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THE
CHURCHMAN

JULY, 1887.

ART. I.—“THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.”

The Apostolic Fathers: Revised Texts with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan and Co.

THE age which produced the sacred writings of the New Testament was followed by an age of which the literary products, such as have come down to us, are small and scanty. It is scarcely possible not to desire that we might have a fuller and more distinct view of sub-Apostolic Christianity. The after-ages stand before our eyes in a light comparatively clear. And we cannot fail to recognise some change in the aspects or clothing of the Christian Church since the date of the Apostolic writings. Some such changes were necessary, and some others were natural. But the interval of obscurity is one which we desire to penetrate. There are many questions we should like to ask, the answers to which are hidden in its shade, or very imperfectly seen in its mist. It is no wonder, then, that the so-called Apostolic Fathers should be scanned with something of a microscopic examination. They have, of necessity, an importance and an interest peculiarly their own. We may, indeed, very well believe that the break which followed the last writing of the Beloved Apostle was designed, in the providence of God, to mark the supremacy of value which belongs to the inspired Scriptures of the New Testament. But it is unavoidable that a special interest should attach, and a special attention be due, to the few scattered pages which form almost the only connecting link between the epistles of Apostles and the writings of Christians who followed after the lapse of generations—speaking roughly, between the Church of the first century and the Church of the third century.

The foremost place among these writings is occupied by the Epistles of St. Ignatius. And we have no hesitation in expressing our opinion that the scholarly edition of Bishop

Lightfoot will be found to mark an epoch in the literature which belongs to these Epistles. If we may venture without presumption to say so, some questions concerning them we believe it has settled; and of others it will be found to have helped towards the solution. The Bishop's work strikes us as eminently characterized by thoroughness. There is an absence of anything like a parade of learning. But everywhere the student will recognise that he is being led on by one who is not only master of his subject, and of all that pertains to it, but has brought to its consideration habits of well-disciplined thought and judicial investigation. These are qualifications which we need hardly say tend to make an edition of the "Patres Apostolici," at the present time, eminently valuable. Matters here discussed will doubtless, some of them, yet remain matters of controversy; and conclusions arrived at, or opinions expressed, may probably yet have to pass through an ordeal of searching and sometimes unfavourable criticism. But even so, the positions maintained will always be found to be entrenched by argument not easily to be overthrown; and the strongest opponents must be sensible of the force which they have here to withstand.

It is no small matter if the Bishop has established the genuineness of the *middle*, as distinguished from the *shorter* and the *longer*, forms which have claimed to be the Epistles of the Martyr. Most persons, we think, will agree that in this matter little room now remains for question. The shorter form appears to have been merely an abridgment.¹ The longer form exhibits almost certainly an interpolation, bearing much the same relation to the genuine Ignatius as that which the so-called Apostolic constitutions bear to the "Teaching of the Apostles." The interpolations in both are the work,² possibly (as Professor Harnack supposes), of the same hand—a hand not altogether above suspicion of heretical tendencies.³

But if the genuineness of this middle form of the Epistles must be allowed, their most important bearing on some questions pertaining to the Christian ministry cannot be questioned.

¹ Bishop Lightfoot says: "One who maintains that the seven Epistles of the middle form were produced by interpolation from the Curetonian letters, postulates in his pseudo-Ignatius a prodigy of minute observation, of subtle insight, of imitative skill, of laborious care, which is probably without a parallel in the history of literary forgeries, and which assuredly was an utter impossibility among the Christians in the second and third centuries" (vol. i., p. 301).

² Bishop Lightfoot, putting down the interpolations of Ignatius to the latter half of the fourth century (vol. i., p. 260), regards the constitutions as of earlier date (p. 253).

³ See Lightfoot, vol. i., pp. 254-260; and Ffoulkes's "Primitive Consecration," pp. 183, 196.

Since the publication of Dr. Lightfoot's edition of the "Epistle to the Philippians," this is a subject which has engaged increasing attention. The very able and learned excursus "on the Christian Ministry" which appeared in that edition could not fail to attract observation. By some it was thought to have surrendered too much in the matter of the claims of Episcopacy. By others, if we mistake not, it was supposed to have yielded more than it was ever intended to concede. To ourselves it always seemed that some expressions in the early part of the essay, seeming to present the true ideal of the Christian Church as that of a society without a ministry, were, if not misleading, capable of being understood in a misleading sense. And though they were accompanied with words of caution against misunderstanding, we were never fully satisfied that they were quite sufficiently safeguarded. Since then, considerable learning has been expended on theories concerning the origin of the Christian ministry, with scarcely commensurate results.

Arguments adduced to show that bishops were the reproduction of heathen officials in the Christian Church, and that their office was one pertaining specially to the secular concerns of the community, have now been followed by a special pleading for the position that (apart from the ministry of supernatural gifts) presbyters were the only order of ancient Christian ministers, and that of these presbyters some were bishops, while remaining simple presbyters,¹ and some were deacons while abiding presbyters still.² Of this last notion it is perhaps needless to say that it comes from a Presbyterian pen. The coincidence, no doubt, may evoke a smile. But Christian men, of every school of thought, should be slow to deal severely with the influences of prejudice in matters such as this. Probably few of us dwell in houses which will warrant our throwing heavy stones. Suffice it to say, that the Epistle of Ignatius, if genuine, must be acknowledged to have something conclusive to say on this question. On the

¹ It is quite true that bishops never cease to be presbyters. They were ever recognised as such by the early Church.—See *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1887, pp. 140, 141.

