these writings of the New Testament, of which he has in his work made such copious use; viz., of their peculiar vocabulary, of their thoughts, of the special incidents which they relate.

The dying Benjamin is addressing his children, and is telling them what will happen to the beloved tribe far down the ages of time. "No longer," says the dying patriarch, "shall I be called a ravening wolf on account of bygone deeds of rapine, but the worker of the Lord distributing meat to those who work what is right. And in the latter times shall one arise from my seed beloved of the Lord, hearing His voice and enlightening all the Gentiles with new knowledge, shining with the light of knowledge and salvation to Israel, snatching

¹ It has been computed that of the words peculiar to St. Paul in the New Testament, the writer of the "Testaments" uses no less than fifty-nine words, of which thirty nine occur in no other writer of his age. Similar instances of peculiar words common to the other books of the New Testament and to the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" exist. It seems, however, that the writer of the "Testaments" was more intimately acquainted with the Gospel of St. Luke and the Pauline Epistles.

it like a wolf from them, and giving it in the synagogues of the Gentiles. And until the consummation of the ages shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all. And in the Holy Books shall he be written, both his work and word, and he shall be the chosen of God for ever."

There is no shadow of doubt but that by "one who in latter times should arise from the seed of Benjamin, the beloved of the Lord," Paul is alluded to. It has been referred to above that the writer of the "Testaments" possessed, and seems to have made especial use of, St. Luke's Gospel (the gospel of Paul), the Acts, and several of Paul's Epistles. These words in the "Testament of Benjamin," then, tell us in *what category* the writings of the blessed Paul were placed by Christian Jews living in the early years of the second century—that is to say, within twenty years, probably, after the death of St. John.

They were reckoned among the "*Holy Books*," a familiar phrase for the Old Testament Scriptures. These writings of the blessed Paul, including the Gospel of St. Luke, the Acts, and most of the Epistles bearing his name, among those Jewish congregations at the close of the first and beginning of the second century, to whom the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" were especially addressed, were certainly esteemed as forming part of the most sacred volume of Old Testament Scriptures.

H. DONALD M. SPENCE, D.D.

THE DEANERY, GLOUCESTER.
March, 1891.

The writer of the above little study especially desires to express his obligation to "Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen," Friederich Schnapp, Halle, 1889; to Professor B. B. Warfield's exhaustive essay in the *Presbyterian Review*, New York, 1880; to Dr. Pick's (of Alleghany, Pa.) study in the *Lutheran Church Review*, 1885; to Dr. Sinker, of Trinity College, Cambridge, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," Text and Introduction, 1869.

ART. IV.—NOTES AND COMMENTS ON ST. JOHN XXI.

No. IV.

IN the previous section we studied the narrative of St. Peter's three confessions of love to his Master, and his Master's thrice-repeated restoration and commission of him as a shepherd of the flock. Without returning at any length to that scene, I wish only to notice two or three detached points in it.

i. The use of the words *φιλεῖν* and *ἀγαπᾶν*. Is this an incidental evidence that our Lord sometimes used the Greek language in conversation with His own friends? The Aramaic has no parallel distinction of verbs; and, on the other hand, no one who reads St. John's style with attention can well doubt that a distinction of verbs is intended here by him. Dr. A. Roberts, one of the New Testament Revisers, in his *Discussions on the Gospels*, has made out a very interesting case for the familiar use of Greek in Palestine about the time of the First Advent; and he thinks that we have here a narrative which implies such use. Undoubtedly Aramaic was in large and frequent use. Again and again the Saviour's Aramaic words to individuals are recorded; and St. Paul delivered a long address in Aramaic to the crowds in the Temple court. But are not these incidents so recorded as to suggest that the rule was, at least, very often broken? In any case, Greek *was* spoken, very much as English is spoken in Ireland. And why should not the Lord Jesus have employed it on this occasion, even if His usage were the other way, if only to bring out a sacred lesson as to different qualities of love? On the other hand, even should it be shown beyond doubt that Aramaic was spoken that morning by the lake, we need not regard the difference of verbs in the Greek record as unimportant. I should then venture to think that the Holy Inspirer, guiding the Apostle's mind, led him to the use of words which would bring out the thought, the *animus*, of the colloquy more clearly than a verbatim record would have done, leaving out as it must the explanations given by the voices and manner of the speakers. But I do not think we need doubt that Greek was the language of that hour.

ii. As to the actual avowal by St. Peter of *φιλία*, not *ἀγάπη*. I see that Bishop Wordsworth takes the view suggested in the last paper—that self-distrust and a sacred sense of the Lord's glory leads St. Peter to his *φιλῶ σε*, and bids him shrink from *ἀγαπῶ σε*, as an utterance too lofty for his deeply humbled heart. The Bishop remarks very beautifully (I said a few words in the last paper in this direction) that the Saviour, while accepting at length Peter's lower word, yet knew that he would have grace to live the higher word. Wonderfully is this illustrated by the Saint's precious Epistles. Where does the New Testament breathe a more serene and heavenly love for the Lord than there? And yet it is a love intense and individual too—*φιλία* at the heart of *ἀγάπη*: "Him ye love (*ἀγαπᾶτε*) with joy unspeakable." And so let it be with each Christian generation and each Christian heart. The steadfast, heaven-given, choice of Christ and rest in Him must have within it also the sacred emotion of personal and grateful

delight. Ever to the end, and beyond the end, shall we be saying as we look on HIM: *φιλω σε, Κύριε*.

