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all Christian life through the second, or last Adam, who became a quickening or life-giving spirit." Spirit cannot be born of flesh and blood, neither can flesh and blood inherit the kingdom of the Spirit. As the origin of our spiritual life is divine and spiritual, so will its destiny in the end be divine spiritual also. Every seed has a body of its own. Terrestrial seeds have terrestrial bodies, celestial seeds have bodies celestial, and spiritual seeds will likewise in the end have spiritual bodies. We see not yet, nor shall we ever see in this our mortal state, the full development of the spiritual body born in us from above of water and the Holy Ghost. But constant experience works in us the sure and certain hope of the ultimate development of the spiritual body which was implanted in us at our spiritual birth. For on every hand we see tokens that the spiritual life in man does not grow old with his earthly years. Nay, as the physical bodies of the saints gradually wax feeble and decay their spiritual life gradually waxes stronger and more perceptive. As the outward man day by day perishes, the inward man is day by day renewed.2 The nearer God's holy ones draw to the gates of physical death, ever stronger grows the strength and brighter shines the light of their spiritual life. This liveliness of man's spiritual powers, up to the very hour of his physical decease, is of itself an intimation of their immortality. Yea, it is immeasurably more than an intimation. It is the expression, the evidence of the working of the immutable law both of the origin and the destiny of every manner of generic life, including the spiritual life of the twice-born man. For as the body which is born of the earth is earthy, and returns to the earth, so the spirit which is born from above is heavenly, and returns to God, who gave it.3 JOHN W. DIGGLE.

ART. II.—THE WITNESS OF THE HISTORICAL SCRIPTURES TO THE ACCURACY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

No. V.

IT is worth noting that the *Times* review of Professor Cheyne's "Biblical Cyclopædia" contains some caustic remarks on the arbitrariness of the methods by which conclusions are arrived at, and the confidence with which those conclusions are pronounced to be final. The *Times* observes that it seems scarcely worth while to embody such conclu-

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46.

² 2 Cor. 16.

³ Eccles. xii. 7.

sions in a Cyclopædia with a practical certainty that in ten years they will be out of date. Such is the unbiassed judgment of English common-sense. It is, unfortunately, only too certain that the unlucky wight who invests in a Cyclopædia, a Bible Dictionary, or a Hebrew Lexicon at the present moment, will find himself compelled to realize at a loss in a very short time. The Wellhausen school has certainly held the field for an unusually long period. This has been largely due to the hold which it has gained at our two ancient Universities, where its conclusions are apparently regarded as final and complete. But its dominion is drawing to a close, in spite of the unwillingness of Professors to admit that they have been mistaken. After long delay, Professor Margoliouth has entered the field against it, and it has already had enough to do to withstand the assaults of Professors Sayce and Hommel. Professor Margoliouth is a vehement assailant who does not scruple to charge his opponents with a profound ignorance of the language of the knowledge of which they have claimed almost a monopoly. Without going so far as this, one may be allowed to express the suspicion one has long felt that their knowledge of Hebrew is far surpassed by their knowledge of the latest fashions in German criticism.1

"Mais revenons à nos moutons." In the history of the altar Ed, in Josh. xxii., Professor Driver seems fairly non-plussed by the phenomena before him. Neither from a linguistic or from a historical point of view can he make anything of it.² He very wisely, therefore, slurs over the whole matter. This does not seem an altogether ingenuous method of proceeding. If ever there were a difficulty which ought to be boldly faced and disposed of, it is the narrative in this chapter. For, if genuine, it disposes of the whole theory that worship at the one sanctuary was an after-development, and therefore of the theory that Deuteronomy was compiled in the days of the later Jewish kings. And if not genuine, it can have been nothing else but deliberate and audacious fabrication by the priestly party. The question, therefore, is one for close reasoning and carefully elaborated proof. Yet Professor Driver is not only unable to tell us when this

¹ The other day I came across a work entitled "Studies in Biblical Archæology," by Jacobs, which rejects the conclusions of Wellhausen and his school on the same ground that I have done, namely, that the methods adopted are too arbitrary. The writer approaches the question, not from the orthodox standpoint, but from that of Herbert Spencer and Tylor.