² It is needless to point out how utterly at variance is such a theory with the language of Ignatius. Take, e.g., the following as a sample: *Καθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τύπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τύπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων τῶν ἑμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (*Magnes. vi.*). Professor Harnack, who is opposed to the "Episcopal theory," some of whose conclusions appear to us too conjectural, conceives that he has shown in his interesting chronological review that "the assumption is wrong that the ecclesiastical constitution has been developed out of an original presbyterial constitution" (*Expositor*, May, 1887, p. 337). See his note, p. 338.

origin of Episcopacy they give us little information. Though they certainly claim a Divine authority for the Episcopate, they cannot be said to assert distinctly the Divine appointment of Episcopacy.¹ But they unquestionably set before us, in the early part of the second century, an Episcopacy already established and received; and that an Episcopacy which is assuredly not after the model of a municipal *προεδρία*, nor of a club finance-committee—an episcopate which is certainly not Presbyterian, nor yet an Episcopacy for the regulating of diaconal or performing of archidiaconal functions.

The late very learned Dean Goode, whose theological works

¹ There is a passage, however, in *Eph.* vi. which looks very much as if Ignatius recognised such an appointment: Πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα· τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δηλονότι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν. Bishop Lightfoot compares *John* xiii. 20 and *Matt.* x. 40. It is hardly a natural interpretation of the words of Ignatius to suppose that the mission of the bishop is only that of the ministry in general.

Compare *Philad.* i. : "Ὁν ἐπίσκοπον ἔργων ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδ' ἐδὲ ἀνθρώπων κεκτῆσθαι τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήκουσαν, οὐδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγάπῃ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Where what Bishop Lightfoot calls the "obvious reflexion" of *Gal.* i. 1 is what gives special force to the language used. Compare also *Philad.* vii. : Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν, λέγον τάδε· Χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. Where Bishop Lightfoot rightly observes : "Ignatius is plainly speaking throughout this passage of a spiritual revelation to himself."

Very noteworthy is the saying in *Ephes.* iii. : Καὶ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν, τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ γνώμη, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὀρισθέντες ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμη εἰσίν. Making all allowance for an exaggerated expression, it seems destructive of the theory of Episcopacy being a local institution peculiar to parts adjacent to Proconsular Asia in the time of Ignatius. Cf. *Ps.* lxxv. 9 : οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰ πέρατα. But it must not be understood as affirming the Divine institution of Episcopacy. Lightfoot writes : "Zahn rightly objects to Pearson's interpretation, 'Episcopatum fuisse ab Apostolis ex voluntate Christi institutum,' adopted also by Rothe and Uhlhorn. Ignatius is speaking here, not of Episcopacy as instituted by Christ, but of the bishops themselves as sharing the mind of Christ."

In *Trall.* iii. we have a distinct assertion, after mention of the three orders of the ministry, *χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται*, which makes it very difficult indeed for us to believe that there was at this date no Bishop of Rome. Yet it is remarkable that the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans is the only one in which no mention is made of the bishop. And this may show how precarious is the argument, from the absence of any mention of a bishop in the Epistle of Clemens (or rather of the Roman Church) to the Corinthians.—See Lightfoot on *Phil.*, pp. 214-216. It may doubtless be urged that there were circumstances in this case calling for the mention of the bishop, if there were one. But it is also quite conceivable that there may have been special reasons for not mentioning him.

have been strangely overlooked, in his desire to show the sufficiency and completeness of Holy Scripture, has endeavoured to prove the threefold order of the sacred ministry from the writings only of the New Testament.¹ Modern criticism may cast doubts on some points which the Dean has insisted on, but none who have studied his argument as a whole will ever think to make light of it. It can only be at all effectually assailed from the standpoint of those who adopt what may be called the "Special Commissioner" theory—a theory, by the way, unknown, we believe, in the early ages of the Christian Church.²

But if, further, we take into view the facts made known to us in the Epistles of St. Ignatius and the writings of Irenæus, then, whatever interesting questions may remain questions still, there can be, or there ought to be, no question at all about the truth of the statement which the English Reformers have set in the Preface to our Ordinal³: "It is evident, unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."⁴

We are not sure whether it would be right to say (as some, we believe, have said) that Bishop Lightfoot has in any particular modified the views which he expressed in his edition of the Epistle to the Philippians. He had there taken full cognizance of the evidence afforded by the Epistles of St. Ignatius, and we have failed to discover any sufficient evidence of change.

But we certainly think it possible that some of those who

¹ "Rule of Faith," vol. ii., p. 236 *seq.* Dean Goode in this is but following in the steps of our great divines, and maintaining that which has been freely admitted by many of the best divines of the foreign Reformed Churches. See p. 242.

² On this subject see Bishop Charles Wordsworth's "Remarks on Bishop Lightfoot's Essay" (Parker), pp. 38, 39.

³ The three orders are mentioned together by Ignatius twelve times. In *Magnes.* 2 and again 6 and 13; *Trall.* 2, 3, 7; *Philad.* Pref., 4, 7; *Smyrn.* 8, 12; *Polyc.* 6. He regards a church without its bishop as deprived of its pastor: *Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἥτις ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ποιῶμεν τῷ Θεῷ χρεῖται μόνος αὐτῆς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπῆσι καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη.*—*Rom.* ix.