iii. The commission to Peter: "Feed my lambs—my sheep; shepherd my sheep." Perhaps the word "lambs" is not, so to speak, separative here, marking off a class different from the "sheep." It may be just the *προβατρία* from another point of view; much as in 1 Joh. ii., where surely "Fathers," "Youths," "Little ones," are terms descriptive of true disciples from different *sides*. All the Lord's "sheep" are in some respects "lambs"; tender and adolescent to the end, compared with what they shall be hereafter. Yet it is impossible not to read in the words at least a suggestion to the pastor to remember specially the specially lamb-like of the flock, the very weak and the very young.

iv. Let us remember too the twice repeated "feed," *βόσκει*, which is thus indicated as the main particular in the "shepherding." Feed them, give them provender; that food which is the Lord Himself, beheld, believed, received, beloved. Let this be the alpha and omega of the Christian minister's shepherding, whatever else goes with it as assistant and subsidiary. "The hungry sheep look up and *are not fed*," says Milton in a well-known passage, stigmatizing the unfaithful, unspiritual pastors of his young days. Do not let the words be true of the Lord's shepherds now. It is all too possible to keep the flock of Christ in a most undesirable sort of *fast*, both in and out of Lent; a fast from Christ set forth before them in His finished sacrifice, and never-ending life, love, and power.

Would the clergy be safe from the risk of proving, whether they know it or not, starvation preachers? Then let them every day, "with keen despatch of real hunger," be found feeding for themselves on Christ Jesus the Lord. *Unde vivo, inde dico; in quo pascor, hoc ministro*.

v. Lastly, observe the Lord's phrase, *τὰ ἀρνία μου*, My lambs, My flock, not thine. It is too easy in practice to forget it. There is a sense in which of course the man must think of class, school, parish, church, as "mine"; in the sense of personal responsibility and heart interest. But much more still must he watch and pray that he may think of them all as "Thine." And to do so will be a powerful and manifold assistance in the ministry. It will cheer, solemnize, tranquillize the pastor. It will cheer him, as reminding him that his Lord's interest in his charge is far deeper than his own can be. It will solemnize him, as reminding him of his own intensely direct relations with his Lord as His underling. It will tranquillize him, because there is nothing which more distracts us and disturbs us than self-consciousness and self-love, nothing which more settles and strengthens us than

simple love to Him. Realizing that the flock, the sheep, the lambs, are HIS, we pastors shall labour for them more purely and more happily; and we shall also be more ready if it should please Him to put us and our efforts quite aside and hand the dear charge over to another. They are HIS; we are HIS. For the under-shepherd is himself also, blessed thought, one of the Chief Shepherd's flock.

But now without delay let us pass onward to the pregnant conclusion of the narrative.

Ver. 18. The Saviour couples at once with His commission to Peter the prediction for him of a martyr's death. It comes with all the solemnity of the double *verily*. "*Verily, verily, I say to you, when you were a younger man, you were used to tie your own girdle, and to walk where you would; but when you have grown old, you shall stretch out your hands, and another shall tie your girdle, and carry you where you would not. Now this He said, as indicating by what sort of death he was to glorify God. And with that word He says to him, Follow Me.*"

A remark or two on words and construction is called for. *When you were a younger man.* The Lord Jesus is referring to the time of Peter's life then present. Just such an act of free choice and vigorous independent motion had Peter done, when he had "*girt his upper coat upon him, and thrown himself into the lake.*" "*When you were*" is an anticipatory phrase, a prolepsis; it looks back as if already from the time of Peter's death. (Parallels are not unfrequent; see the interesting one, 1 Cor. xiii. 12: "*Then shall I know even as I was known,*" *καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην.*) "*In the days of thy youth*" is the practical meaning of the expression. There seems to be at least a high likelihood that the Apostles were very much of an age with their blessed Master. Conventional art has usually represented them as all, excepting St. John, men of elderly years. Far more probably they were at most thirty-five years old; a probability which may help us to understand them on many occasions in their impulses and mistakes.

"*In the days of thy youth*" then; the days now fast passing, to be followed so soon by the far different and quickly aging life of the apostolic evangelist and pastor. He had been used to choose his own path in those days, in these days. But a change should come; he should live to be old; and then, on some special occasion, in some memorable way, he should choose the path no more. He should stretch out his hands; and another should gird him; and the path should be one which he did not choose, a path against his choice, and along which he should be *carried*.

We now well know what the Lord meant, whatever at the moment these first hearers understood in detail. St. John at once applies them to his friend's death, and to that death as a special occasion of the glorification of God, and as evidently caused by man—that is, a martyr-death. The future, *δοξάσει*, "shall glorify," does not imply (I hardly need say) that the event was still future when John wrote; it was only future when Jesus spoke. It is practically quite certain that many years before this narrative was written at Ephesus Peter had died unto the Lord: the prophecy had been fully expounded by the event. And we need not doubt that the death was by crucifixion; indeed, the words here about the outstretched hands may assure us of this. The well-known further particulars of the martyrdom, that it was at Rome (where now stands the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio, on the far-seeing Janiculum), and that the saint died head downwards, rest on a very different quality of evidence; though we need not seriously doubt about Rome as the locality. As to the inverted attitude, it is Origen who first, of extant writers, speaks of it; and he wrote five generations later. It may have been.

"Where you do not choose"—to a death of violence and pain. Yes, let us remember. Peter, the saint indeed, did not choose pain as pain and death as death. That is the act of mental and spiritual aberration. What he did choose was obedience to his Lord, fidelity to his Lord, and the Lord's glorious presence after that painful passage to it. But from the passage human nature shrank in Peter, even as the Lord Himself in His own true human nature, absolutely identical with ours, had shrunk from His own agony. I allude to this manifest fact in passing, because it is an instance of what we everywhere find in Scripture, the deeply and truly *natural* aspect in which in it the Christian life is presented. That life is not the extinction of nature; it is its transfiguration, as the heart's love and the will's choice are fixed upon the supreme and all-satisfying Object. It does not make man unhuman. It is a new man, but still man. And man, as man, can never like pain, or grief, or death, for its own sake.

