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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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SEPTEMBER, 1890.

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ART. I.—THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE OLD AND  
NEW TESTAMENTS.

THE interdependence of the Old and New Testaments is a literary fact at once extraordinary and inexplicable. There is no other instance in literature at all analogous to it. That a series of books, separate in themselves and yet forming a recognised and kindred whole, should after a period of four centuries be succeeded by another series claiming relationship with them, and manifestly dependent upon them, is remarkable in itself; but that these two series of books should be written, not only in different languages, but in typical representatives of different families of language, the one Aryan and the other Semitic, is so remarkable that we should antecedently pronounce it absolutely impossible. And yet it is this fact which confronts us every time we think of the Bible as a whole, and that we disregard without attempting to account for it, simply because it is so familiar as to seem not to require to be accounted for. But account for it we must, either upon purely natural principles of common and everyday experience, or else upon principles of another kind, which are not so common, but wholly exceptional. If, however, the result may legitimately be regarded as unique, we may rightly infer that the cause producing it is unique also. I shall endeavour to point out some of the facts which serve to show conclusively that the result is unique.

I. First, then, the Old Testament as a whole is a manifestly incomplete work. I do not stop to inquire how or why it is a whole, I simply speak of the Old Testament as representing the recognised collection of the thirty-nine books comprising the Hebrew Bible, and this book or collection of books on its own showing is an incomplete work. Three times over in

the Book of Genesis what purports to be a Divine promise declares that in Abraham all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, and a like promise is given to Isaac and to Jacob. Now, I take this in the broadest possible way. I care not whether we read it passively or reflectively—"shall be blessed" or "shall bless themselves"—it is both. All such questions of minute criticism are really trivial, and tend to divert the mind from the true issue involved. In like manner I do not care now to maintain that the promise was Divine; if it was, there is an end of the whole matter, for then we have a distinct revelation preserved in a credible record; but I do maintain that in one, as it obviously is, of the very earliest records of the Jewish nation we have a distinct foreshadowing of a particular destiny in store for Abraham and his descendants, and it would be much the same if written centuries later. This must be accounted for in some way, either as an inherent conviction of the Hebrew nation, expressive of their ineradicable consciousness of future greatness and the like, or otherwise. How came this insignificant people to indulge in such lofty aspirations? There is nothing directly analogous in any other history.

And, be it observed, the nature of this promise is different entirely from the other promise of the possession of Canaan, which afterwards was given, and of which promise the history records the fulfilment. But what I desire to show is that the Hebrew Bible closes without the slightest indication of this earlier promise ever having been fulfilled or justified. Fifteen hundred years afterwards there is not the slightest apparent prospect of a hope which was so confidently expressed being realized. And yet there it was distinct, emphatic, unwavering, and there it will be as long as the world lasts, for the world to make what it can of it.

I say, then, that a book bearing on the face of it a promise like this, making no attempt at showing what it meant, but leaving it in its crude and enigmatical form, is an incomplete book.

(ii.) Again, many centuries later, when the promise of the possession of the land had long been fulfilled, however that promise and its fulfilment are to be explained, we find the record of another equally distinct and definite promise given to David—that his throne should be established for ever; and though there is, indeed, a show of this promise being remembered and fulfilled for many centuries, yet in the person of his grandson it was rudely shaken, and finally was falsified altogether in the person of Zedekiah, his remote descendant, who was carried captive to Babylon and died in exile. And some two centuries later the history closes without any restoration of the throne, and almost without any visible heir. Then, I say, whatever may be the meaning of this promise, and however in-

geniously we may reconstruct the history in which it occurs, there it is on the surface of the record, without any apparent purpose, and with no apparent fulfilment. Surely another and conspicuous mark of incompleteness in the narrative as a whole?

(iii.) Take once more the promise in Deuteronomy, which I for one still fully believe to be the work of Moses: "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee." If this was Divinely given, then, again, there is an end of the whole matter, for we have an actual revelation preserved, it may be presumed, in a credible record; but if it was not, still it purports to be the expression of an intention on the part of the Divine Being that Moses should have a successor. Now, we look down the history for a thousand years, and though we find many prophets of great eminence and great individual importance, yet there is no *one* who can claim in any way to be the successor of Moses or like Moses, and certainly no one who was so regarded or esteemed; and to say that the promise of the *one* was fulfilled in the *many* is wholly gratuitous. Why, then, was this blot left on the book? Why was it not obliterated? Why did any compiler, redactor, Deuteronomist, or late editor like Ezra, or the men of the great synagogue, leave such a puzzle as this without explanation or comment of any kind? What did he or they suppose it meant? Did it mean Elijah, or Isaiah, or Jeremiah, or the entire body of the prophets?—nay, that, as I say, it could not mean; for it speaks of *a* prophet like unto Moses, and one cannot mean many, and they collectively were not like Moses. Taken, therefore, as a mere human affirmation, what does it mean? And occurring as it does in a prominent place in this literature, if it is left without any explanation, we can only point to it as another instance of incompleteness in the literature; as a conspicuous and acknowledged instance of a defect that needs to be supplied. The book in which such a defect is found is an incomplete book, because it raises expectations which it does not satisfy, and makes promises which it does not fulfil, and leaves enigmas which it does not explain.

(iv.) I will mention one more instance, and only one. The last of the prophets closes with a very obscure, but very explicit, promise about sending Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. We do not know what is meant by the day of the Lord, except that it is an obscure phrase occurring in the Prophets—for the first time in Joel—and referring apparently to some great national or historical crisis; but if we do not know what is meant by the day of the Lord, still less do we know what is meant by the coming of Elijah. We may even question whether the prophet himself knew; but this, at least, is certain, that the volume of prophecy

ends, and virtually the Old Testament ends, with this distinct challenge to the future. May we not say, then, that this is another mark of incompleteness, and that the book which contains such marks, of which these are but a few specimens, is an incomplete book? It is no reproach to the book itself to say so: it is one of its chief and characteristic features, and without this feature it would not be what it is.

And be it observed that the instances I have chosen are precisely those which are beyond the reach of any critical, disintegrating solvent. They are independent of criticism, and defy the critics, for they are specimens, so to say, of the very configuration of the book; they are not found in one part, but in all parts of it; they are characteristic not of one writer, but of many; they are symptomatic of the book as a whole. Criticism may do what it will with the promise to Abraham, and the promise to David, with the promise to Moses and the promise of Malachi, but as long as the Bible is what it is, there they are, and there they will continue to be; and without even claiming them as Divine, or as of any intrinsic value in themselves, I am warranted in appealing to them as specimens of substantial and substantive incompleteness in the book containing them.

But there is another feature equally characteristic and no less important to which I desire to point, and that is the way in which the writings of the Old Testament appeal to, and are fraught with, another sense than the merely literal and historic one. They oftentimes refuse to be chained down to any reference to the mere circumstances of time and place. An enormous impetus has of late years been given to the historical study of the Scriptures and the Prophets, and may it by all means prosper and progress! but this, I take it, is a certain fact, that time after time the historical meaning, whatever illustration we may bring to bear upon it, fails altogether to exhaust or to supply the sense. It is impossible to imagine any historical circumstances or events which were sufficient to supply a framework capable of sustaining the full and natural import of the language of, say, Ps. xxii., xlv., lxxii., cx., or Is. liii. I say deliberately that any attempt adequately to account for the actual language of these writings in their literal and grammatical sense can only be regarded as, at the best, but a brilliant failure, for the simple reason that it is hopeless and impossible to do so. To take the last of them. The Ethiopian eunuch was wise enough to frame a question that no writer has ever been able to solve or ever will be able to solve, except in the way that Philip solved it: "I pray thee of whom speaketh the prophet this, of himself or of some other man?" If not of himself, of what other man or of what body of men?

The answers can only be divergent, contrariant, futile, because they reject the one answer that presupposes the operation of a principle that must at all hazards be eliminated from our consideration when we approach the study of the Scriptures—the operation, namely, of the Spirit of God, who has chosen the medium of human language as the channel for conveying thoughts, conceptions, and truths, under the burden of which all language breaks down, even as all human incident fails to do more than suggest or illustrate them.

For instance, let it be granted that Is. xlvi. was written in Babylon with reference to the stirring events of the time; then what is the appositeness or natural connection of such words as these: "Hearken unto me, ye stout-hearted, that are far from righteousness: I bring near My righteousness; it shall not be far off, and My salvation shall not tarry, and I will place salvation in Zion for Israel, My glory" ? Allowing that the salvation might refer to the deliverance from captivity, what about the righteousness? How was it to be brought near? And why were the stout-hearted to hearken unto God while He brought it near? What, again, has the sprinkling of many nations by the Lord's servant to do with the escape from Babylon, when the Lord went before them and the God of Israel was their rearward? Or, again: "When the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst, I the Lord will hear them, I the God of Israel will not forsake them;" or, "The Lord is well pleased for His righteousness' sake; He will magnify the law and make it honourable;" or, "I, even I, am He that blotteth out thy transgressions for Mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins;" or, "I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins." All this, and much more of the same kind, shows that no present deliverance from captivity, even if it supplied the occasion for what was said, was sufficient to exhaust its meaning. The writer spoke from another standing-ground; he appealed to another sense; he looked out into another world; and the power which enabled him to do this was as much above and beyond nature as any power would have been which enabled him to depict and describe events far hidden in the future beyond the range of mortal ken. Thus, when the cold-blooded critic has exhausted from the prophets' language all reference to anything but the incidents of their own time, he forgets that he has solved but a part only of the problem which requires to be solved. Is the promise that "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea" less definite, emphatic, and Divine than that which said of Cyrus a century and a half before he appeared upon the scene, "He is My shepherd, and shall perform all My pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt

be built, and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid," stopping short, as the prophet did, with unexpected self-restraint at the very point when the work of Cyrus ended and that of Darius began? From all this, which might be indefinitely multiplied, we see that the prophets spoke from the high vantage-ground of the possession of a spirit and a spiritual insight and experience which was absolutely unique and unparalleled till the Gospel of Christ was preached and the Pauline Epistles written. And in the contemplation of this phenomenon we are contemplating an effect without a cause, unless we anticipate and presuppose the impetus which was given by Him who said, "Behold, I send the promise of My Father upon you; but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high." If the spirit which breathes in the Prophets and the writers of the Psalms was not the result of the operation of a like power from on high, and in no degree derived from their own personal intuition or dependent on their personal circumstances, we are at a loss to know to what to ascribe it. For that it was not merely natural is certain.

The phenomena of Old Testament prophecy can only be compared to those coruscations of glory and many-hued brightness in the early morn which herald and precede the advent of the sun. Were the great luminary to delay his coming, or, still more, to fail altogether from the heavens, there would be no messages of splendour shot across the sky. The promises of light would be quenched in darkness, and the sombre vault of heaven would be unrelieved by the variations of colour. In like manner the glories of the Old Testament, however splendid, are inadequate to account for themselves unless we postulate something for which they were the preparation, and to which they were designed to point. They are virtually an effect without a cause, a tale of little or no meaning, couched in mighty but incongruous and inappropriate language. Surely, therefore, the Old Testament looks forward to and anticipates something beyond itself upon which it is dependent for the full revelation of its meaning, the full development of its hope and promise. Before proceeding to treat of the converse, I must dwell briefly upon certain conditions essential to the study of the Old Testament.

We have reached a period in the evolution of human thought when it seems to be considered necessary for all history to be written over again, and especially that of the Old Testament. Let those who would understand my meaning look at the article "Israel" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." They will at once find that the history of the Jewish nation is not to be learnt from the national records, but from the conjectures of Wellhausen. The plainest and simplest testimony of the Scripture

writers is to be without hesitation or scruple set aside in favour of the reckless assertions and the groundless conjectures and imaginary theories of a novel and self-asserting scholar, who begins with assuming what he professes but omits to prove, and ends with the assumption with which he began. And this, forsooth, we are to accept as history, which has been rescued and reconstructed from the contortion and misrepresentation of the original records. Of course, if we throw discredit on the beginnings of things, it is alike impossible to say what may or may not have happened and what did happen. We may imagine the history for ourselves, with sublime indifference to all available records and sources, but the process will be like that of blowing bubbles and mistaking them for worlds. The real question we have to decide is not the *inspiration* of the Old Testament—that, if a fact, will take care of itself—but whether or not the Old Testament is to be trusted in the plain and obvious testimony which it bears to itself. Kuenen has distinctly told us it is not, and brushes it aside accordingly. The law was invented by Ezra; the rebellion of Korah is “entirely unhistorical” (the very words are his).<sup>1</sup> Deuteronomy is the romance of an unknown adventurer in the time of Josiah, and the like. Again and again we ask, where is the proof of all this? We search and search for it, but all in vain; it is not forthcoming: it is always going to be produced, but is never produced. Meanwhile, the only proof we have to rest upon is that it agrees with certain conjectures that have rashly and unscrupulously been adopted, and therefore in defiance of all evidence is to be received. The question, therefore, is one of authority: Shall we believe Ezra or Wellhausen? Shall we accept the facts of the Mosaic narrative of the exodus and the wanderings, or take the fictions of Kuenen in their place? Now, my answer, it may be, is a rough and ready one, but still I am inclined to think practically valid, and it is this: I see the hand of God so plainly in the broad facts of the history as we have it, and as we were manifestly intended to see it; and I find from thus seeing it so much light thrown on the facts of human life generally, and of my own personally, so much that is analogous in the individual, the national, and the universal, that I am willing to accept this history as the suggested key to the dealings of Providence generally, and as a leaf out of the revelation of God. If it is not this it is a lie, and we are left in total darkness, not only as to the facts of the history, but as to the revelation which is presumed to shine through them. In fact, revelation there is none; it is reduced to a vanishing-point, and may be relegated to the tales of the nursery and the dreams of childhood. The

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<sup>1</sup> “Religion of Israel,” vol. ii., p. 168.



infancy of Israel was like that of other nations. Israel underwent the same process of evolution as other nations, and all that we can learn is what we can gather from illusion and myth, and snatch from the darkness of misconception and misrepresentation to set in the broad daylight of modern life and everyday experience. Only, then, there is another element also that we have to account for, and that is the lofty spirituality and the sublime ethical teaching of the Prophets and the Psalms. And if God spoke by the *prophets* of Israel, may He not also have spoken by the *history* of Israel, not as we choose to reconstruct, but as we read it. In the former case it is surely evident that He has, to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear; is it wrong to infer that He has revealed Himself, and spoken also, in the other? But then, if so, we must be prepared to meet with miracle, and must not object to prophecy. And, indeed, it is, after all, this, and this only, that is the real obstacle. There never was anything of the nature of a true miracle; there can obviously be no such thing as real prophecy, and, therefore, the facts of the history and the phenomena of the literature must at all hazards be made to square with this theory. It is, in short, if we may dare to say so, the unbelief which has inspired the criticism, not the criticism which has necessitated the unbelief.