⁴ "To the Apostles in the beginning, and to the bishops always since, we find plainly both in Scripture and in all ecclesiastical records, other ministers of the Word and Sacraments have been subordinate. Moreover, it cannot enter into any man's conceit to think it lawful that every man that listeth should take upon him charge in the church; and therefore a solemn admittance is of such necessity that without it there can be no Church polity."—Hooker, "Eccles. Pol.," book iii., ch. xi., § 20, vol. i., pp. 413, 414, edit. Keble.

made much of the Bishop's earlier argument, may find themselves somewhat disturbed at the position which he occupies in his more recent work. It has already been assailed by the learning of Professor Harnack. But we fail to see that the Bishop has stated more than is sufficiently warranted by the text of his author. Thus he writes :

The name of Ignatius is inseparably connected with the championship of *Episcopacy*. "Everyone," he writes, "whom the Master of the house sendeth to govern His own household we ought to receive as Him that sent him : clearly, therefore, we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord Himself" (*Ephes.* 6). Those "live a life after Christ" who "obey the bishop as Jesus Christ" (*Trall.* 2). "It is good to know God and the bishop. He that honoureth the bishop is honoured of God ; he that doeth anything without the knowledge of the bishop serveth the devil" (*Smyrn.* 9). He that obeys his bishop obeys "not him, but the Father of Jesus Christ, the Bishop of all ;" while, on the other hand, he that practises hypocrisy towards his bishop, "not only deceiveth the visible one, but cheateth the Invisible" (*Magn.* 3). "Vindicate thine office," he writes to Polycarp, "in things temporal as well as spiritual" (*Polyc.* 3). "Let nothing be done without thy consent, and do thou nothing without the consent of God" (*Polyc.* 4). Then turning from Polycarp to the Smyrnæans, he charges them, "Give heed to your bishop, that God also may give heed to you" (*Polyc.* 6). Writing again to these same Smyrnæans, he enjoins, "Do ye all follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father" (*Smyrn.* 8). "As many as are of God and of Jesus Christ," he writes to another church, "are with the bishop" (*Philad.* 3). The members of a third church again are bidden to be "inseparate from [God] Jesus Christ, and the bishop, and the ordinances of the Apostles" (*Trall.* 7). The Ephesians again are commended, because they are so united with their bishop, "as the church with Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ with the Father." "If," he adds, "the prayer of one or two hath so much power, how much more the prayer of the bishop and of all the church" (*Ephes.* 5). "Wherever the bishop may appear, there let the people ($\pi\lambda\eta\tilde{\nu}\theta\omicron\varsigma$) be, just as where Jesus Christ may be, there is the universal Church" (*Smyrn.* 8). Consequently, "Let no man do anything pertaining to the church without the bishop" (*ib.*, comp. *Magn.* 4, *Philad.* 7). "It is not lawful either to baptize or to hold a love-feast without the bishop ; but whatsoever he may approve, this also is well pleasing to God, that everything which is done may be safe and valid" (*Smyrn.* 8). Those who decide on a life of virginity must disclose their intention to the bishop only ; and those who purpose marrying must obtain his consent to their union, that "their marriage may be according to the Lord, and not according to concupiscence" (*Polyc.* 5). In giving such commands he is not speaking from human suggestion, but "the Spirit preached saying, Do nothing without the bishop" (*Philad.* 7). The prominence and authority of the office are sufficiently clear from these passages. Its extension may be inferred from others. He plainly regards himself as Bishop of Antioch, for he describes himself as "the Bishop belonging to Syria" ($\tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\ \Sigma\upsilon\pi\iota\alpha\varsigma$, *Rom.* 2) ; and he speaks of the Antiochene Church, when deprived of his presence, as having no other pastor but God, no other bishop but Jesus Christ (*Rom.* 9). He mentions by name the Bishops of Ephesus (*Ephes.* 1), of Magnesia (*Magn.* 2), and of Tralles (*Trall.* 1) ; and he refers anonymously to the Bishop of Philadelphia (*Philad.* inscr. 1). Not only in the letters addressed to the Smyrnæans (§§ 8, 12) and to himself, but elsewhere also (*Magn.* 15) Polycarp is spoken of as bishop. Writing to the

Philadelphians likewise, he says that the churches nearest to Antioch have sent thither bishops to congratulate the Antiochenes on the restoration of peace. It is plain, therefore, that in those parts of Syria and Asia Minor, at all events, with which Ignatius is brought in contact, the Episcopate, properly so called, is an established and recognised institution. In one passage, moreover, he seems to claim for it a much wider diffusion: "The bishops established in the farthest parts (*οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὀρισθέντες*) are in the counsels of Jesus Christ" (*Ephes. 3*).

In all such language, however, there is no real difficulty. The strange audacity of writers like Daillé, who placed the establishment of Episcopacy as late as the beginning of the third century, need not detain us, for no critic of the Ignatian Epistles, however adverse, would venture now to take up this extreme position. The whole subject has been investigated by me in an essay on "The Christian Ministry," and to this I venture to refer my readers for fuller information. It is there shown, if I mistake not, that though the New Testament itself contains as yet no direct and indisputable notices of a localized Episcopate in the Gentile Churches as distinguished from the moveable Episcopate exercised by Timothy in Ephesus and by Titus in Crete, yet there is satisfactory evidence of its development in the later years of the Apostolic age; that this development was not simultaneous and equal in all parts of Christendom, that it is more especially connected with the name of St. John; and that in the early years of the second century the Episcopate was widely spread and had taken firm root, more especially in Asia Minor and in Syria. If the evidence on which its extension in the regions east of the *Ægean* at this epoch rests be resisted, I am at a loss to understand what single fact relating to the history of the Christian Church during the first half of the second century can be regarded as established, for the testimony in favour of this spread of the Episcopate is more abundant and more varied than for any other institution or event during this period so far as I recollect. Referring to the essay before mentioned for details, I will content myself here with dwelling on some main points of the evidence:

Irenæus was a scholar of Polycarp, and Polycarp was a scholar of St. John. Irenæus remembered well the discourses of his own master, as Polycarp did those of the Apostle. Both these Fathers delighted to recall such reminiscences of their respective teachers. Irenæus was probably the most learned Christian of his time. He certainly had an acquaintance with heathen as well as with sacred literature. He had travelled far and wide. He was born and schooled in Asia Minor; he resided some time during middle life in Rome; he spent his later years in Gaul. He was in constant communication with foreign churches on various subjects of ecclesiastical and theological interest. The intercourse between Gaul and Asia Minor more especially was close and constant. An appreciation of the position of the man is a first requisite to the estimate of his evidence. Historic insight is the realization of the relations of persons and events.

The view of Irenæus respecting the subject before us is unmistakable. The Episcopate, as distinct from the Presbyterate, is the only Episcopate which comes within the range, not only of his personal acquaintance, but even of his intellectual and historical cognizance. This is so far the case that he entirely overlooks the identity of the terms "bishop" and "presbyter" in the New Testament, which later Fathers discerned. This appears from his mode of handling the interview with the Ephesian elders at Miletus, who are called "presbyters" in one place and "bishops" in another (*Acts xx. 17: πέμψας εἰς Ἔφεσον μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας*; verse 28, *τῷ ποιμνίῳ ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετό ἐπισκόπους*). Ignorant of the New Testament usage, he regards St. Paul as "summoning the bishops and presbyters who were from Ephesus and

the other neighbouring cities" (*Haer.* iii. 14, 2: "Convocatis episcopis et presbyteris qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus"). To this Father, accordingly, it is an undisputed fact that the bishops of his own age traced their succession back in an unbroken line to men appointed to the Episcopate by the Apostles themselves. To this succession of bishops he appeals again and again as the depositaries of the Apostolic tradition against the Gnostic and other false teachers. "We can enumerate those," he writes, "who were appointed bishops by the Apostles themselves in the several churches, and their successors even to our own day, who neither taught nor recognised any such madness as these men maintain." Since it would be a tedious business, he continues, to enumerate the successions of all the churches, he singles out the Church of Rome founded by the Apostles Peter and Paul. Accordingly he gives the sequence of the Roman bishops from the Apostolic age to Eleutherus, who occupied the See when he wrote. From Rome he turns to Smyrna, and singles out Polycarp, who had "not only been instructed by Apostles and conversed with many that had seen Christ, but had also been appointed by Apostles in Asia as bishop in the Church of Smyrna" (*ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος*), "whom," he adds, "we ourselves have seen in our early years" (*ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ*). To this Apostolic tradition "all the churches in Asia bear witness, and [especially] the successors of Polycarp, to the present day" (*καὶ οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον*). So also the Church of Ephesus, where John survived to the time of Trajan, is a trustworthy witness of the Apostolic tradition (*Haer.* iii. 3, 1 *sq.*). Later on again he writes, "We ought to listen to those elders in the Church who have their succession from the Apostles, as we have shown, who, together with the succession of the Episcopate, have received the sure gift of the truth according to the good pleasure of the Father" (iv. 26, 2). In a third passage also, speaking of the heretical teachers, he writes, "All these are much later (*valde posteriores*) than the bishops to whom the Apostles committed the Churches, and this we have shown with all diligence in our third book" (v. 20, 1). After every reasonable allowance made for the possibility of mistakes in details, such language from a man standing in the position of Irenæus, with respect to the previous and contemporary history of the Church, leaves no room for doubt as to the early and general diffusion of Episcopacy in the regions with which he was acquainted.—(Vol. i., pp. 375-9.)

The importance of this passage must be our apology for so long a quotation.

We can scarcely understand how it is possible to escape the evidence of the early existence of a real Episcopacy. And with the evidence which we have of the Episcopate in Asia Minor in the early years of the second century, "more especially connected with the name of St. John," we venture, with submission and diffidence, to think (in spite of what the Bishop has written, *Phil.*, pp. 197-8), that it is most natural to suppose (with Archbishop Trench and Bishop Wordsworth) that bishops are meant by the angels of the churches addressed in the Seven Epistles from the ascended Saviour¹—an explana-

¹ If, with Bishop Wordsworth, we reckon the date of the Apocalypse at about 96 A.D. (Introduction to *Rev.*, p. 152), it will be only about fourteen years before the probable date of the Ignatian Epistles. "The

tion which (as Bishop Lightfoot himself truly states) is "as old as the earliest commentators."