This obvious remark has a bearing on the value of the earliest Christian martyrdoms as a testimony to the Gospel truth. Had they been theatrical displays of unnatural courage they would have borne feeble witness to the solidity of the facts which the martyrs confessed and for confessing which they died. The body might in that case have been given to the stones, or the steel, by a motive no better than a diseased spiritual ambition, a personal and emulous desire for a high place in the coming glory as the reward of special pain. But Stephen, James, Peter, and Paul died not so. They did not

choose or court death. They chose Christ and His truth, and died rather than deny it. And here, in their calmness and spiritual sanity, in their willingness not to die if it could be avoided rightly, lies the weight and power of their *witness*, their *μαρτυρία*. It appears as a witness indeed; not a display of their courage so much as an indication of the strong solidity of the basis of truth beneath their feet.

We cannot but recall that one other legend of St. Peter's last scenes, the *Domine, quo vadis*. Many of my readers may have pondered it with emotion near its alleged place of occurrence, just outside Rome on the Appian Way. St. Ambrose gives it to us—at the distance of three centuries from St. Peter; but however uncertain in fact, it illustrates precious truths with pathetic power. The Apostle was condemned. The Roman Christians entreated and persuaded him to accept an opportunity of escape; an escape which was certainly no crime in itself. But the Lord's call to death and glory had now come at last; and at the gate of the City, in the gray morning, as the old man passed out, he met a Stranger passing in; and behold it was the Lord. "Lord, whither goest Thou?"—"I go to be crucified in thy place." Peter returned to his prison, and to the cross, and by his death glorified God.

"*They shall carry you where you would not.*" It is remarkable indeed, this solemn prophecy of suffering, so closely connected with the joy of love and restoration. In one way or another it will surely be thus with every true disciple of our beloved Saviour. To each of us without exception He will assign some cross to bear for Him; to each He will say, in one way or another, "If you love me, serve me; and you shall *suffer for me.*" Only, the suffering is the "accident," the joy the "substance." First the pardon, the love, the gladness; then the allotment of the cross which that deep joy will make so much better than bearable. Peter was not to be martyred that he might win the love of Christ, but because he had obtained it. The order is, indeed, "first cross, then crown." But the cross is preceded by the embrace of the eternal arms. *Crucem porta, te portabit*, is a beautiful motto; but let us not confuse its meaning. The cross we carry is our cross of trial, the cross where self is crucified. The cross which carries us is the Lord's cross of atonement, the cross of complete salvation. If in any sense our cross can be truly said to carry us, it can only be as it is a means to teach us how to realize better our repose on His.

So Peter received this solemn outline of his future. Strange privilege, to be permitted to know in advance just so much of "the unknown to-morrow"! Probably the whole meaning of the prediction was not at once clear to him, or to John. But

at once, surely, they recognised in it a prediction, distinct and supernatural, of long service closed by violent death. Such an expectation then Peter carried with him all his life, and close to the end he refers definitely to it (2 Pet. i. 14): "*Sudden is to be the putting off of my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ once shewed me.*" Yet we may be sure that this knowledge of his predestinated course and goal gave no unreality to his life, to his methods of work, to his precautions for safety, to his thoughts of death. Like many other Divine purposes, it was indicated just so far as to reveal the infallible purpose, and yet to leave the man as consciously free as ever step by step. God knows how to make His counsel work freely in absolute harmony with the creature's genuine agency.

The Lord had said, "*Follow me*" (*ἀκολουθεῖ μοι*), an exhortation which but for the context we might have thought to be general (for observe the *present* imperativē) and figurative. And so no doubt it was in great part. "If any man serve me, let him follow me"—let him live near me, watch my will and learn my way. But the utterance was, however, illustrated by an act. We gather that the Lord Jesus *moved*, walking away along the shore or towards the hill, and bade Peter literally follow Him. The command was not, so far as it appears, meant for the whole party. Only Peter is addressed, and Peter is surprised to see John following also. The whole incident must have been brief and symbolic. Let us translate the verses.

Verse 20: "*Peter turning round* (as he stepped forward after his Master, evidently, and heard steps behind him), *sees the disciple whom Jesus loved following, the disciple who also had leaned over at the supper to Him and said, Lord, who is Thy betrayer? Seeing him Peter says to Jesus, Lord, but what of him? Jesus says to him, If I choose that he remain till I come, how does it affect you? Do you follow me. So this report went out to the brethren, that that disciple is not to die. And yet Jesus did not say to him that he was not to die, but, If I choose that he remain till I come, how does it affect you?*"

Verse 24: "*This is the disciple who witnesses about these things, and who wrote these things; and we know that his witness is true.*"

Verse 25: "*Now there are many other things too which Jesus did, things which if they were written each in detail not even the world itself, I think, would have room for the books which would be writing.*"

One word, out of place, on the last two verses. Without any attempt at explicit critical discussion, I would only say that they seem to me to be written by St. John himself, not

added later by other hands. "We know" is a turn of expression quite in the Apostle's manner; he loves to put himself as it were aside; to speak as *ab extra* of himself. And surely, had the Ephesian Church thought it needful, or decorous, to add an *imprimatur* to an Apostle's writing, they would not have expressed themselves so simply. "*The disciple*" would scarcely have been in their view an adequate description for their blessed patriarch and guide, the personal friend of their Divine Redeemer. Moreover, they would hardly have added an attestation while John lived; and had they done so after his death, could they have left the mysterious words which had prompted the rumour of his immortality without some further comment?