The whole matter is a long story, and the ramifications are manifold, and the issue is one that we are not likely to see wrought out in our own day; but the true question is not so complex as we are sometimes led to believe. The sun is shining in the daytime, whether or not he is hidden from us, for it is the sun that rules the day; and so if it is heavenly, and not earthly, light that shines in the Old Testament, it can only be because it comes from the Sun of Righteousness, who, it was promised in the last page of the Old Testament, should "arise with healing in his wings to those who fear the name of the Lord." It is a significant promise, because it shows that a moral condition is prerequisite in order to behold, or at all events to be healed by, this rising; and with this consideration we may pass on to inquire in what way the New Testament is dependent on the Old.

II. Now it is, of course, obvious that not a page of the New Testament could have been written if the Old had not previously existed. The first verse of the New Testament implies the history of David and Abraham, and so on throughout; there is hardly a book of the Old Testament which is not referred to as known by the writers of the New. Whatever may be the value of allusions in any one book of the Old Testament to other books of the Old Testament, as, *e.g.*, in Joshua, Judges, and Samuel to the Pentateuch, and in the Prophets and Psalms to the historical books, there is no possible shadow of doubt that when the writers of the New Testament

refer to the Old, the Old was in existence for them to refer to. It is proved to be so by the use they make of it. Why the like evidence should be of less value in the case of the several books of the Old Testament, the one to the other, I am at a loss to understand; but let that pass. It is certain, therefore, that the New Testament is dependent on the Old in this way, and to this extent. As a matter of fact, some five centuries after the bulk of the Old Testament had been written there suddenly sprang into existence a number of writings which assumed to a large extent the position and standing-ground of the writers of the Old; and that not in such a way as to show conscious and deliberate imitation of them, but solely because, as these later writings bore ample witness, certain events had occurred which appeared to fill up and consummate all that they had left incomplete. The reality of these events, so far as the life of Christ is concerned, is a matter of undoubted history. The problem we have to account for is, why these events should have produced these writings, and why the writings should have assumed the form they did, and why the writers should have been able to build as they did on the foundations of the Old Testament. It is clear that, such as they were, the foundations were already in existence. They were in no way modified or altered by those who built upon them. They used them as they found them, and as they were. For it was not a matter of mere verbal application, but the broad and general hope expressed in them was proclaimed as fulfilled. The promises had been made good and the expectation realized.

It is to be noted, then, that we have three factors. First, the Old Testament, in its aspect of unsatisfied longing and unfulfilled promise, which is neither more nor less than we have seen it to be. Secondly, the career of Christ, which is known from other sources to have been substantially what the Gospels represent. And, thirdly, the production of the New Testament as the result of the conjunction and combination of the former two. There is no visible reason why the union of the two first should have produced the last, but as a matter of fact it did. It was like the fusion of two chemical substances producing a third unlike both. It is useless to say that the nature of the first factor was not such as legitimately to produce the third, and it is idle to say that the character and the work of Christ should be viewed apart altogether from any bearing it may have had upon the Old Testament, because the historical problem that we have to account for is the results that followed the combination of the two, both in literary production and in missionary activity, as well as in social regeneration, of which the writings themselves are an abiding monument. And I maintain that it is the contemplation of these three factors which as long as the world

lasts will present an insoluble puzzle, except only upon one hypothesis—that, namely, of Divine purpose and intentional design. If you eviscerate the Old Testament of its prophetic characteristics, and eliminate them, then you cannot account for the career and character of Christ; if you pare down the character of Christ, you destroy the possibility of His work and its known effects, of which the production of the New Testament may be regarded as the greatest. And if you direct and confine your assaults to the New Testament, and deny the accuracy and credibility of the Gospels, you have still many facts to account for, the Epistle to the Romans being one of them, besides a host of others that are inexplicable, except upon the supposition of its being broadly and in the main what it claims to be, and of the Old Testament and the character of Christ being adequate to produce it. If they had not been agencies of sufficient dynamic force, the New Testament could not have resulted from their combined operation. It would have been different from what it is, or it would not have existed at all. Nor is it possible to ascribe successfully this result to an exaggerated imagination on the part of Christ, or of the disciples of Christ, because it was no part of the work of Christ to make the Old Testament what it is; and if it had not been what it is, He could not have done what He did with it. Neither would any undue admiration of, or reverence for, His character on the part of His disciples have resulted in the effects produced, such as the founding of Churches and the writing of such letters to them as the Apostles wrote. We must estimate each of these factors at its true value, or else we shall be confronted with results in their combination which will throw us out of our calculation and convict us of error. We have, as it were, given these three factors, and from their mutual relation we have to discover a fourth, which, if we state the problem correctly, and work out its solution aright, will be nothing less than a demonstration of the will and mind of God, the proof of an actual Divine revelation. Neither the Old Testament, nor the character of Christ, nor the New Testament, estimated fairly in all its bearings, can be explained on merely natural principles or regarded as a merely human phenomenon; but the mutual relation and interdependence of the whole combined is a unique phenomenon which points only to one fact as its explanation, namely, that God has chosen this method of making known His will to man, and has given him this proof of its being His will.

The New Testament, then, is clearly dependent upon the Old, inasmuch as had there been no Old Testament there could have been no New. It is conceivable that there might have been a Gospel preached, but it could not have been the Gospel of Christ, for the idea of a Christ is impossible without the Old

Testament. He might have been proclaimed as the Son of God, but he would not have been the Christ, for to be the Christ is to set the seal to the hopes and promises of the Old Testament. If, therefore, Jesus of Nazareth was rightly proclaimed as the Christ, and claimed to be the Christ, He took upon Himself the responsibility of vindicating and verifying the supposed promises and hopes of the Old Testament. And this was in no sense an adaptation to the popular notions of the Old Testament; it was to all intents and purposes an adoption and endowment of those notions as correct. If the popular opinion derived from the Old Testament about a Christ was false, then Jesus of Nazareth was assuredly not justified in professing to be the Christ; and if He claimed to be the Son of God, His claim to be the Christ was enhanced and emphasized thereby. We must, therefore, be especially careful how we deal with the so-called Messianic elements of the Old Testament, because if we deny them this as their true character, we impugn the validity of Christ's title, not so much by denying His claim as by disparaging and making worthless the title which He claimed. We do not so much deny His right to the crown as affirm by implication that the crown is tinsel and paltry; and this is incompatible with any reverence for or belief in Christ. If, therefore, we say that the historical meaning of the prophets and the Old Testament is their only true meaning, we cut at the foundation of Christ's claim, because that was built upon the true and valid sense which they had in addition to, and equally with, their historical sense.<sup>1</sup>

It was not Christ who imparted this sense to them; for not He alone, but the whole nation, read it there; and if it had not been there He would have been wrong in appealing to it, for He would have availed Himself dishonestly of misconception, which, being false, would have been fatal to the validity of His own claim. And when we find Him appealing to the Scriptures, not only in the most solemn hours of His own passion, "How, then, shall the Scriptures be fulfilled that thus it must be?" "This that is written must yet be accomplished in Me," and the like, but after His resurrection and His triumph over the conditions of mortality, when, "beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself," and said, "These are the words which 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

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<sup>1</sup> If it is maintained that Jesus never professed to be the Christ, and that the claim was advanced by His disciples, then we ask, What was it that He claimed to be? For assuredly His career, apart from His claims, whatever they were, is absolutely unintelligible, and His death likewise is inexplicable, apart from His claims.

the Old Testament concerning Me," we cannot maintain that the Messianic sense of these Scriptures is not a true one, or that their natural grammatical historical sense is independent of their Messianic sense, or that we can adequately develop and exhaust the one while we disregard and neglect the other. For, if so, Christ is an untrue interpreter of the Scriptures upon which He based His own claim, and when He opened the understanding of His disciples, that they might understand the Scriptures, so far from opening their understanding, He rather perverted their judgment, and taught them to discover and import into the Scriptures a meaning which was not there.

The New Testament, therefore, can never be independent of the Old, nor can the validity and trustworthiness of the Old Testament ever be disparaged without proportionally damaging the foundations of the New. I am quite aware of the danger, as Paley long ago said, of "making Christianity answerable with its life for the circumstantial truth of each separate passage of the Old Testament, the genuineness of every book," and the like; but there can be no question that we are pledged, not only by our allegiance to Christ, but by our estimate of Him as a conscientious teacher and an honest man, to accept what I may call the net result of the teaching of the Old Testament about the coming of a Christ as the true and valid conclusion we were intended to arrive at, and as indicating the point to which the earlier revelation of God was intended to lead us. And I maintain that we cannot decline to accept this, and accept Christ as in any special and personal sense charged with a Divine mission. The Old Testament is so far dependent upon the New for its interpretation and for the full revelation of its meaning, and the New Testament is so far dependent upon the Old for the truth and validity of the claims which it based upon that interpretation. To attack the one is to attack the other in its most vital part, and if the authority of the Old Testament in this point as the chosen instrument of special Divine revelation is overthrown, a death-blow is struck at the historic foundations of Christianity; for though its ethical teaching may survive, its faith in the person of Christ must perish, for in His last moments He declared on oath that He was the Christ of God, and if there is no Christ in the Old Testament, there can be no Christ in the New, for the conception of Jesus which identified Him with the Christ of the Old Testament was an error on the part of His disciples, and a most serious and fatal blot in His own teaching.

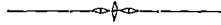
We thus arrive by an inductive process, through an examination of the New Testament, at the Divine authority of the Old. The Old Testament was the selected channel of a Divine revelation, and consequently to this extent and to this purpose the

writers of the Old Testament must have been Divinely inspired. They must have been and were guided, overruled, and enlightened to the extent and to the end required by their mission. They may have been conscious or unconscious of their high calling. There is much to show they were largely conscious of it; of the extent to which it reached they could hardly have been conscious, for in a multitude of cases their words were not their own, but God's; and certainly the result they left behind them bears the mark and stamp and evidence of His revelation. That was the old covenant of God with man, and its function was to prepare men's minds for, to point to, and to introduce, the new covenant. But as the new covenant cannot be independent of the old, so neither can the old pass away with the coming of the new, for the old is the foundation of the new, and if the foundation is overthrown the building cannot stand, but hath an end.

We have no space to discuss the question as to the weight of authority attaching to individual Scriptures in consequence of their use in the New Testament, or of the interpretation given of them there. I do not know that the validity of Christ's argument from Ps. cx. would be destroyed if it could be proved to demonstration that that Psalm was not David's, His point clearly being to show that the Son of David is also called (and that presumably by David) the Lord of David; but seeing that the Psalm is traditionally ascribed to David, and that by those who must have known at least as well as any among us of any reason why it should not be David's, linguistically or historically, I should prefer to insist upon this demonstration being given, in the most assured and imperturbable confidence that it is impossible to give it, and waiting with the like confidence until it is given. But when I find that Christ, in the most trying hour of His temptation in the wilderness, three times stayed Himself upon the Divine word of the Second Law, and confronted and confounded the tempter with the assertion "It is written," I must demur to the modern notion that anything written in the time of Josiah, and palmed off upon that illiterate though pious king as the work of the great lawgiver eight centuries before, can possibly, by any misconception or ignorance on the part of Christ, have been so dignified by Him; or if so dignified by Him, owing to some misapprehension on the part of the evangelist, that it was worthy, if produced under such circumstances, of being reckoned as the Word of God I must most emphatically deny. When the romancing ingenuity of the nineteenth century after Christ is gravely ascribed to the seventh century before Christ, and employed for the production of the second law under the guise of Moses, it is not possible to characterize the fiction otherwise than as an audacious forgery;

which, according as it is successful, becomes a portentous fraud and to suppose that the Spirit of the holy God was under the necessity of resorting to such measures to convey the knowledge of His will to His chosen people, or that He condescended to make use of them when so resorted to, is surely to betray a most unworthy conception of God, and an equally distorted idea of the nature of revelation. When it can be shown to demonstration that Moses did not write Deuteronomy, then it will be time to consider how we stand with reference to the use Christ made of it, and to the New Testament generally; but knowing perfectly well that it is simply not possible to do so, I am content to marvel more and more as I discover and trace more and more the close interdependence of the Old and New Testaments; and while my reverence for each increases as I study it with earnest faith, I am moved to adoration and to gratitude, as I learn ever more and more to see that as the New Testament rests upon the Old, so the Old Testament is fulfilled in, and established by, the New, and am constrained to confess that it is this intimate and indissoluble interdependence which effectually confirms them both.

STANLEY LEATHES.



#### ART. II.—PASTORAL WORK.<sup>1</sup>

AT a great political crisis in Rome, 1,935 years ago, when Julius Cæsar was making his most daring bid for power, the oligarchs entrusted their cause to a senator and rhetorician named Favonius. He was allowed one hour for his speech. Some of you will remember how he employed it. He consumed this unique opportunity in commiserating himself, because the space of time allotted to him was so short. Unlike him, I am congratulating myself that I have only to speak to you for half that time—not at all because I am reluctant to address you, for, indeed, I regard it as a great privilege that I am permitted to do so—but solely for this reason: I am a country clergyman, and as far as my clerical life is concerned, I have never been out of a country parish. And, therefore, much of what I may say on pastoral work will, I fear, be found of only little use by those of you who either are, or are going to be, engaged in work in town parishes. In obedience, however, to the distich which bids us

Be niggards of *advice* on no pretence,  
For the worst avarice is that of sense,

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<sup>1</sup> An address given at Selsdon Park on June 21, 1890, to young men about to be ordained.

I shall try to tell you in less than twenty-eight minutes what twenty-eight years of a country parson's life have taught me.

What is Pastoral Work? It might be taken to mean the whole of a clergyman's life *qua* pastor. But as this would require at least five or six addresses to discuss in the most superficial manner, it is plain that when it is to be handled in one brief address a limited and narrow meaning must be ascribed to it. To-day, therefore, I define Pastoral Work as "laying hold of the individuals in your parish." A clergyman has many duties to perform, which is the reason why his life's task is so hard a one. He has, as you all know, to preach the Gospel, to administer sacraments, to be a student, to organize charities, to set a good example, and so on. None of those things is what I mean by pastoral work. Pastoral work is *fathering* your flock. Just as a parent is ever endeavouring to wean each of his or her two or nine children from vice, and to put him on the narrow road, so will the pastor, whether his flock consist of 300 or 5,000, try his hardest to *apprehend individuals*.

Not sowing hedgerow texts and passing by,  
Nor dealing goodly counsels from a height  
That makes the lowest hate it; but a voice  
Of comfort and an open hand of help.

If, then, this, so far as it goes, is a correct definition, *how* are you to fish for men, *how* are you to sweep into the Gospel-net these individuals, *ἀνθρώπους εἶναι ζωογονήστες*?

To answer this question, let us look at a parish—any parish in the Christian world. Of what does it consist? Why, of three great divisions. I have, as you are aware, apostolic authority: of children, of young men, and of fathers.