At the same time it is to be carefully noted that there is not to be found in the Apostolic Fathers the slightest trace of a sacerdotal¹ character assigned to the Episcopate. And this is true also of the Ignatian interpolator. Bishop Lightfoot says :

There is not throughout these letters the slightest tinge of sacerdotal language in reference to the Christian ministry. The only passage in which a priest or high-priest is mentioned at all is *Philad.* 9: "The priests likewise are good, but the High-priest is better, even He to Whom is entrusted the holy of holies, Who alone hath been entrusted with the hidden things of God, being Himself the door of the Father," etc. Here a careless exegesis has referred the priests to the Christian ministry; but the whole context resists this reference. The writer is contrasting the old dispensation with the new. He allows the worth of the former, but he claims a superiority for the later (*ἱεραίμετον δὲ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον . . . τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμά ἐστιν ἀφθαρσίας*). Plainly, therefore, by the "priests" here is meant the Levitical priesthood, the mediators of the Old Covenant; while the High-priest is Christ, the Mediator of the New. Nor, again, is there any approach even to the language of Irenæus, who, regarding the Episcopate as the depository of the doctrinal tradition of the Apostles, lays stress on the Apostolical succession as a security for its faithful transmission. In these Ignatian Epistles the Episcopate,

authority of St. Irenæus," says Wordsworth, "who was probably an Asiatic by birth, and who had conversed with St. Polycarp, the scholar of St. John, seems almost sufficient of itself to determine this question of date. It is also confirmed by other evidences."

On the subject of the "angels" of the churches, see Goode, "Rule of Faith," vol. ii., p. 243. Goode says: "In this portion of Scripture, then, we have a distinct recognition on the part of our Lord Himself of the office which we call the *Episcopal* office; and beyond the mere recognition of such presidents of the churches by the Epistles being addressed to them, we must observe that they are described as *stars* in His right hand" (p. 244).

¹ 'Οι ἱερεῖς in *Philad.* 9 have indeed been understood as Christian ministers. But Bishop Lightfoot rightly observes: "The contrast here is between the Levitical priesthood and the great High-priest of the Gospel, *i.e.*, between the old and the new dispensations." The interpolator has led the way to a misinterpretation. But, rightly understood, the passage furnishes a valid argument against anything of a sacerdotal character being attributed to the ministry of the Gospel.

The word *θυσιαστήριον* is used five times by Ignatius, but never to signify the Lord's Table. In *Ephes.* 5, *ἐν τῷ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* is within "the enclosure in which the altar stands;" *i.e.*, metaphorically, "the Church of Christ, the *θυσιαστήριον* ἑμψυχον, as St. Chrysostom terms it." In the other places also (*Philad.* 4, *Trall.* 7, *Magn.* 6, *Rom.* 2) the word is used metaphorically. See Lightfoot's note, vol. ii., § 1, pp. 43, 44.

On the expression in Clemens Romanus, ch. xlv. *προσευχόμενος τὰ δῶρα* (cf. Heb. viii. 3), see Lightfoot's note. We incline to think that by the *δῶρα* should be understood primarily the contributions to the Sacred Supper, before the separation of the Eucharist from the agape.

On the general subject, see Lightfoot on *Philipp.*, pp. 247-253.

or, rather, the threefold ministry, is the centre of order, the guarantee of unity in the Church. "Have a care for union" is the writer's charge to Polycarp (*Polyc.* 1), and this idea runs throughout the notices (*Ephes.* 2-5, 20; *Magn.* 6, 13; *Trall.* 7; *Philad.* inscr. 3, 4, 7, 8; *Smyrn.* 8, 9). Heresies are rife; schisms are imminent. To avert these dangers loyalty to Church rulers is necessary. There is no indication that he is upholding the Episcopal against any other form of Church government; as, for instance, the Presbyteral. The alternative which he contemplates is lawless isolation and self-will. No definite theory is propounded as to the principle on which the Episcopate claims allegiance. It is as the recognised authority of the churches which the writer addresses that he maintains it. Almost simultaneously with Ignatius, Polycarp addresses the Philippian Church, which appears not yet to have had a bishop, requiring its submission "to the presbyters and deacons" (*Philad.* 5). If Ignatius had been writing to this church he would doubtless have done the same. As it is, he is dealing with communities where Episcopacy had been already matured, and therefore he demands obedience to their bishops.—(Vol. i., pp. 381, 382).

And again, we need to be cautioned against supposing that the Episcopate spoken of by St. Ignatius is to be understood as connoting all the ideas which belong to the Episcopacy of a later date.

It is worthy of notice [writes Bishop Lightfoot] that, though the form of government in these Asiatic churches is in some sense monarchical; yet it is very far from being autocratic. We have seen already that in one passage the writer in the term "the council of the bishop" (*Philad.* 8) includes the bishop himself as well as his presbyters. This expression tells its own tale. Elsewhere submission is required to the presbyters as well as to the bishop (*Ephes.* 2, 20; *Magn.* 2, 7; *Trall.* 13); nay, sometimes the writer enjoins obedience to the deacons as well as to the bishop and presbyters (*Polyc.* 6; comp. *Magn.* 6, *Trall.* 3, *Philad.* 7, *Smyrn.* 8). The "presbytery" is a "worthy spiritual coronal" (ἄξιόπλοκον πνευματικῶν στεφάνου) round the bishop (*Magn.* 13). It is the duty of everyone, but especially of the presbyters, "to refresh the bishop unto the honour of the Father, [and] of Jesus Christ, and of the Apostles" (*Trall.* 12). They stand in the same relation to him "as the chords to the lyre" (*Ephes.* 4). If obedience is due to the bishop as to the grace of God, it is due to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ (*Magn.* 2). If the bishop occupies the place of God or of Jesus Christ, the presbyters are as the Apostles, as the council of God (*Magn.* 6; *Trall.* 2, 3; *Smyrn.* 8). This last comparison alone would show how widely the idea of the Episcopate differed from the later conception, when it had been formulated in the doctrine of the Apostolical succession. The presbyters, not the bishops, are here the representatives of the Apostles.—(Vol. i., pp. 382, 383.)