As regards the hyperbole in which is conveyed the thought that to record all the Lord Jesus did would be "infinite"—the phrase is an hyperbole, no doubt. But if plainly intended to be so taken, it is perfectly veracious. It most manifestly is not a prosaic estimate of the area which the books would cover.

Far better than any lingering over such a verbal difficulty is an application to the heart of what the phrase imports. It tells us that such was the boundless wealth of the Lord's works of love and power that even the precious Gospel of St. John is but a brief selection, divinely ordered yet quite brief, from out of the wealth. Let us give thanks both for the wealth of the materials, and for the brevity of the record—a brevity so good for the busy and for the simple reader. Abundantly enough is written to serve the holy purpose of the writer—"that we may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, we may have life in His name."

But now to return to the narrative of verses 20-22.

We have seen, early in our study, how the hearts of Peter and John had been drawn together. Together we find the two saints in their Passover-lodging, together at the tomb, together on the waters, together soon at the Beautiful Gate, together before the Council, together at Samaria. The last Gospel closes with this scene in which they follow their Lord together, yet in which their Lord reminds them how different at length their ways of following should be.

Peter, it would seem, had risen to follow, and then John, as he sat close to his earthly friend and to that heavenly Friend who bound them together, silently rose and followed too, while perhaps the other disciples as yet did not move. As always, John is not named; he is described as the loved disciple, and as the man who as he reclined at the supper leaned nearer to the Lord, and asked Him about the traitor. Why this last detail is introduced here it is not easy to say

Peter on that occasion had been the inquirer through John. So it *may* be that the event is here mentioned as an occasion on which they had acted together. Or is it simply that the incident was an example of the near intimacy between John and his beloved Master?

So Peter turns and sees John following. And now, full of the thought of the prediction of his own martyrdom, and instinctively connecting all that concerned himself with the concerns of his dear and ever dearer companion, he asks what *his* end shall be. *Ὅπως δὲ τί;* What should *he* do? Shall he also grow old, and then stretch out his hands, and be carried where he fain would not go? He is following Thee, and me, now with his steps. Shall he follow also in the manner of his life and of his death?

I need not dwell at length on the Lord's memorable answer. At first sight at least it reads very simply, as if just a grave and gentle correction of Peter's too anxious curiosity, or at most a gentle reminder that his truest peace would be found in following personally his Redeemer in the path chosen for *him*, leaving John's path to the same choice. There may undoubtedly be a deeper meaning. It may be that the "coming" of the Son of Man when the City, and Temple, and Ritual passed away—His mystical advent in judgment and mercy then—was intended. It is at least very probable that St. John was the only Apostle who survived the year 70, and that he survived it long, living far on into the new age of the Christian Church.

We must observe, however, that the first disciples plainly took the "till I come" to refer to the great literal Second Coming, the Era of immortality; for they reasoned from the words that John would not die; that he was to abide till the Lord came; therefore till the resurrection; therefore he would not sleep, but be changed. And the old Apostle, so it seems to me, corrects the error by calling attention to the emphatic "*if*" (*ἐάν*) of the sentence as the Lord spoke it, and to the "What is that to thee?"

Likely as we must feel it to be that these solemn final words of the last Gospel should have a deeper meaning than the literal, I cannot think that we can be certain that it is so. The great age reached by St. John before this record was written had very possibly given them an emphasis and mystery among "the brethren" which was beyond their first intention.

I love to think, though it may be too arbitrary a thought, that the Apostle here takes pains to correct any misconception, because, in part, of his own deep longing to be with the Lord. He would not linger on in an earthly immortality. He would thankfully pass through the gate of death, as Peter long

ago had done, as yet longer ago his Lord Himself had done, to be soon and for ever with Him where He is.

"*If I will.*" Let us close by an act of solemn attention to these words. Some time ago we observed how markedly, all through this chapter, Jesus speaks of and from Himself: "*Lovest thou me? Feed my flock: Follow me: Till I come: If I will.*"

Who is this who, if He speaks not blasphemy, speaks in His own right with the voice of God?

"*If I will.*" "My will is to rule your future, Peter, and John's future too." Those precious lives, those regenerated and inspired apostolic souls, were to accept the predestination of their time and their labour from the mere will of Jesus. There is no fear lest that will and His Father's should differ, should collide; yet none the less is His will *His will*. And that will disposes absolutely of Peter and of John. They love, adore, and follow. It ordains.

He wills that the one, the eager, the impetuous, but now wonderfully chastened, the man of strong act and word, should spend for Him many years of heavy labour and much suffering, and then die for Him in a death of extreme agony.

He wills that the other, the man of deep and silent spiritual life and thought, the character which we might perhaps have deemed to be "not long for this world," as the phrase is, should live on and on, working, suffering, thinking, writing, till every one of his comrades had fallen asleep, and should then die the death of all men.

The destiny of St. John may remind us how deeply hidden are the details of the Lord's plans for His servants; how impossible it is for us to forecast their future by temperament or circumstance. We know a friend born and made as for vigorous and sustained action. We know another of almost unearthly walk with God. But we know not which will be taken, and which left; or whether both will go early, or both very late. We have no hint whatever of the principles on which in these matters the Master acts. Certainly He is not capricious; but certainly also He has no such *need* of our character or labours as to allow the most laborious or the most successful Christian to say, "He cannot spare me yet."