² "Introduction," pp. 105, 106. The most cursory glance at his analysis betrays the fact that it needs considerable external support in the way of argument.

chapter was written or who wrote it—he confesses that he cannot assign it authoritatively to P-but he makes not the slightest allusion to the very obvious fact that unless the narrative can be proved to be a fabrication, we have here a complete refutation of the whole theory on which Professor Driver's critical analysis of the Pentateuch is based. story of the altar Ed, in fact, is a crucial test of the soundness of the whole critical position. It is here, therefore, more than anywhere else, that Professor Driver's critical analysis should be at once definite and incontrovertible.1 Nothing can be more emphatic than the contradiction given by the narrative to the German theory of the Pentateuch. Nothing, therefore, ought to be more conclusive than the demonstration that it has been The very fact that the transfabricated at a later date. Jordanic tribes have erected an altar other than that contained in the tabernacle, even while as yet no burnt-offering or sacrifice was ever reported to have been offered on it, is regarded by the tribes on the hither side of the Jordan as a casus belli; while the particularly solemn form in which the denials of the two and a half tribes is couched is sufficient to show how grave an offence the setting up of another altar is universally considered to have been. There is nothing whatever, it may be added, in the details of the passage before us to suggest a suspicion of its genuineness. It bears upon the face of it the stamp of verisimilitude. It is set aside by German critics in their usual reckless, off-hand fashion, not because there are any inconsistencies in it, but simply because it completely disposes of their fundamental principle. fessor Driver, apparently, cannot venture to follow them; so he skates over a dangerous place as lightly as he can. I doubt if any other instance can be given in which an historical expert with any claims to attention has dealt in such a manner with the materials before him.

The last two chapters of this book afford additional instances of the superficial character of the criticism now in vogue. It assigns chap. xxiii. to D_2 and chap. xxiv. to E, with the exception of vers. 13 and 31, which are also assigned to D_2 . That the speeches attributed to Joshua in these two chapters are homogeneous in character scarcely even a German critic would be hardy enough to deny. But minute

^{1 &}quot;Either a narrative of P has been combined with elements from another source, in a manner which makes it difficult to effect a satisfactory analysis, or the whole is the work of a distinct writer, whose phraseology is in part that of P, but not entirely" ("Introduction," p. 106). The italics are mine. But the Professor himself confesses that he cannot make a "satisfactory analysis" of one of the most crucial passages—whether it contain facts or forgeries—in the whole course of Hebrew history.

as our critics are, and exact as they pretend to be, they have not discovered that the man who made or wrote them was acquainted with the whole Pentateuch as we now have it. In chap. xxiii., beside many quotations from Deuteronomy, we have phrases from Exod. xxiii. 13, 27, 30, 33, attributed to the "Book of the Covenant," affirmed to be the earliest Hebrew writing, from Exod. xiv. 14, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11. attributed to JE (vers. 15, 23, 26 of chap. xiv., we may remark, are attributed without any very definite reason to Pi, and Num. xxxiii. 53, 56 attributed to P. In ver. 4 we have an allusion to the division of the land by lot (see chapters xiv.-xix.). But in the account of this division we learn that the compiler "has followed P." And certainly Num. xxvi. 53, xxxiii. 54, xxxiv. 13, 17, 18, in which the division by lot is prescribed, are all assigned to P. The phrase does not appear in Deuteronomy. D2, apparently, therefore, must have borrowed the phrase here from the as yet unwritten P.2 Ver. 13 seems to have been compounded of Exod. xxiii. 33, Num. xxxiii. 53, and Deut. vii. 16, another minute, but not altogether to be neglected, indication that the author of this speech, be he D₂ or whoever he be, was familiar with the whole Pentateuch. He not only uses JE and Deuteronomy in verses which are not assigned to D2, but he consistently quotes the presumed post-Exilic narrative throughout. Again, we not only have possible allusions in chap. xxiv. to Gen. xi. 26, xxi. 2, occurring in the supposed post-Exilic P. but Joshua in his speech here follows the story of the Exodus as we have it now in Exod. xiv., quoting JE and P indiscriminately, as anyone may see who has the critical divisions before him. Exod. xiv. 2, 9, are quoted in ver. 6, Exod. xiv. 28 in ver. 7. These passages are assigned to the post-Exilic P. Deut. xxix. 2 is also quoted in ver. 7. So that here again the speaker or writer in the Book of Joshua appears to have been familiar with the whole Pentateuch. P only, too, it may be noticed, in spite of the ingenious division which the critics have made of Exod. xiv., separating verses and half verses at pleasure, so as to fall in with their theory—P only mentions the "chariots and horsemen," and speaks of Pharaoh as having "pursued" (קרק) the Israelites, and the waters as having "covered" (כמה) Pharaoh's troops. Once more, therefore, the writer quotes a book which, ex hypothesi, was not in existence when he wrote. The division of Exod. xiv., ingenious as it is, will have to be a little more ingenious still