Let us take these in order. How will you lay hold of the children? I reply, By being diligent teachers in your schools. Now, I am quite sure that you will look after your *Sunday-school*. But what I wish to impress on you is the importance of teaching in the *day-schools*. In them I would have you make the Scripture-lesson your first choice, certainly; but so long as you go to the schools I care little what you teach. Look in even at the infants, and hear them repeat a hymn, if nothing else. Get the children to like you. Take an interest in their work and in their games. Form a Band of Hope. For, be sure of this, you can do more *direct* good to children than to any other members of your flock. Adults will refuse to listen to you very often, only to show their independence. But children like to listen, and, if properly managed, are glad to obey.

I come now to the second division of the parish—young men; which of course includes young women. How are you to influence these? I will speak of the last first, because I only need a single sentence. There is but one thing to do with the



young women. Get rid of them. Get your squire's or rector's wife to find them good places. One of the worst features of these democratic days is the growing habit of keeping the daughters at home instead of sending them into service. A number of girls between fourteen and twenty years of age, loitering about at home instead of learning in a good place to be good housewives, is the ruin of the girls and the ruin of the parish.

As to the young men, who are prone to identify manliness with irreligion, they will be the great test of your capableness as pastors. How will you approach them? My favourite plan is a night-school. But I am bound to say that it used to do more good than it does now. You can never be sure of a night-school. One year it attracts; another year it is empty. Change its teachers from year to year, and, if possible, let them be gentlemen. But if you want it to succeed, you must put in an appearance yourselves, and show interest in it. Next to a night-school I put a Temperance Society. But the success of this depends almost invariably on its being worked by a layman. In the matter of recommending sobriety, one word from him has more weight than ten from you. The ordinary young man thinks that you are paid to preach temperance; he knows that the layman is not. Moreover, when *you* bid him be sober, he thinks it poor-spirited to obey; he regards it as loyal to hearken to a layman. I say the very same thing of a Young Men's Friendly Society; it is an admirable engine in the hands of a layman. In a large parish, not in a small one, a communicants' guild is invaluable. Need I mention gymnasiums, cricket clubs, singing-classes, drum and fife bands, classes for teaching wood-carving, etc.? If I do mention them, it is mainly because I implore you not to let young men slip out of your hands after confirmation. Do get at them somehow. I assure you that *you* can do this much better than we older men. They are a little afraid of us; they are not afraid of you. You are in touch with them, we are not. But it is the hardest part of your work, and therefore, on the principle of *noblesse oblige*, what you should work at hardest.

Finally, I come to the third division of the parish—the fathers and mothers. How will you shepherd *them*? I shall give you only one rule, that it may be impossible for you to forget it. I shall say nothing to you about mothers' unions, provident societies, penny banks, mothers' meetings, and slate clubs, but I say one word—*Visit*. Go about among your people and make friends of them. I know that whenever you take up a book on pastoral work and turn to the chapter about visiting, you nearly always find a sentence of this kind: "If you go into your neighbours' cottages only as gossips, you

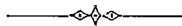
are best at home in your studies." But I think this is much too strong. Try by all means to say a word for Christ and religion and virtue whenever you enter a house, but do not regard your visit so wasted if you have not said it. The manifestation of compassion, the patient listening to the grievances of your parishioners, the introduction—if only for a quarter of an hour—of cheerfulness and refinement into a sad and rough home—do you imagine that these things are valueless?

What people want, and what does people good, is sympathy. How can you show it if you do not go to see them? And therefore, I repeat, go from house to house continually. Do not say, "I will not go in the morning because the woman will be washing; I will not go in the evening because the man will be at his supper." When will you see the man if you do not go in the evening? I bid you go at all times. Nothing is easier than to leave the house if your tact and common-sense tell you you are *de trop*. It is only *till* they know you that men are somewhat cold and rude. It is astonishing how they will thaw if they see you are not afraid of them. And therefore, at the risk of wearying you, I say once more, Go in and out among your people, not as judges or inquisitors, but as personal friends of like passions with them. Speak to them and feel to them as men to men.

And now you will be saying, "What does our adviser mean by harping on the worn-out subjects of teaching and visiting? Has he nothing better to offer us than this *crambe repetita*?" My defence is this: The younger clergy think that more is to be gained by the multiplication of services and the formation of guilds than by conversing with and teaching individuals. Pray do not think that I am blaming them. I only say that I do not quite agree with them. I only say, These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Unless you *know* your people, you will not do them much good. In the exquisite picture of the great Pastor of the sheep, what is the most *winning* trait? Is it not that He "calleth His own sheep *by name*;"? We expect Him to enter in by the door, to lead them out, and to go before them. But do not the words "He calleth His own sheep by name" tell us something about the Good Shepherd which we never should have thought of? There are hundreds of millions of His disciples on earth; yet He knows each one—the temptation, the unhappiness, the struggles, the anxieties of each man, each woman, and each child He knows, just as He knew the thoughts of the poor woman who touched His garment as He was on the way to Jairus' house. *Him*, therefore, my fellow-labourers in Him, in this, as in all else, I beseech you to follow. I know you will love your flocks; you would not have chosen the poorest-paid profession in England if

you did not. You will relieve their wants, and preach them a faithful Gospel, and pray for them morning, noon and night, I am sure. But even all this is not sufficient. You must, if possible, know each individual. If an Apostle with the care of all the Churches on his shoulders could say "Who is weak and I am not weak? who is made to stumble and I burn not?" cannot we say it? If Julius Cæsar and Napoleon knew the names of each old soldier in their armies, cannot we imitate them? But perhaps to this some of you will make this remark: "We do not see the result of this pastoral work; we teach and visit, and try to get at our young men, and yet, for all that, our churches are but little fuller, our communicant list not much longer." But oh, my young brethren, never say that. In the first place, God placed us here to sow, not to reap; to fight, not to win the battle. Whether you succeed or not is of no moment whatever; that is in Christ's hands, not yours. In the second place, you have forgotten your *À Kempis*: *Dat sæpe Deus in uno brevi momento, quod longo negavit tempore; dat quandoque in fine quod in principio distulit dare.* There is only one speech for every pastor in the world, the speech of Simon at Bethsaida: "Master, we have toiled all the night and have taken nothing; nevertheless, at Thy word I will let down the net." To him who acts in the spirit of these words the Lord will say in the last day, "Well done, good and faithful servant! thou hast been faithful over a few things; I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

FRANK PARNELL.



### ART. III.—FOUR GREAT PREBENDARIES OF SALISBURY.

#### No. 3.—ISAAC BARROW.

**I**T is a distinction of which any Cathedral may well be proud, to contain in the roll of Prebendaries names like those of Hooker and Pearson, Barrow and Butler. There is no fear that English theology and English literature will ever lose sight of the great works of the two first and the last in this list. In spite, however, of the admiring notice of men thoroughly masters in theology, Barrow hardly appears at the present moment to stand as high as he deserves. In his life-time he attained the highest distinction as a mathematician, and it has been well said that he is the thorough type of the scholar in the seventeenth century, who knew how to combine the old science and the new. When he entered Cambridge the great study of the place had few votaries. At his death his own pupil, Isaac Newton, was in the full exercise of his extraordinary powers.

Barrow was of respectable parentage. His father was a linen-draper in the City. He had an uncle who was Bishop of St. Asaph. He was born in London in 1630. Charterhouse School has certainly had unusual luck in the distinction attained by some of its sons. Barrow, Addison, and John Wesley were all at Charterhouse, and it is remarkable that at one time in the present century Thirlwall and Grote, Julius Hare and Dean Waddington were about the same time boys in the old Charterhouse School. At Charterhouse Isaac Barrow does not seem to have distinguished himself. There is a tradition that he was quarrelsome, and he certainly acquired greater distinction at the grammar school of Felsted. After a short stay at Peterhouse he migrated to Trinity in 1645.

It is said that his father, who had suffered in the Civil War, was assisted in the expenses of his son's college career by the excellent divine Hammond. Trinity suffered from the harsh rules of the Parliament commissioners. Cowley the poet and Thorndike the divine left the college. Barrow, though he never concealed his real views, escaped censure, and kept his position. He was scholar in 1647, fellow in 1649. A true son of the soil, his whole life from fifteen to his death at forty-seven was spent in his college. He was a vigorous and enterprising student, and it is wonderful to read the account of his labours in all directions. It was possible in his day to aim at distinction in all branches of learning, and after some years of hard work he obtained leave to travel. His first object was to join his father, who was living in exile in France. Barrow was able to render him substantial assistance. He was impressed with the hollowness of the French Court, and turned with delight to seek the society of learned men. It is curious that though he took interest in the religious movement in France, he seems to have known nothing of Pascal. Barrow went to the East, saw the wonderful scenery of the Ægean Islands, and spent a year at Constantinople, where he mastered the works of Chrysostom. When he returned to England, in 1659, he was ordained by the deprived Bishop of Exeter, who was living quietly at Sonning in Berkshire.

Barrow became Greek professor, and made his tenure of the chair a reality. He gave lectures at Gresham College in geometry, and was also first professor of mathematics. The variety and versatility of his career is certainly marvellous. Whatever he attempted he seems to have succeeded in. It is said that during his tenure of the Lucasian professorship he had approached very nearly to the verge of one of Newton's greatest discoveries. Barrow felt, however, when he became Master of Trinity, that divinity must occupy all his time. He had gradually been attracted by the original and thoughtful men who gathered round Lord Falkland

in his Oxford country-house. There are many passages in Barrow's writings which bear traces of the influence of Cudworth and Whichcote. Barrow soon became eminent, though never popular, as a preacher. We hear of him at the Abbey, and, according to Dr. Pope, the vergers, anxious to secure the gratuities of sight-seers, made the organist silence the lengthy preacher. When preaching in the city on one occasion, he had the good fortune to have Baxter in the congregation. In fear of a long sermon many left the church. It is not unusual sometimes now in cathedrals, but Baxter remained and comforted the preacher, as he came down from the pulpit, with encouraging praise. When Master of Trinity, Barrow distinguished himself in his care for the college, and the noble library is his enduring monument.

He did not hold his great preferment long. In 1677 he went to London for the election to Westminster School. He caught a cold, according to Tillotson, in preaching on April 13, Good Friday, and on May 4 he died in a prebendal house at Westminster, and was buried in the Abbey. His Good Friday sermon, on the "Passion of the Lord," was actually printing when he died. His famous treatise on the "Supremacy of the Pope" he delivered to the keeping of his friend Tillotson, who for nearly ten years laboured in the editing of Barrow's works. It is said that the father of the great divine received the large sum of £470 for the copyright of the folio edition of Barrow, a contrast to the £20 received a few years before by Milton for "Paradise Lost." The modern edition of Barrow, edited by the late Rev. A. Napier, is an admirable and careful work. The text has been most thoroughly revised, and Cambridge may well be proud of this tribute to the great Master of Trinity. Nothing can be better than the notice of Barrow's life prefixed to the ninth volume of Napier's edition, by another great Master of Trinity, Dr. Whewell, a man whom it is almost impertinent to praise, and who certainly resembled Barrow in his firm grasp of the realities of faith.

The duties of a Prebendary of Sarum were in Barrow's days certainly light. There is no record of sermons preached by him in the cathedral, but it is known that he spent the small income derived from his prebend in charity. A sinecure which he held in Wales was also devoted to charitable purposes. The anecdotes which are told of his fondness for tobacco and fruit, his presence of mind when attacked by a dog, and his clever repartee to Lord Rochester at Court, are sufficient to make us long for a Boswell, or a Joscelyn De Brakelond, who might have retailed something of the customs and sayings of the great Master of Trinity. There are manuscripts in the British Museum which may still afford some material to a future biographer. Some years

ago a full and satisfactory article on Barrow appeared in the *Quarterly Review*. Anyone, also, who labours to give a true estimate of Barrow as a theologian, will find that he has been anticipated by Dr. Wace in the "Classic Preachers of the English Church." Although Barrow stands in the front rank of theologians, he possesses a distinction and quality of his own, which makes it difficult to assign him an exact place in the catalogue of great divines.

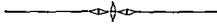
Barrow's treatise on the Pope's supremacy can never be out of fashion. It is a masterpiece. Barrow has a crushing power of argument, and his dissection of the Petrine claims is unmatched as a cogent and systematic chain of reasoning. Perhaps the most favourable specimen of his moderation and wisdom, is the sermon he preached at the consecration of his uncle, the Bishop of Sodor and Man. The advantage to be derived from an endowed clergy has never been more forcibly given. The sermons on the Creed are in many ways admirable, and should be studied by young divines as a complement to Pearson's great treatise. Many of the germs of thought scattered through Butler's works are to be found in Barrow. He is especially great on the inability of man to comprehend Christianity perfectly; and there is a sermon printed by Mr. Napier, for the first time, on the question of "Man's Limitation" as to the knowledge of God," worthy of the most careful study, and anticipating much that was well said by Dr. Whewell in the course of the controversy raised by Dean Mansel's Bampton lecture. All Barrow's utterances on the subject of Church unity are admirable. The weight of his learning is never felt as a burden by the reader, and there is a completeness and exhaustiveness, as Dr. Wace says, which leaves the impression that we are in the hands of a master.

The deep problems of theology had no particular attraction for Barrow. His whole soul was given to the enforcement of the great primal truths of the Gospel. Christianity appears to him to be the real restorative of human nature, and the beauty and reasonableness of a consistent life is his constant theme. There is a manliness and intrepidity in his faith which make even his longest sermons powerful and attractive. Some years ago a volume of his Beauties was published, and, if we mistake not, the Religious Tract Society issued a selection of his most striking passages in a series comprising some select divines. These are days of reprints, and a judicious selection of Barrow's sermons ought to be popular. He is never tedious or verbose; and although we cannot say that there are any passages equal in rhetorical power to the highest flights of Jeremy Taylor, there is a loftiness and dignity in Barrow very attractive. The *Quarterly Review* well says: "He was not a Bacon or a Pascal

but among minds of the second rank it is not easy to find one surpassing Barrow's in breadth and power." Sermons valued by men differing so widely as John Locke, Bishop Warburton, and the elder Pitt will always have an attraction for Englishmen. Barrow himself had a dread that his mathematics should interfere with his divinity. The reverse is true. "Every sermon," it has been said, "is like the demonstration of a theorem." Mathematics undoubtedly gave him his direct clearness, and the thorough temper and tone of his mind.

There are few things more interesting than the ante-chapel of Trinity College, and the stranger who stands before Noble's remarkable statue of Barrow may well feel proud of the character, the dignity, and the completeness of the great Master whom Walter Savage Landor described "as one of the brightest stars in the firmament of English worthies."