But the great thing is to know, as we do know, that all shall be as "*I WILL.*" There is a Will, there is a Person, above and beneath all our lives and works; and that Will, that Person, is Jesus our Lord. He and not fate, He and not chance, He and not the processes of an impersonal universe, at this hour rules and ordains our path of service, present and future; yes, and the path too of those we love, and about whom we sometimes ask more wistfully than about ourselves, "*Lord, and what shall this man do?*" Let us calmly and most

thankfully recollect it. Bewildered souls try too often to find rest in absolute and abject deference to the will of a poor fallen, erring man. It is the distortion into woful error of a glorious and most healthful truth. It is true rest to yield ourselves and our dear ones in entire simplicity, without a struggle or reserve, to the living will of the Lord Jesus Christ; for that will is omniscient, and all-wise, and all-holy, and (let us dare to believe it now and every hour) it is a will of such love that it does not for a minute forget, in the light of the glory of God, the true interests and true joy of the feeblest and most halting of the disciples.

Then let us, not so much think about Him as go direct to Him, to learn the secret which made Peter and John quite happy in their several paths; happy to work together, happy to work asunder. Their secret was, "It is the Lord; Thou hast loved me; Thou knowest that I love Thee."

So the one lived on till he had written, "Be sober, and hope to the end, for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ."

So the other lived on, utterly alone at length in a new generation, a new world, but happy and sanctified to the end in the eternal truth, and able to write this about it: "Now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is."

H. C. G. MOULE.

P.S. 1.—I hope to be able, after a short interval, to offer to the reader a few similar "*Notes and Comments*" on John xx.

P.S. 2.—A friend has kindly written to me, questioning my view of the details of the incidents given in vers. 4-8. His view is that Peter and John were not in the larger boat, while the other five were in the smaller, but that all were in the larger when the Lord accosted them; that then Peter leapt out, and that the remaining six, after anchoring the larger boat, made for the shore in the smaller, trailing the net with them. I must confess that this view increasingly commends itself to me as I read the passage over.

H. C. G. M.



ART. V.—TWO PASSAGES IN THE EPISTLES THAT ARE EMBODIED IN OUR PRAYER-BOOK.

(Phil. iv. 7 and 1 Pet. iii. 1-6.)

Phil. iv. 7: ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἣ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν, φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ("The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts.")

HOW familiar to us are these words! Yet the English is ambiguous, and is no doubt heard by many in a sense not meant originally by the Greek of St. Paul, though the Blessing in the Prayer-Book may include this sense, or even have been meant so by the framers of our Liturgy. For many hear in the word "*passeth all understanding*" (ὑπερέχουσα) simply this: "The peace of God, which is *beyond all human power to understand*—which cannot by man be fully understood." Whereas St. Paul almost certainly meant: "Which is above and better than all human understanding and knowledge." For look at his use of the same word in the same epistle, ch. iii. 8: ἡγοῦμαι πάντα ζημίαν διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ("I count all things loss because of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus;" *i.e.*, the knowledge of Christ Jesus towers above, dwarfs by comparison, all else. Compare also ch. ii. 3: ὑπερέχοιτας ἑαυτῶν ("Let each think of her better than themselves"). Again, for the whole sense, cf. Ephes. iii. 18 and 19: ἵνα ἐξισχύσητε γνῶναι τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγαπὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("that ye may be strengthened to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge;" *i.e.*, which is better than human knowledge. *Love* is exalted as compared with *knowledge*, as in 1 Cor. viii. 1: ἡ γνῶσις φυσιοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀγαπὴ οἰκοδομεῖ ("knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth").

It is true that in Ephes. iii. 19 the English is ambiguous. It might mean "beyond all power to know;" nor would the paradox involved, "to know the unknowable," absolutely discredit this interpretation. For the Christian is striving to comprehend and know that which is beyond mere human comprehension and knowledge. But a comparison of all the passages appears decisive for the other view, both of this passage and of Phil. iv. 7. And, on the whole, the Prayer-Book Blessing is best understood thus: "May the peace of God, which is better than all human understanding, keep your hearts . . . in the knowledge and love of God." The Blessing, thus understood, embodies the whole sense of Phil. iii. 8; iv. 7; 1 Cor. viii. 1.

1 Pet. iii. 1-6: "*Likewise ye wives . . . amazement.*"

The words "whose daughters ye are, so long as ye do well and are not afraid with any amazement" in our Marriage Service must have puzzled many newly-married brides. Why would they be Sarah's daughters by not being afraid and amazed? When did Sarah set an example of not being amazed? And why should it be suggested to young wives that fear and amazement are a likely risk in matrimony? Now all this perplexity arises from a faulty punctuation, and consequent misunderstanding of the Greek text, which punctuation is retained even in the Revised Version. Amend this, and all is smooth and reasonable. Put a full stop or colon after τέκνα ("whose children ye are"). To make it even clearer, a parenthesis might include verses 5, 6: "For after . . . ye are." Then the sense of the whole passage will run thus: "Wives, live in subjection to your husbands; not thinking of outward finery, but of inward worth. (For thus lived the holy women of old; such was Sarah, whose daughters ye are.) Live, I say, doing well, and so not put in fear by any terror."

To the participles in ii. 18; iii. 1, 6, 7 (*υποτασσόμενοι, υποτασσόμεναι, αγαθοποιούσαι, φοβούμεναι, συνοικούντες*) is carried on the imperative sense from ii. 13, 17: "Submit yourselves, honour," etc. The whole confusion has arisen from not so taking *αγαθοποιούσαι*. But, as interpreted above, the advice has a worthy close: "Do well, and you will have nothing to fear." A sense which is echoed in verse 13: "Who will harm you if ye be followers of that which is good?"