1 "Introduction," p. 102.

² If Josh, xiii. 6 be, as it is suggested, from D₂, the critics have still to explain why the phrase does not appear anywhere in Deuteronomy.

if it is quite to dispel the impression that the speaker in chap. xxiv. is quoting the Pentateuchal narrative in its

present shape.1

I may add, before leaving this chapter, the remark that it displays no traces whatever of having been fabricated at a later date. There are no fabulous amplifications in it. On the contrary, the miraculous details which occur in J, E, D, and P are frequently omitted here. So much is this the case that we may expect a new school to arise which will contend that in this speech of Joshua we have an earlier and more authentic fragment dealing with Hebrew history than any other which has come down to us. And yet, as we have seen, it follows the Pentateuch as we have it, and uses indiscriminately the narratives of J, E, D, and P.²

Before we leave the question of the authenticity of the history handed down in the Book of Joshua, there is another point of view from which the question must be considered. The critics, it appears, are teaching their pupils that the religious and moral code under which the Israelites were living down to the "eighth or ninth century B.C.," was Exod. xx.-xxiii. It could not be otherwise, for if we accept the critical verdict, no other portion of what is now known as the Mosaic Code was in existence up to that period. Be it so. Let us try the Book of Joshua by this test. It is an acknowledged principle of the new criticism that the absence of any reference to special provisions of the Jewish law is a proof that such provisions were not in existence. Now, it cannot be proved that the Book of Joshua ever makes the slightest reference to Exod. xx-xxiii., regarded as distinct from other portions of the Pentateuch. True, one God, Jehovah, only is worshipped,

¹ See note p. 338, on the substitution of Shiloh, here. It will be seen presently that on important occasions the tabernacle and no doubt the whole sanctuary was moved. Shechem was probably chosen for this meeting in consequence of the writing on Ebal and Gerizim, chap. viii. 30.35. See my note in loc. in the "Pulpit Commentary."

One or two minor points ought not to be passed over. The word DINDI, as referring to a tribe, occurs twenty-three times in the Old Testament. Of these, eleven are in the Pentateuch and Joshua, and the rest in Samuel and Chronicles. In Genesis one passage is in chap. xiv., the chapter to which the critics have been unable to assign a date or an author. The other, though a genealogy, is assigned to JE. Why? The remainder of cases in which it occurs in the Pentateuch are in Deuteronomy. Of the four times in which the word occurs in Joshua, two are assigned to D2, and two to P. Another very singular fact is that in Josh. xxii. 6, ascribed to D2, and therefore presumably written to support priestly, or at the least Levitical authority, it is Joshua, the Ephraimite (!) who is represented as having blessed the tribes before sending them away. Was this likely to be a fabrication of the later Jewish kingdom? Or if found in earlier histories, would it not have been considered by the priestly party wise to exclude it?