G. D. BOYLE.



#### ART. IV.—WHO ARE "THE BAPTIZED FOR THE DEAD"?

1 Cor. xv. 29.

THIS is a passage of well-known difficulty, which has called forth a multitude of comments. One writer mentions seventeen<sup>1</sup> different expositions of it, some of them differing very widely from the others. Bengel's observation—that a mere catalogue of the various interpretations which have been suggested would amount to a treatise,<sup>2</sup> is hardly an exaggeration. As might be inferred, no explanation has ever received general approval. Nor is it likely that after the failure of the most learned doctors of the Church, during eighteen centuries, to elucidate its meaning, anyone will ever succeed in doing so. Nevertheless, a careful examination of the passage will enable us to clear away some idle fancies, and correct some fallacious reasonings, which have rendered a difficult passage still more difficult, and make it easier to determine, approximately, its meaning.

The general purport of the Apostle's writing cannot be mistaken. The great stumbling-block of the Greeks, as regarded their acceptance of the Gospel, was the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. When St. Paul preached at Athens—the

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this article I have seen a similar one on "Baptism for the Dead," by the Rev. J. Horsley, which enumerates no less than thirty-seven different interpretations. But nearly all these—excepting those noticed in this paper—are so far-fetched and obviously untenable as hardly to require notice.

<sup>2</sup> "Tanta est interpretationum varietas, ut is qui, non dicam varietates ipsas sed varietatum catalogos colligere velit, dissertationem scripturus sit," Bengel in *loco*.

centre of Greek thought and speculation,—the belief in the resurrection which he propounded, awakened, at first curiosity and afterwards scorn. The same seems to have been the case all over Greece;<sup>1</sup> nor can it be doubted that at Corinth—the most voluptuous of the Greek cities, the notion of the body (which carnal-minded men regarded as the mere organ of sensual enjoyment) being in a future state renewed to life would provoke greater contempt than it would anywhere else. The false teachers of whom St. Paul complains, finding that the dogma in question was an obstacle to the success of their preaching, renounced it altogether, affirming that although Jesus Christ did indeed declare that there would be a resurrection, He meant no more by it than the rising of the soul from its inborn corruption to holiness of life—in fact, that in the instance of every really converted man, the resurrection was already past.<sup>2</sup>

It is against this error that St. Paul argues in the earlier part of the fifteenth chapter. He points out, first, that the actual, not the metaphorical, resurrection of Christ was attested by a number of witnesses, who saw Him alive after His death and burial; secondly, that the Resurrection of Christ in the body establishes the doctrine of the resurrection of all men in their bodies. He was the *first* fruits of them that slept. How could He be that, if there were no after fruits? Thirdly, if this were not so, the hope of the living and the dead alike would be rendered null. Belief in Christ could then only benefit us in this life, and, if that were the case, we should be of all men the most miserable. But happily that is not the case. Christ has been raised, and reigns on high, and will continue to reign till at last His kingdom will be established in all its fulness. "Else," he proceeds—supposing this were not so—"what shall they do—what will become of the οἱ βαπτίζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν? Why in that case βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, and why should we, too, expose ourselves to continual danger for the sake of a faith which gives us nothing either in this world or in the world to come? All this is intelligible enough to the most ordinary understanding. There is, in fact, no difficulty anywhere, except in the four words, βαπτίζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν. Who are the persons said in our version to be "baptized for the dead"?

It is urged that the natural and simple meaning of the words

<sup>1</sup> Even the most cultured minds in Greek literature rejected the doctrine of the resurrection of the body: ἡπαξ θάνατος οὐκετ' ἔστ' ἀναστασις wrote Æschylus (Eumen., 656); πέρασ γαρ, says Aristotle of death, the goal where all ends. Similarly Eurip., etc.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Timothy ii. 18. Cf. Romans vi. 4, from which verse they extracted the notion that man's resurrection consisted simply in "Walking in newness of life." Also Irenæus (ii. 56): "credunt . . . esse resurrectionem a mortuis agnitionem ejus, quæ ab iis dicitur, veritatis."



is that certain persons were baptized as proxies for, and representatives of, the dead—that some having died who believed in Christ but had not yet received baptism, that sacrament was administered to living persons in their stead. As in the instance of Leviratical marriages, it is argued, the children of the second marriage were regarded by the Jews as though they had been begotten by the former husband; as again, in the rite of infant baptism, the sponsors made the vows on behalf of the children, but these were accounted of as having been made by the children themselves, so here the benefits of the baptism were transferred from the person on whom the baptismal waters were poured to the person whom he represented.

Now, if it could be shown, in the first place, that such a practice as this existed in the Apostolic Church, and, in the second, that it was approved or even tolerated by it, little doubt would remain that this was the true explanation. But neither of these points can be established with anything like certainty, or even likelihood. All early authorities reject this interpretation of the Apostle's words, excepting only the writer, who for a long time passed under the name of Ambrose, and who is now known, sometimes as Pseudo-Ambrosius or Ambrosiaster.<sup>1</sup> He is thought to have lived towards the close of the fourth century; but his name and country are uncertain. He is apparently a man of no great learning, and is said to be tainted with Pelagianism. The statement of a writer like this, at a distance of nearly four centuries from the times of which he speaks, can carry little weight, especially when he is in disagreement with all other authorities on the subject. There is, indeed, no doubt that the practice existed before the end of the first century among certain Gnostic sects. Epiphanius<sup>2</sup> attributes it to the followers of Cerinthus, not, be it observed, to Cerinthus himself. Now, the date of Cerinthus' birth is unknown. He is believed to have been one of the false teachers whom St. Paul complains of. But Epiphanius adds that he founded his heretical school, subsequently to these times, in Asia, where he came into contact with St. John. That must have been many years after the date of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; nor is there a shadow of a reason for supposing that the practice of vicarious baptism existed when the Apostle wrote.<sup>3</sup>

Still more unlikely—we may safely say more incredible is it

<sup>1</sup> "Exemplum eorum subjicit, qui tam securi erant de futura resurrectione ut etiam pro mortuis baptizarentur. Si quem forte mors pravenisset, timentes ne aut male, aut non resurgeret, qui baptizatur non fuerat, vivus nomine mortui, tingebatur." Pseudo-Ambros. Comm. in 1 Cor. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Epiph. Hæres. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Tertullian (cont. Marc. ver. 10, and De Resurr. Carnis, ver. 48) charges the practice on the Marcionites, who were long subsequent to St. Paul's

—that either St. Paul or the Apostolic Church should have permitted, much less approved, such a custom. The case of an infant's sponsors, urged by Dr. Wells, is a wholly different matter. They only answer hypothetically, and with an eye to future action, on the part of the baptized. They do not attempt "to deliver their brother, or make agreement to God for him,"<sup>1</sup> as these Gnostics did, in the teeth of the teaching of Scripture; nor would the Apostolic Church have held that such supplementary baptism was needed. The Catholic doctrine has ever been that a genuine desire for participation in the Sacraments will supply the place of the outward act, if that has been by circumstances rendered impossible.<sup>2</sup> We must believe this to have held good in the instance of the penitent thief and those martyrs who died before baptism had been administered. We never hear of the Church procuring vicarious baptism for these. Indeed we may gather from the manner in which Chrysostom speaks of this custom what was the opinion of the Church respecting it. "I know," he writes, "I shall excite laughter; nevertheless I will mention what they were wont to do, in order that you may more completely avoid this error. When any catechumen among them departs this life, they conceal a living man under the bed of the dead. Then they approach the corpse and ask it whether it wishes to receive baptism. When it makes no answer, the man underneath the bed says in its stead that of course he should wish to be baptized, and so they baptize him, instead of the departed, like buffoons in a theatre." Dean Alford argues that the manner in which St. Paul speaks of this custom—*τι ποιήσουσι οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*—shows that he himself does not approve of their proceedings. But Dean Alford, if he can discover this in St. Paul's words, must have extraordinarily keen eyesight, which, for cleverness, may match with Lord Burleigh's famous shake of the head. Ruchert says that though St. Paul expresses no disapproval of the custom, when speaking of it, he meant to express disapproval of it afterwards. But how does Ruchert know that? Surely, to suppose that the Apostle would in the first instance urge the most solemn and weighty arguments in favour of the resurrection of the dead, and then cap them by citing the profane and ludicrous practice of an heretical sect, is a notion we shall not easily be persuaded to

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times. It is much more probable that a misapprehension of St. Paul's words on this occasion suggested the heretical practice, than that he referred to a practice already existing.

<sup>1</sup> Ambrose de ob. Valent. Aug. de Baptismo, iv. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The early Church held that martyrdom was in itself equivalent to baptism. Tertull. de baptismo, c. 16; Cyprian de orat. Domini; Origen, Tract 12.

adopt. Notwithstanding that this interpretation has been upheld by many learned and able men,<sup>1</sup> it must be rejected.

Passing on to other explanations, we may first notice the opinion of Whitby, that τῶν νεκρῶν is here equivalent to τοῦ νεκροῦ, and refers to Christ, who was dead and is alive. What would be the use, the Apostle asks, of being baptized in behalf or in the name of a dead Christ; that is, a Christ who will never live again? Ὑπὲρ may mean this, of course; but can the plural in this manner stand for the singular? Such a view is certainly forced and strained, and must be supported by some strong argument if it is to be adopted. But Whitby adduces nothing but a quotation from St. Luke vii, 22, where our Lord answers the disciples of John by saying that "the dead are raised," referring (as Whitby contends) to the single act of raising the widow's son at Nain. But that can be nothing more than Whitby's conjecture. Raising from the dead, we have reason to believe, was of no uncommon occurrence during our Lord's ministry (see St. Matt. x. 8; St. John xxi. 25), nor does there appear to be any reason why St. Paul, if he had intended to refer to our Lord, should not have employed the singular number.

Another favourite explanation is that ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν means "in the room of the dead," new converts being continually admitted by baptism to the Church, to supply the void caused by martyrdom and other modes of death. "If the dead rise not,"—so Doddridge, Olshausen, and others understand the passage—"why should her sons be anxious to fill the places of those who must needs be hopelessly dead?" This would be a rare sense of ὑπὲρ, but, doubtless, a possible one. Examples of it are to be found in classical Greek, as, for instance, Dionys. Halic. viii., where ὑπὲρ ἀποθανόντων is said of new soldiers brought up to supply the place of those who had died in war. Viger also (De idiotism. ix. 9) allows this sense to ὑπὲρ. But it is strange that the advocates of this view do not see that it is inapplicable to the present case. The Church does not resemble an army, which contains various corps, each composed of a definite number of men, whose vacancies must be filled up by new conscriptions, and in which no more than a definite number can be admitted. All are free to enter the Church, let their numbers or let *her* numbers be what they may. Wolfe somewhat modifies this exposition by suggesting a reference to the case of those persons who are so struck with the spectacle of men dying for Christ that they eagerly press forward to fill their places. This sense of ὑπὲρ is, I believe, without parallel, and must be held inadmissible, however well it might otherwise suit.

Again, ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν has been rendered "over the dead,"

<sup>1</sup> As e.g. Grotius, Erasmus, Michaelis, Dr. Welles, Slade, Burton, Dean Alford, Meyer, De Wette, and other Germans.

over the graves, that is to say, of the dead. This sense of ὑπέρ is tenable, though it is rare in Hebraistic Greek, nor is it denied that such a practice as administering baptism over the graves of holy men, and especially of martyrs, existed in the early Church. In the church built by Constantine it was the custom, on the anniversary of the dedication, to baptize converts over the Lord's accredited grave. But that practice was not known when this Epistle was written, at which time, indeed, there had been no martyrs, at all events none at Corinth. Nor is it easy to see how faith in the resurrection would be more emphasized by performing baptism over a grave than anywhere else. The above is the view of some eminent men, among them of Luther; but there is less to be said for it than for other opinions before mentioned.

Bengel's explanation of the passage, which is also that of Calvin and others, is quite different. These think that by νεκρῶν are meant those who are in effect already dead. "Qui baptismum suscipiunt eo tempore, cum mortem ante oculos positam habeant," says Bengel, "jam jamque vel ob decrepitam ætatem, vel ob morbum, vel luem, vel martyrium ad mortuos accumulandi omni fere fructu hujus vitæ carentes, devenientes ad mortuos, et mortuis quasi imminentes." "What do they mean," so Bengel puts it, "by being baptized at a time when they were virtually dead, so far as this world is concerned, unless because they were assured of a resurrection to another life?" But great as is Bengel's ability, he will hardly reconcile his readers to an exposition so forced and far-fetched as this, which makes "mortui" equivalent to "morituri." Nor is the argument by which he endeavours to support his view worthy of him. "Super mortuis," he says, is equivalent to "super sepulcro," and he quotes in proof of the reasonableness of this St. Luke xxiv. 5, where the angel says: "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" As there were no dead among whom, he says, Christ could be sought for, this must mean "*in the grave.*" But plainly the angel's meaning is "among the dead," who might be expected to be found in any grave. Nor is there any evidence, so far as I am aware, that it ever was the custom to celebrate baptisms at the same time as funerals. Nor—to repeat the objection urged against Luther's interpretation—would a baptism performed at a funeral be any greater evidence of faith in the resurrection of the dead than if it were performed at any other time.

These various expositions turn chiefly on the meanings which the words ὑπέρ and νεκρῶν may possibly bear. But according to some commentators the solution of the difficulty is to be found in the word βαπτίζομενοι. Lightfoot, Rosenmuller, and Macknight understand it in the sense which it bears in St. Matt. xx. 23. "Are ye able," asked our Lord of the sons of Zebedee, "τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι?"—that is, "to endure

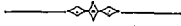
the flood of trial and sorrow with which I am environed." So again St. Luke xii. 50 : "βάπτισμα ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι," etc. ; "I have a course of suffering to undergo." This sense of βαπτίζω is not unknown in classical Greek. Men are said—βαπτίζεσθαι δφλήμασι, εἰσφοραῖς, and again, ἀμαρτίαις—"to be overwhelmed with a deluge of debts, imposts, or sins." So Plutarch de Educ. Pueril. xiii. 3, "ψυχὴ πόνους ὑπερβάλλουσι βαπτίζεται." But though this use of the word βαπτίζομενοι is quite tenable, it does not explain ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν any more than the previously mentioned interpretations have done.