It would appear, too, that there was nothing strictly diocesan in connection with the Episcopate of this date. "Of a diocese, properly so called" (says Bishop Lightfoot), "there is no trace. It is quite a mistake to suppose that Ignatius is called 'Bishop of Syria' in Rom. iv. (see the note 4, p. 201). Episcopacy

¹ Bunsen argued from this expression as an anachronism. "But," says Bishop Lightfoot, "the anachronism would be as great in the third or fourth century as in the second" (vol. ii., § 1, p. 201).

has not passed beyond its primitive stage. The bishop and presbyters are the ministers of a city, not of a diocese" (vol. i., p. 383).

There is nothing whatever in the language of Ignatius to support the suggestion that his insistence on what is due to the bishop may be accounted for by his consciousness of the novelty of the bishop's position and his desire to shield the new office—possibly his own child—from the opposition of those who preferred old ways to new. There is not the slightest indication of any opposition to the Episcopal office as such.¹ There is not a word to support the idea of its being regarded as a novelty at all.

Those who attach a very high value to the so-called "Teaching of the Apostles" will be disappointed to find nothing in the Epistles of Ignatius to tell of any class of ministers like "peripatetic prophets."² If the "Teaching" must be held to represent truly an earlier state of things in the Christian Church, it would seem probable that at the date of the martyrdom of Ignatius, a change, not inconsiderable, had come over the assemblies of the saints. But of this we have not sufficient data to warrant our speaking with any confidence.

We are far from desiring to treat lightly the interesting questions which are now being brought so prominently before our notice. We are thankful for any additional light which can be thrown on questions which still remain to be solved. But it not uncommonly happens that when very interesting subjects such as these are being discussed, more is thought to be in question than ought really to be questioned at all. And what we are now concerned to insist upon is this, that, if only the Epistles of Ignatius as printed by Bishop Lightfoot are genuine,³ no solution of the problems proposed can possibly alter the fact that Episcopacy must have had fast hold of the Christian Church in the period closely or im-

¹ There appear to have been some who had the name of bishop constantly on their lips, but were very regardless of him in their practice (*Magnes.* 4). Bishop Lightfoot, in his note, aptly quotes from the late Bishop of London's Charge, 1866 (p. 12): "Is it too much to hope that some at least of those who . . . profess an almost inordinate respect for the bishop's office in the abstract, will listen to that practical exercise of its functions which warns them of the danger of the course on which they have entered?"

² For the prophets spoken of in *Philad.* 5 seem almost certainly to be the prophetic writings of the Old Testament. Bishop Lightfoot compares Justin M. Apol., i. 67: τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται.

³ Episcopacy appears even in the three Syriac letters.

mediately following the Apostolic Age,¹ and this most conspicuously in the parts especially connected with the closing years of the last of the Apostles.

Yet, let it not be supposed that the maintenance of this position requires us to treat as aliens from the commonwealth of Israel all Christian Churches which are not under Episcopal regimen. We could heartily wish that an un-biassed examination of the arguments in favour of Episcopacy might lead many non-Episcopalians Christians to reconsider their position. Is it too much to hope that at some future time a modified Episcopate—an Episcopate less after the mediæval and more after the primitive type—an Episcopate with more of Episcopacy and less of prelacy—an Episcopate thoroughly true to the principles of the Reformation—may yet be a centre of union for those who are now so sensible of disunion?

But meanwhile we feel assured, that even if it could be clearly shown that Episcopacy was distinctly and directly a Divine appointment, great allowances should be made for those who have had to choose, or have been persuaded that they had to choose, between Episcopacy (with sinful terms of

¹ The date most commonly assigned to the martyrdom of Ignatius is A.D. 107. Bishop Lightfoot (vol. i., p. 30) says: "His martyrdom may with a high degree of probability be placed within a few years of A.D. 110, before or after." Macpherson (*Expositor*, April, 1887, p. 299) thinks there is no sufficient evidence of an earlier date for the Ignatian Epistles than A.D. 130. And Harnack would allow it latitude even as far as A.D. 138. But the fact that the Agape had apparently not been separated from the Eucharist when Ignatius wrote would of itself be strong evidence of an earlier date, even if the arguments of Bishop Lightfoot in his elaborate note (vol. ii. § 1, pp. 433-470) were less forcible than they are. He concludes by saying of the earlier date: "If it comes to us on the authority of Africanus, it is highly valuable, because Africanus lived in a neighbouring country, and must have been born within a single lifetime of the alleged date. However this may be, we have the indisputable testimony of a contemporary of Africanus to the same effect. Origen (Hom. in Luc. c. 1, op. iii., p. 938 A) speaks of 'Ignatius, who was second Bishop of Antioch after the blessed Peter, and during the persecution fought with wild beasts in Rome.' From this statement the date of the martyrdom may be inferred approximately. Origen, it should be observed, had himself resided at Antioch before this (Euseb. H. E., vi. 21; about A.D. 226, see Clinton, *Fast. Rom.*, i., pp. 239, 241). If, in addition to these facts, we bear in mind that common tradition assigned the martyrdom to the reign of Trajan, we shall be doing no injustice to the evidence by setting the probable limits between A.D. 100-118, without attempting to fix the year more precisely" (p. 470).