and the Israelites admit the obligation of an oath. But there is no reference whatever to Exod. xx. as the ground of these convictions. To the first commandment, as such, no reference is made. There is a possible allusion to the second. As other nations have equally acknowledged the obligation of an oath, we cannot fairly draw from the fact that the Book of Joshua acknowledges this obligation the conclusion that the third commandment was already given. The only portion of what the critics call the "Book of the Covenant" which is definitely quoted in the Book of Joshua is Exod. xxiii. 20-33. But as this passage is to be found in substance in other parts of the Pentateuch—notably in Deuteronomy, in Exod. xxxiii., xxxiv., in Lev. xxvi., in Num. xxxiii., often in almost identical language—it is impossible to prove that the author here is making use of the "Book of the Covenant" at all. There is a quotation, no doubt, of Exod. xx. 24-26 in Josh. viii. 31. But here the author has evidently taken his words, not from Exod. xx., but from Deut. xxvii. And he also, as we have seen, makes use of the whole Pentateuch. Consequently, by the argument e silentio which is so triumphantly used by the Germanizing critics, we are entitled to conclude that the author of Joshua, though well acquainted with the rest of the Pentateuch, "knows nothing" whatever of the "Book of the Covenant," and that therefore this portion of the Mosaic law, instead of being the earliest, is in fact the latest portion of the Pentateuch, since it is altogether unknown to an author or redactor who has made plentiful use even of the post-Exilic P.

Thus the methods employed in the new criticism, it may be useful to notice, may be used to establish a good many conclusions of which their authors never dreamed. But we have not done with the subject. We have seen that there is no definite evidence whatever in the Book of Joshua as it stands of the existence of the "Book of the Covenant" apart from the rest of the Pentateuch. But not only does the Book of Joshua ignore what we are told are the only actual institutions of Moses, but it describes a host of other institutions as in existence which, on the critical hypothesis, were utterly unknown in those days. In fact, if the Anglo-German view be true, the Book of Joshua is either an extremely ignorant or an extremely mendacious book. It assumes throughout the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy. It sometimes, with Deuteronomy, speaks of the Levites as priests, and then, within the compass of three verses, it speaks of the priests as they were never spoken of until after the evolution of the

Josh, xxiv. 19.

post-Exilic Priestly Code. It represents the Ark as the object of a superstitious veneration which German criticism has "proved," in its usual fashion, to be altogether a post-Exilic Jewish conception. It relates with apparent satisfaction the erection of the matzeboth, which Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code had so stringently forbidden—a curious piece of imbecility on the author's or redactor's part, since the authorities he desires to follow are certainly definite enough. In an age in which the rigid, not to say superstitious, observance of the law had become a passion the redactor commits himself to the utterly unsupported statement that the rite of circumcision, commanded by God under such terrible penalties, was actually set at naught during the whole of the forty years' sojourn in the wilderness. His statement is equally unintelligible whether we regard him as transcribing in this place the writings of an ancient author whose statements he felt himself at liberty to suppress or revise whenever he thought it desirable to do so, or whether we suppose that he is here giving the rein to his own imagination. He introduces references to the post-Exilic law of Jubilee, as well as of the priesthood, into his account of the fall of Jericho. Repeatedly does he represent his hero as observing scrupulously the command in Deuteronomy not to leave a body hanging all night upon a He pretends that the custom of asking counsel of God, presumably by Urim and Thummim, since the Old Testament "knows nothing" of any other, was in existence in Joshua's day, and charges his hero, whom he has written to glorify, with having on one occasion shamefully neglected it. combines with the most exact knowledge of the topography of Palestine a singular lack of acquaintance with her history and her most elementary religious institutions. For he insists frequently (and, strange to say, the silence as well as the unvarying statements of the remaining books of the Old Testament confirm his assertions) that the segregation of the tribe of Levi to the service of the sanctuary took place from the very moment of the settlement in Palestine, and among the cities assigned to the Levites for a dwelling-place he strangely enough mentions some which, so far as we can gather from the subsequent books of the Old Testament, never belonged to Israel at all, but to Moab. He invents the institution of the cities of refuge for no obvious reason, and places some of them where they could not be of the least use to Jews of his day. He represents the tabernacle of the