Lastly, there is the view held by Hammond, which is mainly derived from the Greek Fathers, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Photius, Theophylact and others, which supposes τῶν νεκρῶν to be elliptical, and the words τῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς ἀναστάσεως to be understood before them, "What shall we say of those who are baptized for the hope of the resurrection of the dead?" or, as Theophylact phrases it, ἐπὶ προσδοκίᾳ ἀναστάσεως, "in expectation of the resurrection." Hammond quotes Suidas and Scaliger in proof that such ellipses as these are of common occurrence. He cites also the passage from Chrysostom, which upholds this view. The latter says that the ministrant required the catechumen, as part of the primitive baptismal service, to profess his belief in the resurrection of the dead. τοῦτο προστίθεμεν, he writes, ὅταν μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν, κελεύοντες λέγειν ὅτι πιστεύω εἰς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει ταύτῃ, βαπτίζομεθα<sup>1</sup> (Chrys. Hom. 40, in 1 Cor. xv. 29). And after they had made this profession, they were lowered into the fountain of those sacred waters and again lifted out, symbolizing burial and subsequent resurrection. "Nothing, then," writes Hammond, "can be more plain than that this was Chrysostom's understanding of Paul's words. Being 'baptized for the dead' was being 'baptized in the faith of the resurrection of the dead.'" No one will dispute that this explanation gives a very satisfactory meaning to St. Paul's words ; and great weight ought to be allowed in a question of this kind to Greek writers, who could understand the subtleties of their own language as no foreigner could do. Yet, after all, a fuller and clearer explanation of the passage is to be obtained by simply understanding the words of verse 29, βαπτίζομενοι and βαπτίζονται, as "middle." If the dead rise not at all—if they have the sentence of eternal death in them—why practise baptism in their behalf? As regards any

<sup>1</sup> This is generally rendered "and for or unto this faith *we are baptized,*" making the words part of the catechumen's profession. But surely he would not be required to say "*I believe in the resurrection of the dead, and into this faith we are baptized.*" βαπτίζομεθα must needs refer to the ministrants, the same who μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν, and should be rendered "and into this faith we baptize."

future life, they are dead already. But baptism is the sign of the new life after death.<sup>1</sup> If, then, they have no new life after death, what is the meaning of administering baptism to them? Professor Evans, in his valuable note on this passage, maintains that βαπτίζομενοι and βαπτίζονται are "middle," but still seems to think that the words interpolated by Chrysostom and Theophylact are necessary to the explanation of the passage. To me it seems clearer without them.

H. C. ADAMS.



#### ART. V.—ENGLISH GILDS.

THE principle of association for mutual aid is one so obvious, and so sure to suggest itself to all communities which have at all emerged from barbarism, that it is quite what one might expect to find—that the English mediæval gilds have had very various countries, times and causes assigned for their origin. The *ἔρανος* of the Greeks, the burial societies of Rome, the family festivals of the Scandinavian tribes, the tithings or divisions for frank-pledge, are all put forth by various writers as the origin of the gild, as it is found fully developed and systematized in mediæval England. With regard to the first of these the resemblance to the gild statutes is somewhat striking. "The objects of the *ἔρανοι*," says Boeckh, "were of the most various description; if some friends wanted to provide a dinner, or a corporation to celebrate a solemnity—to give a banquet or forward any particular purpose by bribery—the expense was defrayed by an *eranos*. Associations of this kind were very common in the democratic states of Greece, and to this class the numberless political and religious societies, corporations, unions for commerce and shipping belonged."<sup>2</sup> The Roman Burial Society, having a distinctly limited object, may be regarded as having less in common with the multifarious aims of the gild. "The northern historians," says Dr. Brentano, "in answer to the question whence the gilds sprang, refer above all to the feasts of the German tribes from Scandinavia, which were first called 'Gilds.' Among the German tribes every occurrence among the more nearly-related members of the family required the active participation in it of them all. At births, marriages, and deaths all the members of the family assembled. Banquets were prepared in celebration of the event, and these had sometimes even a legal signification, as in the case of funeral banquets, namely, that of entering on an inheritance. Great social banquets took place at the great

<sup>1</sup> Romans vi. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Public Economy of Athens," p. 243.

anniversary festivals, and at the same time the common concerns of the community were deliberated on at these banquets."<sup>1</sup>

Against these combinations many of the Capitularies of Charlemagne, whose great object was to centralize, were directed, especially against those unions which were confirmed by mutual oaths. But the most obvious origin for the gild, and that out of which it seems necessarily to have grown, was the Anglo-Saxon arrangement for divisions into tithings, or parties of ten men, made responsible in their corporate capacity for each individual member of the body. "Throughout the earliest legislation of the Teutonic nations," says Mr. Kemble, "and especially of our own, we find small bodies of men existing as corporations, founded upon number and neighbourhood, thus making up the public units in the State itself. It is probable that the Anglo-Saxon law implies these under the name of *gegylðan*, or brothers of the *gylð*."<sup>2</sup> These bodies consisted of ten members, called a tithy, ten tithys forming the hundred. These divisions were originally numerical, not territorial. The members were bound for one another either to make good any injury one of them might have done, or to exact compensation for any that he might have received. This guarantee was known as *frith-borh*, or franc-pledge. It would naturally lead to the formation of a common fund of the tithing, to meetings of the members for social purposes, to religious services in common, and to other amenities of gild-life. Thus the mediæval gild seems naturally to grow out of the Saxon tithing. The merchant gild has doubtless a different origin and history. But if there are varieties of opinion as to the origin of gilds, there are no less discrepancies as to the derivation of the name. Most authorities derive it from the word signifying money or gift, referring to the contributions made by the members; but we are now assured, on no mean authority, that this is wrong. "It is a mistake," says Dr. Furnivall, "to connect the word with the German *geld*, payment. The real derivation is to be found in Welsh *gwyl*, Breton *goel*, *gowil*, a feast or a holiday."<sup>3</sup> With this corresponds the Dutch *gulde*, Danish *gilde*, feast or banquet. Those who adopt this latter derivation would probably be in favour of retaining the most usual spelling of the word as "guild," while the others maintain that it should be written "gild." We are inclined to favour this latter opinion.<sup>4</sup> Feasting together does not seem to be the primary object of a gild, but only an accident and afterthought. "The early English,

<sup>1</sup> "History and Development of Gilds," p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> "The Saxons in England," i., 238.

<sup>3</sup> "English Gilds," p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> See Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith's "Introduction to English Gilds," p. 19.

gild was an institution of local self-help, which before poor laws were invented took the place in old times of the modern friendly or benefit society, but with a higher aim. While it joined all classes together in a care for the needy and for objects of common welfare, it did not neglect the forms and the practice of religion, justice and morality."<sup>1</sup> These fraternity gilds were anterior in time to the gilds merchant, and craft gilds, but led up to and naturally suggested this further development of the gild principles. "The social gilds were founded upon the wide basis of brotherly aid and moral comeliness, without distinction (unless expressly specified) of calling or class, and comprehended a great variety of objects. The craft gilds, while sharing the same principles, were formed for the benefit of the members as craftsmen and the regulation of their craft. There were also gilds that were neither wholly social nor of a craft, and to these it seems that gild merchants belonged."<sup>2</sup>

Now, of these social gilds, the origin of all the others, it is undisputed that the first complete examples are to be found in England. Dr. Brentano says: "The oldest reliable and detailed accounts which we have of gilds came from England. They consist of three gild statutes. According to the latest investigation into the origin of gilds, the drawing up of all these statutes took place in the eleventh century."<sup>3</sup> To these statutes, then, we naturally turn for enlightenment as to the character of the early English gilds. They are printed in Mr. Kemble's "Anglo-Saxons" (vol. i., appendix D). In all of them the religious character of the gilds is very strongly marked, and is indeed the most prominent feature. The Abbotsbury Statute prescribes gifts of wax, money and corn to "the honour of God and the worship of St. Peter." By the Exeter Statute, at each meeting of the gild the mass-priest was to sing two masses, one for the living and one for the dead; and each brother of common condition "two psalters of Psalms," one for the living and one for the dead. The Cambridge Statute does not prescribe any special service, but each gild brother is to "give oath upon the relics that he would hold true brotherhood for God, for the world." Next after the religious rules come provisions against quarrelling. If one brother "misgreet another within the gild in hostile temper" he is to be fined the amount of his entrance, and, if he refuses to pay, to be expelled. The Exeter Statute fixes the fine for this at thirty-pence, the Cambridge at a "sester of honey." The Abbotsbury rule has a provision as

<sup>1</sup> See Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith's "Introduction to English Gilds," p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> "English Gilds," p. 65.



regards the gild feasts. "If any introduces more guests than he ought without leave of the steward and caterers" he is to forfeit his entrance. All three of the statutes enforce the duty for the gild brothers to join in the funeral rites of a member, but the Cambridge Statute ordains an equivalent benefit to the gild. "Let the gildship inherit of the dead half a farm"—a curiously indefinite provision. As regards actual benefit to be derived in life from gildship, the Cambridge Statute is the fullest. If a gild brother suffer a loss by theft, "let all the gildship avenge their comrade." If he commit a wrong, "let all bear it; if one misdo, let all bear alike." If he slay a man in fair quarrel, the fine is to be borne by all; "if the slain be a ceorl, two ores; if he be a Welshman, one ore." But if he commit a treacherous murder, he is "to bear his own deed." These statutes, curious from their antiquity and from their connection with the origin of gilds, are very far from giving us full and complete information as to the character of the social gild of the Middle Ages. But for this abundant materials are now provided.

It appears that in the year 1388, at a Parliament held at Cambridge, it was ordered that two writs should be sent to every sheriff in England, commanding him to make public proclamation throughout the shire, calling upon all masters and wardens of all gilds and brotherhoods, mysteries or crafts, to send copies of their charters, details as to their foundation, statutes, and property to the King's Council in Chancery. These returns, made during the winter of 1388, "over five hundred years ago, and forty years after the great pestilence, by which many of them mark their dates, remain to us now, life-pictures of what was passing then. Many of them must be lost, but there are still extant official returns of more than five hundred of the brotherhoods which once were scattered all over the land—enough to teach us the characteristics, purposes, and value of these institutions."<sup>1</sup> These valuable records, lying in bundles in the Record Office, were almost absolutely unknown and untouched until the late Mr. Toulmin Smith happily lighted upon them. They were not known to Mr. Herbert when he wrote his work on the "Livery Companies of London." They had escaped the notice of many laborious inquirers. Mr. Smith's volume (published by the Early English Text Society), together with the valuable Introductions, now enables any who are interested in the social life of our ancestors to obtain most valuable information as to some of its leading features. We propose, without going minutely into details, to lay before our readers some of the most striking peculiarities

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<sup>1</sup> "Introduction," p. 25.

of these mediæval gilds. But, first, it may be well to clear the position in which we stand historically as regards these institutions.

How has it come about that these gilds, so prevalent, so almost universal in the Middle Ages, and with such manifest powers of usefulness, utterly collapsed and ceased to exist, and that scarce a survival of them was to be found in the seventeenth century, save of the gilds-merchant and craft gilds? What had become of the social gilds? This is rather a dark page in our history, and especially in the history of the Reformation. It has been seen that in the statutes of the earliest gilds the religious provisions were put foremost. It was the same substantially in all the statutes of the later gilds. These religious provisions were not of a nature to commend themselves to reforming zeal, being much taken up with regulations as to wax candles and the providing of masses for the soul of the departed brother. When, therefore, in the truculent days of Henry VIII. there were no more monasteries to be spoiled and looted, the attention of the king and his advisers was turned to the institutions, which also had somewhat of the religious element in them; namely, colleges, hospitals, and gilds. Many of these latter had acquired considerable property, and by an Act of Parliament (37 Henry VIII., c. 4) the King was empowered to send out Commissioners to take possession of their property, "to be used and exercised to more godly and virtuous purposes." This Act, coming towards the end of the reign, was not fully carried out when the keen-scented advisers of the young King, Edward VI., came upon the scene. They at once proceeded to make a still more sweeping ordinance. By this (1 Edw. VI., c. 14) all moneys devoted by any sort of gilds and fraternities for masses or obits were conferred upon the Crown, and all "fraternities, brotherhoods and gilds, and all manors, tenements, lands, and other hereditaments belonging to them" were vested in the Crown. There was a provision saving the trading gilds; but all those which could not creep out by this door were absolutely suppressed and spoliated. Hence the long hiatus in gild-life, feebly revived in modern times by friendly societies, burial clubs, and trades unions.

Now, had there not been the fixed intention to despoil, there was no reason why the antiquated religious provisions of the gilds should not have been allowed to drop out and die away, as was the case with the colleges in the Universities. That the social gilds, considered as apart from the trading gilds, had in themselves great elements of usefulness will, we think, be apparent when we consider some of their main features. "The gilds were not in any sense superstitious foundations; that is, they" were not founded, like monasteries and priories, for men

devoted to what were deemed religious exercises. Priests might belong to them, and often did so, in their private capacities. But the gilds were lay bodies, and existed for lay purposes, and the better to enable those who belonged to them rightly and understandingly to fulfil their neighbourly duties as free men in a free state. Though it was very general to provide more or less for religious purposes, these were to be regarded as incidental only.<sup>1</sup> Out of the five hundred whose statutes are preserved there were very few which were not formed equally of men and women; and so far was the social gild from being exclusive, or having a trade union character, that the members belonged indiscriminately to every grade of society and to every craft. Chaucer gives us a picture of such a gild:

An Haberdasher and a Carpenter,  
 A Webbe, a Dyer, and a Tapiser,  
 Were all y clothed in o livere,  
 Of a solemne and grete fraternite.<sup>2</sup>

The Gild of the Trinity, Coventry, had, according to Dugdale, enrolled Kings Henry IV. and Henry VI. among its members, while in later times the Gild of St. Barbara of St. Katharine's Church, near the Tower of London, could point out Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey as brethren. The members were admitted by an oath, and received with a kiss of peace. Their entrance fees were fixed sometimes in money, sometimes in goods; the moneys were kept in a common chest, and the alderman of the gild, together with the stewards, had to render an annual account of the property of the gild. In some gilds it was the rule for a member dying to leave the society a legacy. It is evident that such an arrangement must have interfered more or less with family life; but as the admission to the body was perfectly free to all, it might be that all the members of a family belonged to it, and all might share in the benefits. The days of meeting of these gilds were various—once, twice, thrice, or four times in a year. The meetings were known by the singular name of *morn-speeches*, suggesting the idea of a meeting for business and discussion in the morning, while the evening was dedicated to convivial purposes and ceremonies. On the gild-day, usually that of the patron saint, the brethren and sisters met together, worshipped together, transacted their business, and then joined in the feast. Clad in their hoods and livery, all bearing lights, they joined in some act of worship, and then marched in procession to their gild-house, with lights, music, and flowers and garlands. Sometimes these processions were made on horseback; sometimes a play or mystery was

<sup>1</sup> "English Gilds," Introduction, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Prologue to "Canterbury Tales."

represented by the gild-members, and various pageants, of which it may be said that the Lord Mayor's Show is the sole survival, were exhibited in all the principal towns. As to the property possessed by the gilds, no doubt many of them had acquired considerable amounts of land, which afterwards served to tempt the spoiler; but the "property of many seems to have merely consisted of the contributions in money or in kind expended and accounted for by responsible officers; others acquired considerable property in church ornaments, furniture for the gild-house, goods used in plays and shows. Some gilds invested in cows and oxen, and let them out at so much a year."<sup>1</sup> Of how great value these institutions were before the provision of any systematic relief for the poor may be easily judged. The sick, the afflicted, the aged, those who had been robbed or been overtaken by misfortune, were regularly helped. In the statutes weekly payments to the poor, as well as gifts of clothing and food, are frequently mentioned. These regular payments must have been far more valuable than the fitful and uncertain doles of the monasteries, and they benefited the dwellers in large towns, whom for the most part the religious house did not reach. Sometimes loans of money were made; sometimes free gifts to enable a member to set up in trade. "Any good girl" of certain gilds was helped to a dowry. Brethren cast into prison were to be visited and aided to get free; those who were bound on a pilgrimage were helped and honoured, and one gild even sent a pilgrim yearly, at the expense of the society, to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. At Coventry a lodging-house with thirteen beds was kept to lodge poor pilgrims, with a governor of the house and a woman to wash the pilgrims.