Even if it be argued that St. Peter was not writing chiefly for Jewish Christians (though I think he was); yet he may call those Sarah's children spiritually whom he terms in ii. 9, "a chosen race, a royal priesthood," etc.

Reading St. Peter's advice to wives thus, we are freed for ever from the foolish old scoff that "matrimony begins with 'Dearly beloved' and ends in 'amazement.'"

W. C. GREEN.

Notes on Bible Words.

NO. VII.—"TEMPTATION."

IN the N. T. "temptation" is *πειρασμός* (Vulg. *tentatio*), "to tempt" is *πειράζω*, and "the tempter" (Matt. iv. 3; 1 Thess. iii. 5) is *ὁ πειράζων* (Vulg. *tentator*).

The simple meaning of *πειρασμός* is a testing, putting to proof.

Compare the verb (*try whether a thing can be done*); Acts ix. 26,

"he assayed to join himself"; xxiv. 6, "hath gone about to profane," *attempted*.—In John vi. 6, for "this He said to prove him," read "this He said *trying* (or, by way of trying) him."¹

This testing, putting to the proof, is either in a good sense, our usual English "trial," or in an evil sense,² our "temptation."

On Gal. iv. 14 Bishop Lightfoot writes :

"Your temptation which was in my flesh," *i.e.*, St. Paul's bodily ailment, which was a trial to the Galatians, and which might have led them to reject his preaching. Πειρασμός, like the corresponding English word "temptation," is employed here by a laxity of usage common in all languages for "the thing which tempts or tries."³

I. *Trial*: Adversity, trouble, affliction. Acts xx. 19. A. V. "temptations"; R. V. "trials." Jas. i. 2 and 1 Pet. i. 6. R. V. *marg.*, "trials." Luke xxii. 28; "Ye are they which have continued with Me in My temptations,"—*i.e.*, "trials": "injuries, persecutions, snares, perils of life, etc." (Meyer). Erasmus paraphrases the πειρ.—"quibus pater cœlestis voluit exploratam ac spectatam esse meam obedientiam."

On Jas. i. 3, "When ye fall into divers temptations," Dr. Plummer (in his excellent Commentary, just published) says :

The troubles are not to be of our own making or seeking. . . . The word for "fall into" (περιπίπτειν) implies not only what one falls into is unwelcome, but also that it is unsought and unexpected. . . . In the Lord's Prayer all kinds of temptation are included, and especially the internal solicitations of the devil. . . . In the passage before us internal temptations, if not actually excluded, are certainly quite in the background.

II. *Temptation*. Luke viii. 13, "in time of temptation fall away"; 1 Tim. vi. 9, "fall into t.;" Luke iv. 13, "when the devil had ended all the t." A condition of things within or without ("circumstances"), "lead us not into t.," Matt. vi. 13; "enter into t.," Luke xxii. 46. (Dr. Hatch, in "Essays in Biblical Greek," suggests that our Lord was led into the wilderness "to be afflicted by the devil"; but the passage demands "to be *tempted*.")

In an appendix to the R. V., the American Committee say :

For "tempt" (temptation) substitute "try," or "make trial of" ("trial") wherever enticement to what is wrong is not evidently spoken of, *viz.*, in the following instances: Matt. iv. 7, xvi. 1, xix. 3, xxii. 18, 35; Mark viii. 11, x. 2, xii. 15; Luke iv. 12, x. 25, xi. 16, xxii. 28; John viii. 6; Acts v. 9, xv. 10; 1 Cor. x. 9; Heb. iii. 8, 9; 1 Pet. 1-6.

This could hardly be done.⁴ But is the difference sufficiently suggested in sermons and expository writings?

¹ When men challenge—put to the proof—God's power and justice, this is called "tempting." See Acts xv. 10, "Why tempt ye God?" Deut. vi. 16, ix. 22. Heb. iii. 8, "in the day of temptation in the wilderness"; Ps. xciv. 8, "in the day of Massah (τοῦ πειρασμοῦ) in the wilderness." The Hebrew is *massah*, מַסָּה. Of "trials," Deut. iv. 34: "by temptations," A. V.; ἐν πειρασμοῖς, *par tentationes, par des épreuves*. In Deut. vi. 16, and several passages, the Hebrew verb is *nasah*, to try, to prove. In Mal. iii. 10 and 15, *bachan*, "prove."

² God never "*tempts*," but troubles sent by Him for our good may be "temptations."

³ *Rec. τὸν πειρ. μου τὸν . . . i.e.*, St. Paul's temptation; *trial*, arising from his bodily infirmity.

⁴ It is, in certain cases, difficult to decide whether the probing, making proof of, is in a good sense or bad. For instance, in Matt. xxii. 35 (the lawyer "tempting Him"), is the sense good or bad? Dean Mansel (S. Com.) says: "Here, as in Luke x. 25, the expression *tempting* does not necessarily imply an evil intention. It simply means trying Him, endeavouring to test His wisdom as a teacher." Cf. 1 Kings x. 1. But as to verse 18, in Matt. xxii. (cf. verse 15), we read of their "wickedness."

Short Notices.

Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Durham. Macmillan and Co. 1891.