¹ It may be necessary to caution the simple-minded reader that neither Deuteronomy nor the "Priestly Code" prohibit any but *idolatrous matzeboth*, though the Germanizing criticism has tried to persuade usotherwise.

congregation as having been set up at Shiloh, and would persuade his readers that it was the centre of the Israelite polity, religious and secular, in Joshua's time. He supports his theory of the religious pre-eminence of the Tabernacle by a wild and remarkable fiction concerning the origin of which we have had a good many unproved statements, but nothing which can be called an explanation—the story of the altar of witness. And yet he balances these with the record of an episode which, were he writing, as is asserted, for a purpose, he would have done far better to have left out. That Joshua, under the hypothesis that the principle of the Central Sanctuary was well understood and incontrovertibly established, should have repaired to Shechem, in order to knit together the past and present history of Israel, cannot be regarded as But if the object of the historian were to prop up surprising. a new institution by daring inventions of the fancy, and if, in the pursuit of this object, he allowed himself a free hand in the selection—or manufacture—of his historical materials, it is inconceivable why he should here have introduced an incident so likely to defeat his purpose as that of Joshua repairing to Shechem, recorded in chap. xxiv., and still more inconceivable that he should have derived his account of this incident from D and P, as well as from older sources. Altogether the author of Joshua, regarded from the point of view of German criticism, presents a remarkable psychological phenomenon. German criticism has elaborated this psychological phenomenon with infinite ingenuity and pains. But it is perhaps not too much to say that so far the discovery has hardly been adequately explained.

It will be unnecessary to deal with the remaining history in equally minute detail. It has been already treated in "Lex Mosaica." To that "monumental mass" of irrelevancies I am not afraid to refer the reader who desires to study both sides of the question. It will be found (1) that in 'Lex Mosaica" a good many pertinent questions are asked which have not yet been answered, and (2) that the authors of that volume have not, as a rule, concerned themselves with questions of authorship, but have simply asked whether the history we have is, in its main features, worthy of credit or It is further to be remembered that "Lex Mosaica" does not deal with Professor Driver alone, but with the critics from whom, in the main, he himself admits that he has borrowed his conclusions. If in any particular he should happen to shrink, as he often does without avowing it, from going all lengths with them, the replies contained in "Lex Mosaica" may be "irrelevant" as far as Professor Driver is concerned, but they are by no means irrelevant to the general VOL. XIV.-NEW SERIES, NO. CXLI.

question which has been raised as to the authenticity of Hebrew history. In fact, as so much is built in Professor Driver's book on the agreement of the critics, it would be well if he were to tell us more definitely where he feels it his duty to disagree with them, and his reasons for doing so. The extent of the disagreement between him and the authorities on which he professes to rely is, as the reader will already have perceived, really far greater and more serious than he has given us the least reason to suspect.1

J. J. LIAS.

(To be continued.)

ART. III.—THE PROTESTANTISM OF OUR GREAT ENGLISH DIVINES.

III. ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

THERE is no man who is regarded both by themselves and by others as so much in accord with the modern medieval school as Archbishop Laud. The following passages will show how entirely unfounded is the belief that Laud looked with any tenderness on the Roman Church, and how little support can be derived from him for any preference of unreformed to reformed doctrines.

The Roman Church.

"The Church of Rome neither is nor was 'the right Church.' A particular Church it is and was, and in some times right and in some times wrong, and then in some things right and in some things wrong; but 'the right Church' or 'the Holy Catholic Church' it never was, nor ever can be, and, therefore, was not such before Luther and others left it or were thrust from it. A particular Church it was. The Church of Rome both was, and was not, a 'right' or orthodox Church before Luther made a breach in it. For the word before may look upon Rome and that Church a great way off or long before; and then, in the prime times of it, it was a most right and orthodox Church. But it may look also nearer home and upon the immediate times before Luther, or some ages before that; and then in those times Rome was a corrupt and a tainted Church, far from being right. The word before includes the whole time before Luther, in part of which time that Church of Rome was right and in other part it was

As Professor James Robertson has pointed out in his "Early History of Israel."