The regular payments of the gild were, of course, made to its members, but there was also provision in many gilds for doles or gifts to the poor who were not gild-members.<sup>2</sup> A gild in York found beds and attendance for poor strangers. The gild of the Holy Cross, in Birmingham, had almshouses for poor people of the town. The gild of Hatfield Brodoke, Essex, contributed to the repair of roads. That of St. Nicholas, Worcester, repaired the walls and bridge of that city. It was very common for gilds to undertake the repair or restoration of a church, and

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<sup>1</sup> "English Gilds," Introduction, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> "On feast days the bretheren and susteren shall have three flagons and six tankards with prayers, and the ale in the flagons shall be given to the poor who most need it."—Statutes of Gild of the Tailors, Lincoln, E.G., 183. "Every year at the feast of the Purification they shall feed as many poor as there are brethren and susteren in the gild with bread and ale, and one dish of flesh or fish, at the cost of the gild."—Gild of St. Benedict, Lincoln, E.G., 172.

some of our finest cathedrals may owe their construction in no small degree to the gild principle. Thus, for the building of Lincoln Cathedral, St. Hugh formed the Gild of St. Mary, which produced about 1,000 marks a year; and in the Patent Rolls there is a letter from his successor authorizing the establishment of a society to last five years for the same purpose.<sup>1</sup> The officers of a gild were its head, called alderman; stewards or wardens; dean or beadle, and clerk. These were all elected by the members annually. The dean and clerk received salaries; the others were allowed certain privileges at feasts. It must be confessed that an inordinate amount of ale seems to have prevailed at these banquets; but it must be remembered that this was not the strong heady ale of modern days, but a mild compound in an incipient stage of fermentation, served with a cake (discus) swimming on it, precisely as the traveller in Norway may have it now brought to him in a large open earthenware jar, and with the provision of a spoon to consume it with. Another item which everywhere appears in the statutes is wax. Candles of wax were offered by all the gild-members to their patron saints. When the obsequies of a dead brother were celebrated, in which all gild-members had to assist, a *hearse* was placed round the body—that is to say, a wooden enclosure was made, and on this each member fastened his votive candle. At the feasts also there seems to have been a vast illumination of candles. Two very striking characteristics, the second one universally expressed among the by-laws of all the gilds, must not pass unnoticed. The first is the respect for law and its established forms; the second, the constant sense of moral worth, and the desire to attain it. A good character was required for admission into a gild, and immorality, if persisted in after warnings, formed a ground for expulsion. As the gilds had a distinctly religious character, and priests were usually members of them, immorality and excess were no doubt discouraged by them. But there were other convivial clubs in the Middle Ages which were not so innocent, and with which the clergy were a good deal mixed up, as it was customary to give notice of the meetings of them in church. These were known by the name of Scot-ales, and seem to have been unmitigated drinking-bouts, in which the strongest tippler escaped free of payment, while the weaker heads had to contribute the reckoning. In the Constitutions of Archbishop Edmund Rich and in those of Bishop Grosseteste these symposia are prohibited, and the clergy are warned not to give notice of their proposed meetings.

One very singular arrangement made by some of the gilds

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<sup>1</sup> Coggeshall in "Martene," v. 867. Rot. Lit. Pat., p. 57 (ed. Hardy).

deserves notice. This was the formation of a sort of league or incorporation with some distinctly religious society, by which the prayers, alms-deeds, and merits of the religious body were to be made available for the members of the gild. An instance of this in England was the pact formed between the gild of the saddlers in Aldersgate and the neighbouring religious house of St. Martin-le-Grand. Dr. Brentano states that this alliance was common in the foreign gilds.<sup>1</sup> Some of the gild returns, written in old English, are, as might be expected, excessively quaint. The careful provision made in almost all of them against anyone entering the "ale-chamber" except in company with the officers, shows how carefully the store of this favourite beverage was guarded. The feasts are always described as "drinkings," and the amount of ale allowed by the rules as an honorarium to the officers seems marvellously liberal. The alderman was usually allowed two gallons, the stewards and dean one gallon each. It is provided in many of the statutes that no man is to sleep "in the time of drink," nor let the cup stand near him on pain of the fine of one penny.<sup>2</sup>

The usual amount of payment in sickness was one shilling or fourteen pence weekly, and at death a free burial, with attendance of all the gild members, and abundance of wax candles, if the member died within a reasonable distance of the gild centre. With regard to the gilds associated for a special purpose, and not merely on the basis of a friendly society, some very curious information as to mediæval customs may be gleaned from the gild returns. In York a gild was established for presenting a play "setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer," in which play all manner of sins and vices were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise. The players were to prepare themselves for the performance by religious exercises, and when the play was played all the members of the gild were to ride through the streets, accompanying the players, all clad in a livery. How the Lord's Prayer was to be represented in a play is not specified, probably by hideous presentations of the vices and fair pictures of the virtues.

In the gild of St. Michael-on-the-Hill, in Lincoln, the democratic feeling curiously peeps out. The gild, it is said, was founded by "common and middling folk," and "no one of the rank of mayor or bailiff shall become a brother of the gild unless he is found to be of humble, good, and honest conversation, and no one shall have any claim to office in this gild on account of the honour and dignity of his personal rank." The gild of St. Martin, in Stamford, has somewhat of a truculent character.

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<sup>1</sup> "English Gilds," p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Gild of St. Thomas, Bishop's Lynn, E.G., 81.

Every year it was to provide a bull, which for the amusement of the citizens was to be hunted through the town by an unlimited number of dogs and then killed.<sup>1</sup> A gild in Ludlow has a provision that its members, in keeping night watches over the dead, are not "to call up ghosts."

That these very useful, or, at any rate, harmless, institutions should have been marked out for spoliation and suppression in the sixteenth century seems very hard measure. The Commissioners sent to inquire into their condition under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were in some cases moved rather to recommend their preservation than to condemn them.<sup>2</sup>

The Gild of the Holy Trinity at Cambridge appears to be unique in its objection to priests. If any ecclesiastic becomes a member he shall not be put into any office nor allowed to "meddle" in the affairs of the gild in any way, "for it is neither becoming nor lawful that a clerk should mix himself up with secular business, nor does it befit the good name or come within the calling of such men that they should take upon themselves offices, or things of this sort."<sup>3</sup> Considering that these words were written early in the fourteenth century, they are sufficiently remarkable. In contrast to the very *lay* tone of the Cambridge Gild we may place the very curious and interesting Gild of the Kalenders of Bristol, which was essentially a clerical body. The records of this gild were destroyed by fire early in the fourteenth century, but an inquiry ordered by the Bishop of Worcester brought to light the fact that the beginning of the fraternity "did exceed the memory of man," and was anterior to the Norman Conquest. One of its works had been to found a school for Jews and other strangers, "to be brought up and instructed in Christianity, under the said fraternity and protection of the Mayor of Bristow and Monastery of St. Augus-

<sup>1</sup> This strange and savage custom was kept up till the present century.

<sup>2</sup> This was especially the case with the Gild of the Holy Cross, at Birmingham. Henry's Commissioners report: "In the same towne of Byrmyngham there be two thousand houseliss people. And at Ester tyme all the prestes of the same gyld, with eleven others, be no sufficient to mynyster the sacramentes and sacramentalles unto the seyde people. Also there be divers pore people ffounde aided and suckared of the seyde gyld, as in money, bread, drynke, coles; and whenne any of them dye they be buried very honestlye at the costes and charges of the same gyld." Edward's Commissioners add other good deeds of the gild: "There be mainteigned and kept in good reparacions two greate stone bridges, and divers foule and daungerous high wayes; the charge whereof the town itself is not able to mainteign; so that the lacke thereof will be a great noysaunce to the kinges majesties subjectes passing to and from the marches of wales, and an utter ruyne to the same towne, being one of the fayrest and most profittable townes to the kinges highnesse in all the shyre."—"English Gilds," pp. 247-249.

<sup>3</sup> "English Gilds," p. 205.

tine, in Bristol."<sup>1</sup> The name kalenders was derived from the fact that the meetings were held on the first day, or kalends, of the month. In France and Germany, according to Dr. Brentano, "the clergymen, assembled in the first day of each month to deliberate on their interests, were united in special fraternities, which from their meeting-day on the kalends of each month, were called Gilds of the Kalenders. In a deed of the fifteenth century they are styled "fratres in calendis missas celebrantes."<sup>2</sup> There does not appear to be any other example of a kalenders' gild in England besides this at Bristol.

We have dwelt at so much length on the peculiarities of the social gilds that we have not left ourselves much space to speak of the gilds merchant and craft gilds. These, indeed, are much better known, and in their survivals and modern representatives, the Livery Companies, are sufficiently familiar, and have been elaborately described by Mr. Herbert in his book on the "Livery Companies of London." The origin of these gilds was due to the "necessity of protecting liberty, property, and trade, against the violence of neighbouring nobles, the arbitrary aggressions of the bishops or the burgrave, or the bold onsets of robbers. The whole body of full citizens—that is, the possessors of portions of the town lands of a certain value—united itself everywhere into one gild—*convivium conjuratum*; the citizens and the gild became identical; and what was gild-law became the law of the town. From this kind of gild sprung in England the method of recognising the citizens as an independent body by confirming their gild."<sup>3</sup> Some of these gilds merchant existed in England in times anterior to the Conquest, but their full development was under Edward II. and Edward III. By a charter, bearing date in the former reign, it was ordained that no person should be admitted into the civic freedom unless he was a member of one of the trades or mysteries; and under Edward III. there took place an entire reconstitution of the trading fraternities, which, now generally assuming a distinctive dress or livery, came to be called livery companies.<sup>4</sup>

Among the earlier gild-merchant societies in England, none is so remarkable as the German Gild (*Gilda Teutonicorum*) or Hanse, which existed in a sort of fortified castle in the heart of London, and was governed by the strictest laws and regulations of almost a monastic character. This gild was a branch of the Hanseatic League, and was known by the name of the Easterlings. They had their factory in London, in Thames Street,

<sup>1</sup> "English Gilds," p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Brentano, "English Gilds," p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert, "Livery Companies of London," i., 28.



with spacious quays. The name which it acquired of *Steel-Yard* is derived by some authorities from *Staple* or *Stabile* (quasi *stabile* emporium, a fixed depôt). It was, according to Stowe, "large, built of stone, with three arched gates towards the street; the middlemost whereof is far bigger than the other and is seldom opened." Here the foreigners dwelt like so many monks. They had their separate cells, ate at a common table, were tied to celibacy, obliged to be within the factory at a certain hour, were governed by regular officers, and strictly prohibited from holding any communications with the English, save in the way of trade. Like the English factories of a later date in India, or the Dutch in Java, they dwelt as it were among a hostile people, being under obligation not to forestall the markets from the burghers of London, and to pay a certain toll to the City. The craft gilds, which gradually grew up to a rivalry with the merchant or citizen gilds, "and everywhere in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries either snatched the government from their hands or at least obtained a share in it,"<sup>1</sup> have a history of exceeding interest. In London they appear in the full possession of the mastery in the reign of Edward III. The king himself became a member of the Linen-Armourers, or Merchant Tailors, and many of the nobility followed his example. The favour with which they were regarded speedily gave to these gilds a sort of aristocratic status, and induced a rigid exclusiveness. The fee for entering by way of apprenticeship was made immoderately large. Privileges were conferred upon the families of gild-members, and thus a craft became hereditary, and from this narrowing and hedging off of the favoured few, who, protected by their charters, established a rigid monopoly, there was brought about the development of a new class, which also began to have its fraternities and combinations. This was the class of workmen who, not being able to obtain admission to the gild, but nevertheless being needed for the carrying on of its craft, gradually came to feel their power, and to make it felt by the masters, through combination and mutual support. At the transformation of the gilds into "entails of a limited number of families, the narrow-minded spirit of capital, petty rivalries and hateful egotism, began to take the place of the great idea of association and solidarity,"<sup>2</sup> the importance of the skilled workman became greater and greater. "The statutes before the fourteenth century do not even mention the workmen; after the middle of the fourteenth century it became absolutely necessary to regulate their relations to their masters."

The great Plague of 1348, of which advantage was taken by the survivors to exact inordinate wages, made these regulations

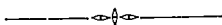
<sup>1</sup> Brentano, "English Gilds," p. 114.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

still more necessary. This is perhaps the earliest instance of a "strike." It was decreed by the Statute of Labourers that prices were not to exceed those paid before the Plague. In 1362 it was ordained that disputes and demands of workmen were to be settled by the warden of the gild, a somewhat partial judge. About this time, therefore, we meet with combinations of workmen almost the exact predecessors of the modern Trades Unions. These fraternities had many of the characteristics of the benefit society—a lodge, common festivals, help to the indigent, burial of the dead; but they had also the characteristic of violence and compulsion, all the journeymen of a trade in a town being compelled to belong to them. The masters became alarmed, and in London in 1383 the City authorities issued a proclamation forbidding all such "congregations, covins and conspiracies" of workmen, and even committed some of those who were employed in organizing such a fraternity to prison.

A series of laws and ordinances was directed against the "yeomen," as they are styled, with a view of keeping them in due subjection to the gild-masters, but the most effectual method seems to have been the directing that no workmen should be employed but those who had been first bound apprentice. This at once placed the workman distinctly in the power of the master, and hence it soon became necessary to regulate, by Act of Parliament, the apprentice fee. This was fixed by 22 Henry VIII., cap. 40, at the very low sum of 2s. 6d. on becoming an apprentice and 3s. 4d. on obtaining the freedom of the gild, but the masters contrived to exact many much larger sums. How important and demonstrative a body the London prentices soon became is well known, but both in them and in the craft-gilds which gradually became societies of capitalists, the true gild-principles of equality, mutual assistance, and obedience to certain laws, died out and disappeared.

That these principles had done much for the well-being of society in troublous and unsettled times, that they had been the fosterers and supporters of high qualities and graces, of religious faith, of brotherly love, of prudent care for the future, of discipline and obedience and due regulation of life, can hardly be doubted by any who will take the trouble to read the statutes of these useful organizations, and to examine the plentiful contemporary testimony as to the influence which they exerted on the social state of their era.