Some additional evidence against the later date may be seen in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1887, p. 125.

communion) and the truth of the Gospel. We may not, indeed, make light of any Divine ordinance, but a sanctified common-sense which distinguishes between God's ordinance of mercy and God's ordinance of sacrifice will never fear rebuke from Him Who said, "If ye had known what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless." We feel sure it was wisely done, and we have no doubt that it was designedly done, done out of a spirit of Christian charity, that the Articles of the Church of England have not been made to say a word about Episcopacy in their definition of a Church or their teaching concerning ministering in the Congregation.¹ And ably and well as our theologians have upheld the Episcopacy of the Church of England, it will be found, we believe, that our great Reformed Divines, before the Restoration (with very few, if any exceptions), never maintained that Episcopacy was absolutely of the essence of a Church. There is a broad line of distinction to be drawn between a desire strictly to adhere to, and faithfully to maintain, an order which we may believe to have arisen under Apostolic authority guided by the Holy Spirit, and a readiness to condemn those who from circumstances or from prejudice have failed to retain such a form of government. It is quite possible to uphold as a basis of our Churchmanship the historical continuity of the Christian Church, and to regard a ministerial succession² as the backbone of this historical continuity, and to recognise this

¹ Hooker says: "Although I see that certain Reformed Churches—the Scottish especially and French—have not that which best agreeth with the Sacred Scripture—I mean the government that is by bishops, inasmuch as both those Churches are fallen under a different kind of regimen; which to remedy it is for the one altogether too late, and too soon for the other during the present affliction and trouble; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such case than exagitate, considering that men, oftentimes without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is best, and to content themselves with that which either the irremediable error of former times or the necessity of the present hath cast upon them."—"Eccles. Pol.," book iii., ch. vi., § 16; "Works," vol. i., p. 409; edit. Keble.)

² Clemens Romanus most distinctly asserts that the Apostles themselves not only appointed a ministry in the churches, but made provision for a *succession* of approved persons to fulfil the office of the ministry [*ὅπως, ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν*, ch. xlv.]. The presbyters at Corinth, who had been ejected from their office, had some of them been appointed directly by the Apostles, and some by the persons thus immediately connected with the Apostles (see Lightfoot's *Clemens R.*, p. 137). Their office is called (p. 138) *ἐπισκοπή*. And Rothe (the able Presbyterian advocate of Epis-

succession as normally a succession of bishops, without attempting to defend the position—a position very difficult indeed to maintain—that the succession must always and everywhere be traced only through Episcopal consecration. Some, indeed, of those Anglican Divines who have been regarded as the strongest in their assertions on the subject of Episcopacy (including such men as Andrewes, Bramhall and Cosin) will be found to be very cautious indeed not to be understood as seeming to excommunicate the Reformed Churches on the Continent. It may be worth while just to refer to the case of Bishop Overall, who has sometimes been regarded as most uncompromising in maintaining the claims of Episcopacy, but of whom we have most satisfactory evidence that he was willing to admit to an English benefice one who had been ordained by the Presbytery at Leyden.¹

There are other and more important matters to which we should like to call attention. The descent of Christ into Hades; the ministry of women; the Lord's Day in relation to the Sabbath; the Eucharist in relation to the Agape—all these subjects of much interest at the present time have something bearing upon them in the Epistles of Ignatius. And upon all these Bishop Lightfoot has something to say. But we must confine ourselves now to this one observation—that, though there is not very much in the Apostolic Fathers bearing directly on what is now called the Soteriology of the New Covenant,² yet there is implied in their teaching a doctrine concerning the salvation of Christ, in which the Incarnation is clearly subordinate to the Atonement, and the Atonement is subservient to the Evangelical method of justification. On this latter point we may refer to the oft-quoted passage in the First Epistle of Clement, chapter xxxii., where he says "We, being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but by the faith through which, from the beginning, Almighty God has justified all men; to Whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

On the former point (the relation of the Incarnation to the

copacy) assumes on insufficient grounds that Clement here is describing the establishment of Episcopacy properly so-called. This view is not accepted by Lightfoot (see *Philipp.*, p. 203).

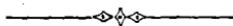
¹ See Birch's "Life of Tillotson," p. 185.

² Very important in its bearing on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is the passage found in the newly-discovered portion of St. Clement's Epistle, which had been quoted by St. Basil ("De Spir. San.," 29): *Ζῆ γὰρ ὁ Θεός, καὶ Ζῆ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* (ch. lviii.). See Lightfoot's edition, pp. 271, 284; also p. 168.

doctrine of Atonement) we refer to a passage in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians (ch. xix.), a passage not found in one of the Syriac MSS., on which we are thankful to quote from the valuable note of Bishop Lightfoot, "It is not the fact of the death, but the significance and effects of the death, to which Ignatius refers. The prince of this world instigated the death of Christ, not knowing that it was ordained to be the life of mankind. Thus the deceiver was himself deceived. . . . Indeed, the mention of the 'Death of Christ' is required by the context. Here, as elsewhere in Ignatius, the *πάθος* is the centre round which his thoughts revolve. The Incarnation has its importance mainly in the fact that it leads up to the Passion. It is only the *beginning* of the end. The whole passage opens and closes with the death of Christ" (vol. ii. § 1, pp. 77, 78). The importance of this in its bearing on some present matters of controversy is obvious.

We can but, in conclusion, express our deep sense of the value of Bishop Lightfoot's labours, and of the debt which the Church of England owes to him for his edition of the Apostolic Fathers.

AN ENGLISH PRESBYTER.



ART. II.—1 JOHN i. 7.

"And the blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin."

MY purpose is not at all to discuss or expound the general context of this clause, a passage precious indeed to the Scripture student who studies that he may not only solve expository problems, but may know Christ and be found in Him. My concern in this brief essay is with the precise bearing of the words of the clause I quote. Some reference to the general context will doubtless be called for as we proceed; but it will be incidental only.