OF these nine Essays, those on Plato, Æschylus, Euripides, Origen, and Dionysius were originally published in the *Contemporary* (the first about twenty-five years ago); they formed part of Dr. Westcott's original design. The remaining four, viz., "Browning's View of Life," "The Relation of Christianity to Art," "Christianity as the Absolute Religion," and "Benjamin Whichcote," illustrate the general thought which is suggested by them. As to his "design," formed very early in life, Dr. Westcott says: "It seemed to me that a careful examination of the religious teaching of representative prophetic masters of the West, if I may use the phrase, would help towards a better understanding of the power of the Christian Creed. Their hopes and their desires, their errors and their silences, were likely, I thought, to show how far the Gospel satisfies our natural aspirations, and illuminates dark places in our experience." The Essay on "Dionysius the Areopagite" will have for many readers a peculiar charm (the Dionysian treatises, it is now admitted, cannot have been written before the fifth century); so also will the Essay on Whichcote.

Letters from Rome on the Occasion of the Œcumenical Council, 1869-1870.

By the REV. THOMAS MOZLEY, M.A., formerly Fellow of Oriel. Two vols. Longmans, Green and Co. 1891.

These letters were written from Rome on the occasion of the Vatican Council. Mr. Mozley went out as special correspondent of the *Times*, and he had good opportunities, of course, of knowing what was going on. He wrote with skill and spirit, and he has done well to republish what he wrote. For our own part, we thought at the time, and we still think, his description of the Jesuit plottings is scarcely serious enough. To some of our readers, interested in the fragment by Döllinger given in the last *CHURCHMAN*, but having little knowledge of what was written twenty years ago about the ins and outs of the Vatican performance, we may recommend the "Letters from Rome," by Quirinus, reprinted from the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Rivingtons). Nevertheless, Mr. Mozley's "Letters" have an interest of their own, and we are pleased to admire again his graphic sketches.

The "Historical" Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment Examined. By J. T. TOMLINSON. Third edition; revised and enlarged. J. F. Shaw and Co.

The author of this pamphlet is known as an acute and able controversialist; and what he advances is well worth reading by those who desire to hear both sides. He quotes the words of the Judgment, "ample historical research," and "evidence of an historical character," and then proceeds with his investigation, concluding thus: "Never before was a Judgment published containing so many inaccurate quotations, so many mis-statements of fact, or so many unverifiable vouchers, and perversions of 'history'!" There are several illustrations, and many of the quotations are very striking.

Gethsemane; or, Leaves of Healing from the Garden of Grief. By NEWMAN HALL, LL.B. T. and T. Clark.

A good companion to the volume lately recommended in these pages on the Lord's Prayer.

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. Pp. 400. Hodder and Stoughton. 1890.

The writings of Professor Beet are known as ranking high in the devout and scholarly expositions of our own day—learned, elaborate, judicious, and independent. As to the independence displayed in the work before us, it is enough to refer to what is said about Bishop Lightfoot and ἀπραγμῆς, Phil. ii. 6. "Lightfoot says [writes Mr. Beet] that his own exposition 'is the common and, indeed, almost universal interpretation of the Greek Fathers, who would have the most lively sense of the requirements of the language,' and gives a long list of quotations. These quotations support him in rejecting the exposition of the Latin Fathers. But not one of these confirms his own exposition." The last word on this subject has not been spoken. Mr. Beet, accepting Meyer's view, remarks, "I do not know of any ancient writer who holds" it. He renders the clause: "*did not count His equality with God as a means of high-handed self-enrichment,*" or, "*no high-handed self-enriching did He deem the being equal to God.*"

A Window in Thrums. By J. M. BARRIE. Fifth edition. Hodder and Stoughton.

This is a delightful book, and we are by no means surprised that it at once became popular. It seems but the other day we read it, and yet lo! a fifth edition. Such a mixture of the humorous and the pathetic is rare; the pathos is, indeed, of the finest. Simple, quite free from sensationalism, quietly and happily suggestive, these pictures of village weavers speaking broad Scotch form a work of high literary ability. Some of us have passed days in villages like Thrums, and with real enjoyment have looked out of such a "window" as Jess's. But everybody may admire this book.

The World of Faith and the Everyday World as displayed in the Footsteps of Abraham. By OTTO FUNCKE, Pastor of the Friedens Kirche, Bremen. Pp. 353. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1891.

We have here a translation from the sixth German edition of an earnest and spirited work. A series of sermons, afterwards written out for the press. The full title shows, pretty clearly, the author's aim.

In *Blackwood* appears a very interesting article on "A Suffolk Parson," Archdeacon Groome, Rector of Monk Soham, by his son, Mr. F. H. Groome. Many of our readers will remember Archdeacon Groome as Editor of the *Christian Advocate*. We give an extract from the *Blackwood* article:

Tom Pepper was the last of our Monk Soham yeomen—a man, said my father, of the stuff that furnished Cromwell with his Ironsides. He was a strong Dissenter; but they were none the worse friends for that, not even though Tom, holding forth in his Little Bethel, might sometimes denounce the corruptions of the Establishment. "The clergy," he once declared, "they're here, and they ain't here; they're like pigs in the garden, and yeou can't git 'em out." On which an old woman, a member of the flock, sprang up and cried, "That's right, Brother Pepper, kitch 'em by the fifth buttonhole!" Tom went once to hear Gavazzi lecture at Debenham, and next day my father asked him how he liked it. "Well," he said, "I thowt I should ha' heard that chap they call *Jerry Baldry*, but I din't. Howsomdiver, this one that spöok fare to läa it into th' owd Pope good tidily." Another time my father said something to him about the Emperor of Russia. "Rooshur," said Tom; "what's that him yeou call Prooshur?" And yet again, when a

concrete wall was built on to a neighbouring farm-building, Tom remarked contemptuously that he "din't think much of them consecrated walls." Withal, what an honest, sensible soul it was!