GEORGE G. PERRY.



## Short Notices.

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*The Churchman's Theological Dictionary.* By ROBERT EDEN, M.A., Honorary Canon of Norwich, and Vicar of Wymondham, late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. New edition, revised. Pp. 380. Elliot Stock. 1890.

THIS new and revised edition of Canon Eden's work has an introductory notice by the Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, who, "with pleasure and thankfulness," welcomes the republication of a work of such merit. "Its very moderate compass," says Mr. Moule, "along with its large range of topics, gives it a peculiar value in these days of pressure for which no theological book is likely to be more practically suitable than one which combines accuracy and conciseness." In commending the volume, worthy of the esteemed author's reputation, we may note that it is handy, and is well printed in clear type.

*Health at Home Tracts*, 1—12. BY ALFRED SCHOFIELD, M.D., member of the National Health Society. (R.T.S.)

This book is ably written by one who is thoroughly well up in his subject. It ought to do great good.

*Why We Suffer.* And other Essays. By HENRY HAYMAN, D.D. Pp. 440. W. H. Allen and Co. 1890.

This is a big book, and we cannot now review it. Three of the fifteen essays which it contains appeared in *THE CHURCHMAN*—"Æschylus," "Aristophanes," and "Euripides."

*Practical Hints on the Public Reading of the Liturgy.* By the Rev. J. H. WHITEHEAD, M.A. Elliot Stock.

These hints will be found helpful by many newly-ordained, and also by some who have been "reading" in public for years. The author's notes are (1) reverence, (2) correct pronunciation, (3) naturalness, (4) due emphasis; he shows judgment and ability.

*How to be Married.* By THOMAS MOORE, M.A. Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh.

An outline of the laws relating to marriage in England, in Churches, in Chapels, and Registrar's Offices, and in Ambassadors' Houses; also in Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands.

*The Voices of the Psalms.* By W. PAKENHAM WALSH, D.D., Bishop of Ossory. Hodder and Stoughton.

An extract from one of the chapters in this work appeared in a recent *CHURCHMAN*; it was taken from the *Church of England Sunday School Magazine*. We heartily commend the volume.

*A Short History of the Church of Ireland.* By L. A. POOLER, M.A. Pp. 170. Belfast: Charles W. Olley.

A pleasing little book.

*My Life in Basuto Land.* A story of Missionary enterprise in South Africa. By EUGENE CASALIS, of the Paris Missionary Society. R.T.S.

*Mes Souvenirs* has been very popular, the Translator says, across the Channel, and we hope that it will be well read here. M. Casalis went out in the year 1832.

*Church and State.* A Historical Handbook. By A. TAYLOR INNES, Advocate, Author of "The Law of Creeds in Scotland." Pp. 272. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 38, George Street.

An ably-written book and interesting withal, not unworthy of the author's reputation.

*The Poems of William Leighton.* Complete edition. Elliot Stock.

We have pleasure in commending this complete edition of the late Mr. Leighton's poems. A short biographical notice of the author adds to the interest of the book. Not a few of the poems are really beautiful; the tone is tender and the aim is high. Here is a bit from "Thou art gone, my brother":

Thou art gone, my brother, from earth away,  
To dwell in realms of endless day;  
And the night-winds sigh, and the flow'rets wave  
Above thy lone and silent grave;  
And we miss the sound of thy merry voice  
That filled the house with such sweet noise:  
Thy sunny smile and thy joyous mirth  
Have passed for ever from the earth.

A pretty poem, fanciful but suggestive, is entitled "The Cloud." We give the first and last verses, as follows:

I saw a little lonely cloud  
Hung on the western verge of Heaven;  
In twilight's earliest beams it glowed,  
And mirrored back the blush of even.  
No other cloud was in the sky,  
It lay in lonely witchery.  
\* \* \* \* \*

'Tis ever thus! The spirit pants  
For all things peaceful, fair, and sweet;  
For joys that leave no aching wants;  
For bliss that is not incomplete!  
But all these yearnings vague and fond  
Must anchor in the great Beyond!

Here is a bit from a rebuke to pessimist observers—an exhortation to contentment:

Oh, say not this world is always as dark  
As it seems in our moments of sorrow;  
For the croak of the raven, the song of the lark  
May ring through the heavens to-morrow.

The last lines written by the poet, headed "At Death's Door," thus conclude:

Behold, the sun has bid the land good-night,  
And mortals hail him in another world.  
Like him, my setting hour has come, and soon  
Immortal dwellers on a far-off shore

Will give me greeting to their airy home.  
 I hear the murmur of ten thousand seas ;  
 I see the glimmer of angelic wings ;  
 I feel a slumb'rous peace.—Can this be death ?

The volume, it should be said, is tastefully got up, and the type is clear and on delightful paper.

In the *Theological Monthly* appears a paper on "Lux Mundi," by Prebendary Leathes. It opens thus :

The writer of the essay now become notorious states that his purpose in the latter part of it "has not been to inquire how much we can without irrationality believe inspiration to involve, but rather, how much may legitimately and without real loss be conceded." And his position generally may be regarded as an endeavour to maintain that there is a corrective element in the abiding inspiration of the Church, which may be safely trusted to counteract the influence of what is vaguely termed Modern Criticism. He has an equal faith in the abiding inspiration of the Church and in what he calls the "results" of "criticism," and in this belief he is prepared to surrender such points as the post-Exilic origin of a large part of the Pentateuch, the composite nature of Isaiah, the Maccabean origin of the Psalms, the allegorical character of Jonah, and the lateness of the book of Daniel. He thinks that the position of the Church is independent of all discussion on these points if they are allowed to remain free, and even of an adverse decision if they are closed. His belief in criticism, therefore, is very strong, but his belief in the Church is somewhat stronger. He sits above, entrenched in what he calls "the religion of the Incarnation," and contemplates with serene indifference the issue of the battle that is raging on these minor points below.

Dr. Leathes, towards the conclusion, says :

It is the undisguised effort of the writer in *Lux Mundi* to shift the responsibility of evidence from off the Scriptures on to the Church. We are to accept certain truths because the Church tells us to do so ; not because they are true in themselves, but because the Church has declared in favour of their truth. On certain points, raised by criticism, the Church has not spoken, because she could not anticipate them, notwithstanding her endowment of abiding inspiration ; and, therefore, as she has not pronounced upon them, we may sit still and complacently let the critics say what they please, in the confident assurance that our faith in the Incarnation will not suffer. I am by no means sure, however, that the "Church" has been altogether so silent as it seems to be thought, when I find that the Nicene Creed teaches that it was God the Holy Ghost "who spake by the prophets." But we may be quite sure that no doctrine like that of the Incarnation can stand if we suffer its title-deeds of evidence to be impugned. There is no more certain way of attacking the New Testament than by assailing it through the Old. The authority of the one is too intimately bound up in that of the other for either to be independent of the other ; and it is preposterous to suppose that to cling tenaciously to a doctrine like that of the Incarnation will render us independent of the testimony of Scripture. The Church is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, and we may be quite sure that if she is unfaithful to her trust, the days of her own existence are numbered and her faith will infallibly be undermined and overthrown, and her deposit of doctrine will be rifled and dispersed if she attempts to dispense with Scripture. The life of the Church is based upon historic fact ; it cannot exist if divorced from fact ; and it is the Scriptures which are the ultimate witnesses to the facts on which the existence of the Church depends. She has learnt her doctrines from the Scriptures, and has

not embodied them therein as she has done in the creeds, and if the Scriptures are assailed, the doctrines which they teach cannot survive.

In the *British Weekly Pulpit* for August 8th appears the sermon entitled "The Promised Power," preached by the Dean of Chichester at the recent clerical meeting at Tunbridge Wells. The Dean has done well to yield to the request to publish it. As few of our readers probably will see the sermon, we may quote a passage. Dr. Pigou says: "There is a tendency in our day, very observable, to disparage the great ordinance of preaching. I say this advisedly. On all sides the cry is for 'short sermons.' The setting of the Canticles may be inordinately long; the anthem may be spread over fifteen or twenty minutes and no complaint is made, but the sermon is considered long if it exceed fifteen or twenty minutes. The clergy are in not a few cases becoming identified with this impatience of a sermon. The pulpit, to which the prominent place is assigned by every church architect, is in some danger of being depreciated in its use. This arises in part from the reaction which has set in against giving the pulpit undue prominence, against that idea of church-going which mutilates the very structure of churches, sacrificing all their arrangements and harmony to the one dominant idea that to hear a sermon was the great end of church-going. Now we hear more and almost only of *worship*; ignoring the difference between worship and evangelizing, the one being the privilege of the child of God, the other being necessary for the awakening of unawakened and the building up of believers in their most holy faith. To my mind, and indeed now within my experience, it is this depreciation of the pulpit that to a large extent accounts for and explains the proverbial soporific, dead-alive condition of Cathedral cities, except where special Nave Services are habitually held. The inordinate length of service by itself makes a very short sermon almost a necessity. But faith comes by hearing, not by vain repetition, not by music however good, and Cathedral cities are doomed to remain proverbially dead-alive so long as almost everything is sacrificed to the dominant idea of worship. You will not expect of me, in the presence of many of large experience, that I should either enlarge on preaching or venture to lay down rules for your guidance. Considering the nature of the message entrusted to our heralding, and how frequent are our opportunities for declaring it, in pulpits, Bible-classes, sick-rooms, and by the wayside of life, who can be satisfied with the result? I do not speak of Christless sermons, sermons in which Christ is scarcely alluded to. I do not speak of moral essays flavoured with Christianity; I do not speak of sermons about Christ and His example. I leave out of thought, as unworthy of this conference, sermons not our own, purchased in response to advertisements, nor of those which have all the odour of staleness, ill-disguised with a new text. I do not speak of 'Christless teaching' and 'neutral tints'; elaborate criticism or controverted texts which do not touch the heart, the effect and results of which have been described as 'drops of opium on leaves of lead.' Nor, again, of sermons carefully written, or extempore; stiff and formal or unfettered by rule; long or short, but of what is understood by 'evangelical preaching,'

" 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' Is the result of evangelical teaching what  
 " it ought to be? Need I define evangelical doctrine? Ruin by the  
 " Fall, Redemption by Christ, Regeneration by the Holy Ghost, the  
 " three R's; salvation, full, finished, free, provided, offered, present, so  
 " that we work *from* and not *for* life, we work not that we may be  
 " accepted, but because we are reconciled, justified by that faith which  
 " works by, and is evidenced in, love. This, is it not, is what we under-  
 " stand by 'the Gospel'? It is not the exaltation of the Church, but the  
 " lifting up of Christ. It is not the exaltation of the Sacraments, but  
 " the honouring of Christ, through the efficacy of whose Atonement the  
 " Sacraments are to us channels of grace. This Gospel may be variously  
 " stated: with the simplicity of a profound intellect, such as it was my  
 " privilege to hear last autumn at the lips of the present Bishop of  
 " London, or at the lips of one not greatly gifted, but 'taught of God.'  
 " It is to my mind possible, with what I myself strongly hold, Baptismal  
 " Regeneration. It is possible with surplice in pulpit and with surpliced  
 " choirs. It is possible with eastward position in Holy Communion,  
 " which is the universal use in the American Protestant Episcopal Church,  
 " and in not a few churches in which it has been my privilege to conduct  
 " missions, without any compromise of evangelical doctrine. The demand  
 " of our age is bright services and faithful preaching. We are, thank  
 " God, fast outgrowing many prejudices, undoing much which estranged  
 " our more cultured classes from evangelical teaching. It is not that we  
 " offer a gilded pill, nor, under guise of an attractive service, a mutilated  
 " Gospel, but we are learning that we have too long kept good wine in  
 " old bottles, and that it is not necessary to be a Puritan to be a Church-  
 " man. And yet with all this, with concessions wisely made, with grow-  
 " ing perception that much which was once thought incompatible with  
 " 'saving truth' is not really and intrinsically so, how comes it to pass  
 " that evangelical preaching is not more visibly blessed? that more signs  
 " and tokens do not accompany and witness to it? The answer is not  
 " far to find. Have not many of us heard sermons in which 'Christ and  
 " Him crucified' is clearly preached, but there has been no allusion to  
 " God the Holy Ghost? Well do I remember being requested to visit one  
 " of culture and mental gifts on her death-bed in a town where I was con-  
 " ducting a 'mission.' I found her in the deepest distress of mind in the  
 " prospect of eternity. She told me she knew she could not live, but that  
 " she had no hope for eternity. On questioning her as to her religious  
 " convictions, she answered me that with her whole soul she longed to  
 " know Christ. 'They come,' she said, 'and sit by my bedside, and bid  
 " me "to believe" and to "accept Christ." Would to God I could, but I  
 " cannot.' I asked her if she understood that it must be given to us to  
 " believe in order that we may accept; and when I proceeded to explain  
 " to her that it is the office and work of the Holy Ghost to convince of sin,  
 " to discover our need of a Saviour, to reveal Him to the soul, and to  
 " enable us to accept Him, and appropriate personally His precious blood,  
 " it all seemed to come to her as a new truth. She did not depart this life  
 " without having 'seen His salvation.' This is one specimen only of  
 " many where evangelical preaching has failed from want of honouring

“the Holy Ghost, and from not encouraging our people to look to Him for conviction, enlightenment, and power. The word we preach is partly natural and partly supernatural. ‘It is the Spirit which giveth life.’ If we sought His guidance, we should often be guided to particular texts; these, to use the late Bishop Wilberforce’s happy expression, would become ‘luminous.’ If we sought His inspiration, and preached in dependence on Him, it would be more given us what to speak, not with man’s wisdom, ‘but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.’ If, when in the pulpit, with the Bible-class, or the sick room, we more expected a blessing, we should more often see the word ‘accompanied with signs following.’ If occasionally we encouraged our people quietly to say the ‘Veni Creator’ together, and from time to time held an after-meeting, so intensely solemn that pricked consciences might lead to anxious questioning, and fleeting impressions be fixed, we should find that the Gospel is still ‘the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth.’ For nothing can supersede it. The Press can never supersede or fulfil the functions of the pulpit. It has not the accessories of the living voice and earnest diction; it is not the specially chosen instrumentality of the ‘preaching of the word.’ So let me persuade you, brethren in the ministry, ‘when the day is fully come,’ take your carefully-written manuscript, or your few notes—for no hard and fast rule can be laid down in this matter—and spread manuscript or notes before God. As the waters of the Nile flow over and irrigate the soil in which lies the seed, so pray that the Holy Ghost may flood what you would sow with His fertilizing power: that the Spirit may be poured forth in His quickening and enabling power. And you shall be led, as it were, from Calvary, from meditation on the Cross and Passion, to the more quiet and restful scene of your ministry, and He in whose name you are about to speak shall lift up His hands and bless you with the benediction which shall endue you with power from on high.”

A very attractive volume is *Friendly Greetings*, illustrated “Readings for the People,” published by the Religious Tract Society; good for either a town or rural parish. Some of the illustrations are coloured. This is the kind of literature which the time requires. Another welcome volume, *Books for the People*, contains “Christie’s Old Organ” and other interesting stories, together with “Stanley’s African Expeditions.” Both volumes are remarkably cheap. A series of penny reprints we notice with pleasure, published by the R.T.S. *The Dairyman’s Daughter*, *Jessica’s First Prayer*, and such like, are gaining an immense circulation.

In the C.M.S. *Gleaner* appears a paper on the Telugu Mission, and also an account of the visitation by the Bishop of Madras in the Telugu country, last February. It was a real pleasure, the day after reading the *Gleaner*, to hear a brief address from the Bishop himself about the field of Noble and Fox. For thirty years Dr. Gell has done right good work in the great diocese of Madras.

From Messrs. Macmillan and Co. we have received two volumes of their new (and, as we have already said, excellent) edition of Charles



Kingsley's works: *The Water of Life and other Sermons*, and *Sermons on National Subjects*. On the back of the title-page of the first-named volume appears this note, which has an interest of its own :

First Edition (Fcap. 8vo.) 1867.  
 New Edition 1872; Reprinted 1873, 1875.  
 New Edition (Crown 8vo.) 1879; Reprinted 1881, 1885.  
 New Edition 1890.

*Not his own Master* is a capital prize or gift book for young people. It is a story strongly religious, with a good deal of incident; mainly laid in Australia. (R.T.S.)

*Help from the Hills* has some good "Thoughts on the Mountains of the Bible"; printed in large type; very cheap. (R.T.S.)

The *Church Times* of August 8th speaks of the "learning" and "ability" of THE CHURCHMAN, and, referring to the August number, says: "We agree with almost everything Mr. Richardson says as to the Church Army; and we have been deeply interested in the Rev. J. E. Brennan's article on the change which is passing over Judaism in England."

Messrs. Griffith and Farran have published a sixpenny edition of the late Mr. Kingston's story *Peter the Whaler*.

The *Church Missionary Society's Report* (1889-90) is deeply interesting. The sermon by the Rev. Herbert James is excellent, and so is the "general review of the year." To most critics of this grand Society, its organization and its work, we need only say "*Read the Report*"! For ourselves, we have read it with thankfulness, and we earnestly commend it in the fullest confidence.

The *Child's Pictorial*, always bright and interesting, has a pleasing paper on Elephants by Rev. Theodore Wood. (S.P.C.K.)

A curious paper, "The Decay of Nonconformity," well worth reading, appears in the *Newbery House Magazine*.

*Blackwood* has always something fresh. In this month are some specially good things, including an excellent review of Mr. Stanley's book. A story about Land League tyranny in Ireland is very touching and impressive. We quote a bit:

Thady and his mother sat silently listening to the storm raging outside. Presently the old woman said:

"What's that? There's some one at the door, Thady."

"Aw, no; it's only the wind shakin' it."

But a knock was distinctly heard, and his mother said, "Some poor body out in the wet, Thady. Let them in, whoever they are."

Thady rose and listened. Again a knock, and he went over to the door and opened it. He was instantly surrounded by five or six men with blackened faces, who tried to drag him out, but the wind shut the door to, and they were all shut in, in the kitchen. Thady was unarmed, and absolutely at their mercy, as they gathered round him with their huge sticks in their hands. Mrs. Connor, with a cry of alarm, rose and approached them.

"Och, boys, dear! what do yez want? Shure it's only Thaddy Connor, that never done harm to man nor mortal. Yez must be makin' a mistake."

"Sorra mistake," replied one in Terry Reilly's voice. "It's Thady Connor we want, and no other. But we don't want *you*, ma'am, so ye'd bether go and sit down in your corner. But ye can give Thady a good *advice*, if ye like."

"Ay," said the elder Reilly eagerly, "give him an advice, Mrs. Connor, not to pay his rint, and we'll go *quite* and aisy, and no more about it."

She looked from the fierce men with their blackened faces to Thady, pale, erect, and determined, and then said :

"I'll give him no advice. He's old enough to do for himself."

"Well, Thady, what do ye say? Will ye give your word you'll pay no rint, and let uz go? or will ye take yer batin'?"

"Go on to bed, mother," said Thady. "Here, come out—out o' this, boys; this is no place to be talkin'."

"We may as well settle it as we're here," said a burly savage (Consheen Kelly's father); perhaps he thought his mother's presence might have shaken Thady's resolution. "So now, Thady, which'll ye have—no rint and no batin', or both? Take yer choice."

"I'll pay me rint while I have a shillin' in me pocket," said Thady doggedly; "and bad luck to yez all for dishonest——"

That word was the signal.

"Hould him, boys!" cried Terry Reilly.

Two of them seized him and threw him down. The rest raised their sticks, when, with a cry of anguish, the mother, who had listened breathlessly to the short discussion, threw herself upon the prostrate form of her boy.

"Thady, Thady, avick! I'll not let them hurt ye!"

They tried to drag her from him; but she clung so tightly, they could not move her.

"He must get it, *anny way*," they muttered; and shame—oh, everlasting shame!—to Irishmen, to *men*, the blows fell fast and thick upon mother and son, and the silver hair, which mingled with his brown locks, was soon bedabbled with blood.

It was done! The cruel deed was done, and, sated with vengeance, the murderers took up their sticks and silently departed into the gloom of night and storm.

Fitting surroundings for deeds of darkness.

In the *Leisure Hour* appears "Some Aspects of Popular Literature," by Dr. Welldon.

Of the fourth edition of Delitzsch's *Commentary on Isaiah*, published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, the first volume now lies before us. It contains an introductory notice by Dr. Driver—interesting in more ways than one. When the complete work comes before us, we shall hope to deal with it. At present we quote the eminent Commentator's latest remarks on Isaiah's prophecies. Delitzsch says :

"If we take our stand on this eminence, then the Book of Isaiah is an "anthology of prophetic discourses by different authors. I have never "found anything inherently objectionable in the view that prophetic "discourses by Isaiah and by other later prophets may have been blended "and joined together in it on a definite plan. Even in that case the "collection would be no play of chance, no production of arbitrary will. "Those prophecies originating in post-Isaian times are in thought and

" the expression of thought, more nearly akin to Isaiah than to any other  
 " prophet ; they are really the homogeneous and simultaneous continua-  
 " tion of Isaian prophecy, the primary stream of which ramifies in them  
 " as in the branches of a river, and throughout retains its fertilizing  
 " power. These later prophets so closely resembled Isaiah in prophetic  
 " vision, that posterity might on that account well identify them with  
 " him. They belong more or less nearly to those pupils of his to whom  
 " he refers, when, in chap. vi. 16, he entreats the Lord, ' Seal instruction  
 " among my disciples.' We know of no other prophet belonging to the  
 " kingdom of Judah, like Isaiah, who was surrounded by a band of  
 " younger prophets, and, so to speak, formed a school. Viewed in this  
 " light, the Book of Isaiah is the work of his creative spirit and the band  
 " of followers. These later prophets are Isaian,—they are Isaiah's  
 " disciples ; it is his spirit that continues to operate in them, like the  
 " spirit of Elijah in Elisha,—nay, we may say, like the spirit of Jesus in  
 " the apostles ; for the words of Isaiah (viii. 18), ' Behold, I and the  
 " children whom God hath given me,' are employed in the Epistle to  
 " the Hebrews (ii. 13) as typical of Jesus Christ. In view of this fact,  
 " the whole book rightly bears the name of Isaiah, inasmuch as he is,  
 " directly and indirectly, the author of all these prophetic discourses ; his  
 " name is the correct common-denominator for this collection of pro-  
 " phecies, which, with all their diversity, yet form a unity ; and the  
 " second half particularly (chaps. xl.-lxvi.) is the work of a pupil who  
 " surpasses the master, though he owes the master everything.

" Such may possibly be the case. It seems to me even probable, and  
 " almost certain, that this may be so ; but indubitably certain it is not,  
 " in my opinion, and I shall die without getting over this hesitancy. For  
 " very many difficulties arise,—this first of all, that not a single one of the  
 " canonical books of prophecy has a similar phenomenon to present,  
 " excepting only the Book of Zechariah, with chaps. ix.-xiv. of which the  
 " same is said to be the case as with Isaiah, chaps. xl.-lxvi., with this  
 " difference merely, that whereas the latter are ascribed to a prophet who  
 " lived during the exile, chaps. ix.-xiv. of Zechariah are attributed to one  
 " or two earlier prophets of pre-exile times. Stade has proved the post-  
 " exilian origin of Zechariah, chaps. ix.-xiv., also ; and we may still con-  
 " tinue to assume that it is the post-exilian—but, after chaps. i.-viii., much  
 " older—Zechariah himself who, in chaps. ix.-xiv., prophesies concerning  
 " the last days in figures borrowed from the past, and purposely makes  
 " use of older prophecies. No other book of prophecy besides occasions  
 " like doubts as to its unity of authorship. Even regarding the Book of  
 " Jeremiah, Hitzig allows that, though interpolated, it contains no  
 " spurious pieces. Something exceptional, however, may have happened  
 " to the Book of Isaiah. Yet it would certainly be a strange accident if  
 " there should have been preserved a quantity of precisely such prophe-  
 " cies as carry with them, in so eminent a degree, so singularly, and in so  
 " matchless a manner, Isaiah's style. Strange, again, it would be that  
 " history knows nothing whatever regarding this Isaian series of pro-  
 " phets. And strange is it, once more, that the very names of these  
 " prophets have suffered the common fate of being forgotten, even

"although, in time, they all stood nearer to the collector than did the old  
 "prophet whom they had taken as their model. Tradition, indeed, is  
 "anything but infallible, yet its testimony here is powerfully corroborated  
 "by the relation of Zephaniah and Jeremiah—the two most reproductive  
 "prophets—not merely to chaps. xl.-lxvi., but also to the undisputed  
 "portions of the first half. To all appearance they had before them  
 "these prophecies, making these their model, and taking out passages for  
 "incorporation in their own prophecies, thus forming a kind of mosaic—  
 "a fact which has been thoroughly investigated by Caspari, but which  
 "none of the modern critics as yet has carefully considered, and ven-  
 "tured, with like citation of proofs, to disprove. Further, though the  
 "disputed prophecies contain much that cannot be adduced from the  
 "remaining prophecies—material which Driver, in his *Isaiah* (1888), has  
 "carefully extracted and elucidated—yet I am not convinced that the  
 "characteristically Isaian elements do not preponderate. And, thirdly,  
 "the type of the disputed prophecies, which, if genuine, belong to the  
 "latest period of the prophet, does not stand in sharp contrast to the  
 "type of the remainder—rather do the confessedly genuine prophecies  
 "lead us in many ways to the others; the brighter form and the richer  
 "eschatological contents of the disputed prophecies find their preludes  
 "there. And if the unity of Isaian authorship is actually given up, how  
 "many later authors, along with the great anonymous writer of chaps.  
 "xl.-lxvi., have we to distinguish? To this query no one has yet given  
 "a satisfactory reply. Such are the considerations which, in the Isaian  
 "question, assuredly do not allow me to attain the assurance of mathe-  
 "matical certainty. Moreover, the influence of criticism on exegesis in  
 "the Book of Isaiah amounts to nothing. If anyone casts reproach on  
 "this commentary as uncritical, he will at least be unable to charge it  
 "with misinterpretation. Nowhere will it be found that the exposition  
 "does violence to the text in favour of a false apologetic design.

"When John Coleridge Patteson, the missionary bishop of Melanesia,  
 "undertook his last voyage of supervision among the islands—a voyage  
 "which ended with his martyrdom on September 29, 1871—he was  
 "studying on board the schooner, the Book of Isaiah, with the help of  
 "this commentary, regarding which he wrote before on one occasion,  
 "'Delitzsch helps me much in Isaiah.' His last letter speaks at the  
 "close about this commentary and Biblical criticism. Miss Ch. M. Yonge,  
 "in her biography, has not given this passage. But doubtless it expressed  
 "his deep and absorbing interest in the Divine word of prophecy, which  
 "at present almost completely disappears behind the tangled thorns of  
 "an overgrown criticism. Meanwhile, if we hold ourselves warranted,  
 "on the one hand, in objecting to that direction of criticism from which  
 "a naturalistic contemplation of the world demands foregone conclusions  
 "of a negative character—on the other hand, we are certainly far from  
 "denying to criticism as such its well-founded rights."

## THE MONTH.

THE Session is over. For the Tithe Bill we must wait till the end of the year.

Mr. Gladstone's manifestation of "No Popery" zeal has given much offence to his Roman Catholic supporters. Many who are by no means satisfied with the negotiation about marriages in Malta, think that Mr. Gladstone is the last person who should complain of it. The *Guardian* criticises his speech with severity.

Cardinal Newman has passed away, and newspapers of all shades of opinion have paid tribute of respect.

On the 3rd the Bishop of Sydney, Dr. Saumarez Smith, preached his farewell sermon at St. Aidan's College.

In an article commenting on a recent meeting to consider the pending judgment in the Lincoln case, the *Record* says :

The meaning which the public will give, and rightly give, to this hasty repudiation of the Archbishop's judgment before it is delivered is, that the Ritualistic clergy do not want to know the law of the Church ; they want to disobey it. There is no other inference to be drawn from the monotonous repudiation, one after another, of every Court which has had the ungrateful task of considering the merits of the case for Ritualism. It is all one whether it is Lord Penzance working the Public Worship Act or the Privy Council exercising the Royal Supremacy as it has been exercised ever since the Reformation, or the Archbishop of Canterbury (a learned High Churchman, over whose appointment to the Primacy the Ritualists were wild with delight) sitting in a Court which no Act of Parliament set up or King controlled—a spiritual Court recognised and tolerated by the law of England for centuries as a tribunal in which the Church governs herself through her own chief officer without interference from the State. No Court is good enough for the law-breaking clergy, and on the other hand, every Court has hitherto condemned them. It is impossible not to connect these two facts.

In an article, signed A. H. S., in the *Guardian*, we read :

The spade of the excavator, which has achieved such marvellous results for the past history of Egypt, of Assyria, and of Greece, has at last been driven into the soil of Palestine. The committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund have succeeded in obtaining a firman from the Turkish Government permitting excavations to be made in a specified locality of Judæa, and have also been fortunate enough to secure the masterly services of Mr. Flinders Petrie for commencing the work.

The new Bishop of Dover is Canon Eden.



*In concluding the fourth volume of our new series, we tender hearty thanks to all who in any way have aided us. In periodical literature yearly increasing, THE CHURCHMAN, as in many ways we are assured holds well its own place.*