Their average age in the almshouse must have been much over sixty, and some of them were nearly centenarians—James Burrows, for instance, who died in 1853, and to whom my father once said, "You are an old man, Burrows; what's the earliest thing you can remember to have heard of?" "When I was a big boy," he answered, "I've heard my grandfather s̄a he could remember the Dutch king comin' over." And by the register's showing, it was really quite possible. Charity Herring was not much younger; she was always setting fire to her bed with a worn-out warming-pan.

Then there were Tom and Susan Kemp. He came from somewhere in Norfolk, the scene, I remember, of the "Babes in the Wood," and he wore the only smock-frock in the parish, where the ruling fashion was "thunder-and-lightning" sleeve-waistcoats. Susan's Sunday dress was a clean lilac print gown made very short, so as to show white stockings and boots with cloth tops. Over the dress was pinned a little black shawl, and her bonnet was unusually large, of black velvet or silk, with a great white frill inside it. She was troubled at times with a mysterious complaint called "the wind," which she thus described, her finger tracing the course it followed within her: "That fare to go round and round, and then out ta come a-raspin' and a-roarin'." Another of her ailments was swelled ankles. "Oh, Mr. Groome!" she would say, "if yeou could but see my poare legs, yeou'd niver forget 'em;" and then, if not stopped, she would proceed to pull up her short gown and show them.

In *The National Church* appears an excellent article on the "Welsh Disestablishment Debate." Here is a specimen passage:

The greater part of Mr. Gladstone's speech was altogether admirable. He began by gently deprecating Mr. Morgan's statements, and then more directly rebuking the tone of his speech. Once more, as in 1870, he traced the history of the Church in Wales, shattering, let us hope for ever, the fond figments so sedulously woven by Welsh Liberationists, proceeding through constant cheers from the Ministerial benches and chilling silence from his own side, until, after mentioning the Welsh Christians who treated with St. Augustine, and the refugee British "who were driven by Anglo-Saxon pressure into these western districts," he exclaimed: "These were the true representatives of the Church in Wales, which Church has, as far as I am aware, continued from that day to this, looking at it from without, and in its corporate capacity." Naturally these words were loudly cheered, and then for a time he divided his praises between the Nonconformists and the Church, commending Nonconformity for what it had done when the Church neglected the Welsh-speaking people, and the Church for her modern work. Of this last he said: "I have seen it growing with my own eyes," and he then proceeded to quote at length from "a representation made to me to-day by a dignitary of the Established Church," a representation which showed up the liberality of Churchmen in Wales in no unfavourable light as compared with the liberality of English Churchmen. But at last came the question: "Why interfere with this state of things?" And the speaker's own answer: "Because Wales, by her representatives, asks for it." Mr. Gladstone had, indeed, not forgotten that the last time he spoke in the House he had denied the possibility of separating the case of Wales from that of England, but he ingeniously endeavoured to justify his change of mind, mainly on the ground that that was twenty-one years ago, and that much had happened since, and that, at any rate, he had at last made up his mind to vote for Welsh Disestablishment.

Dr. Dale's latest work, *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels* (Hodder and Stoughton) is marked, as one would expect, by ability and spirit. Those who have read such works as Salmon's "Introduction to the New

Testament," and Wace's "The Gospel and its Witnesses," will yet enjoy this; and to lay readers, probably, it will prove especially welcome."

Methodism and the Church of England, "a Comparison," by a Layman (Griffith, Farran and Co.), is decidedly worth reading. The author, once a Wesleyan, puts his points well.

No. 64 of the "Present Day Tracts" (R. T. S.) is Dr. Blaikie's "The Psalms compared with Hymns of Different Religions."

The Church in the Mirror of History, or, "Studies on the Progress of Christianity," by Dr. Sell, of Darmstadt (T. and T. Clark), is attractive and informing. Dr. Sell, one may add, wrote the "Memoir of H.R.H. Princess Alice."



THE MONTH.

THE Clergy Discipline Bill (a great improvement on the Bill of 1888) was read a second time, without opposition, in the House of Lords. Archbishop Magee strongly supported the measure. We hope it will pass in the present Session.

The Lords' Amendments to the Tithe Bill, it is feared, may raise difficulties—*i.e.* delay—in the House of Commons.

The Centenary of John Wesley's death (March 2nd) was kept by Wesleyans throughout the country with enthusiasm. At the City Road gathering an address was delivered by Archdeacon Farrar.

Mr. Spurgeon has withdrawn from the Liberation Society, and refused the use of his Tabernacle for its annual meeting.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who at once signified his readiness to investigate the difficulties between Bishop Blyth and the C.M.S., has addressed a letter to the President of the Society.

The nation's expenditure in drink for 1890 is £139,495,470, an increase of £7,282,194 over that for 1889.

The Government has announced the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the relations between capital and labour.

Canon Creighton, D.D., has been elected Bishop of Peterborough.

At a conference held in the Church House, Westminster, on Higher Religious Education, nearly all the Dioceses of the Southern Province being represented, the Archbishop strongly advocated the movement. (See the *CHURCHMAN*, vol. iv., n. s., p. 17, "Higher Religious Education," by Canon E. R. Bernard.)

At an influential gathering in London, under the presidency of Sir George Stokes, M.P., the Archbishop of Dublin gave an account of a recent visit to the stations of Count Campello's Mission. His Grace spoke of the excellent and steady growth of the work which is being done by Count Campello.

Mr. Parnell's Manifesto to the Irish people in America, just issued, concludes thus :

With confidence even greater than in 1880, I appeal to you once more to . . . help me in securing a really independent Parliamentary Party, so that we may make one more, even though it be our very last, effort to win freedom and prosperity for our nation by Constitutional means.