May this, as every study in the heavenly Word, be carried through as before Him with Whose Name it is concerned. Let us never suppose that the exegetical and the devotional can be safely separated, when the exegesis is of the Word of God.

The thesis, so to speak, which I seek to establish is that the words quoted have a reference, direct and single, to the Lord's atoning and propitiatory work; to "His meritorious cross and passion." I hold that they refer to the "purging of iniquity" by "sacrifice and offering" (1 Sam. iii. 14), the "cleansing" of

the guilty from the point of view of law, because of a sacrificial death. I hold that the words do not refer to subjective results within the believer; and, in particular, not to results of vivifying and energizing infusion, as of the Lord's life-power liberated, as it were, by death,¹ a life-power whose presence and action sanctifies, purifies, clarifies the Christian's whole moral condition. I hold it to be a phrase whose concern is altogether with the atoning sacrifice, the propitiation for our sins, once offered, continuously availing; not *in* the believer, but *for* him before God.

Need I say that in thus explaining the passage I do not ignore, or explain away, or deny, the truths which have been, as I think, imported into it? Divinely true it is that the Life of the exalted Head flows to and through His believing members, united to Him by the Holy Spirit, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, the Spirit of Life; and that this mighty Gift was, from the point of view of history and accomplished fact, dependent on, and in that sense certainly subsequent to, the Lord's death and resurrection. Reverent jealousy for that great characteristic and stumbling-block (never more so than now) of the Gospel, propitiation for the guilty, must never lead us to a forgetfulness or denial of such a treasure of the inmost sanctuary as this; a treasure meant to be every day coined into the current gold of the believer's life and walk. Thank God, the Scriptures overflow with statements, and illustrations, and applications, of this divine mystery and certainty.

My contention is that this passage, however, looks another way; that it means very directly, simply, and singly, the believer's shelter, daily and hourly, within the sprinkling of the propitiatory blood, within the application of the merits of the atoning death.

Let me deal with the subject, first, by a study of the phraseology of the clause itself; then by a brief comment on its connection.

I. *The blood of Jesus Christ.* What is the reference of these most holy words in other New Testament passages? I subjoin a *catena*, complete, as I believe, of passages which mention the holy Blood.

Matt. xxvi. 28. *This is My blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.*

Cf. Mark xiv. 24; Luke xxii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 25; in all which occurs the significant word διαθήκη.

¹ It is thus, I think, that the view stated and defended by Professor Westcott *in loco* (to refer by name, as is his due, to an expositor of such eminence) may be fairly summed up. See his Commentary on the Epistle, pp. 34-37.

John vi. 53-56. *Except ye . . . drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you. Whoso . . . drinketh My blood hath eternal life. . . . My blood is drink indeed. He that . . . drinketh My blood hath eternal life.*

In this passage I have, for brevity, omitted the words concerning the Lord's flesh. But it is observable that the flesh and the blood are always mentioned here side by side, and always separately. And the importance of this is that it points to ideas of death; of a state of things in which flesh and blood are both in view, but sundered. Accordingly the blood is not *sanguis* but *cruor* in its idea; it is blood of death, not of life; not the current as in the veins, but the effusion as at the altar.

Acts xx. 28. *Feed the Church of God, which He purchased (περιποιήσατο) by means of His own blood.*

Rom. iii. 25. *The redemption that is in Christ Jesus, Whom God set forth as a propitiation through faith in His blood.*

Here I am aware that the translation of *ἰλαστήριον*, and the grammatical connection of *ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ*, have been disputed. But it is enough for me to remark that the context of "His blood" is in any case one of redemption, release by accepted sacrifice.

Rom. v. 9. *Being justified in His blood.*

1 Cor. x. 16. *The communion of the blood of Christ.*

1 Cor. xi. 27. *Guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.*

On the last two passages the remarks made just above on John vi. will be in point. Whatever be the "participation" and the "guilt," the "blood" is blood of death, blood parted from body; not in the veins, but on the altar.

Eph. i. 7. *We have redemption in His blood, even the remission of sins.*

Cf. Col. i. 7; but the words *ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ* there are probably imported, by early copyists, from here.

Eph. ii. 13. *Ye were made nigh in the blood of Christ.*

Cf. Col. i. 20: Having made peace in the blood of His Cross. The two passages are evidently parallel. And thus the blood is in both the blood of death, the *cruor* of sacrifice.

Heb. ix. 12. *By means of His own blood He entered in once into the holy place, having won (ἐξέμαυνο:) eternal redemption.*

Heb. ix. 14. *The blood of Christ shall purge your conscience from dead works.*

The context makes it plain that *συνείδησις* in this great passage means, practically, the sense of the fact of

unpardoned sin ; of guilt. The "purging" correlative to this is sacrificial satisfaction. It is needless to point out in detail how rich is the whole chapter in teaching and suggestion in this direction.

Heb. x. 19. *Boldness to enter into the holiest by (lit. in) the blood of Jesus.*

Heb. x. 29. *The blood of the covenant in (by) which (blood) he was sanctified.*

In the Hebrews, the word "sanctify" keeps with great distinctness its proper meaning ; dedication, consecration, of the person. Cf. xiii. 12, an all-important passage in point.

Heb. xii. 24. *Ye are come . . . to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh.*

Here is a distinct reference to the propitiatory, protective, efficacy of the blood of the Lamb.

Heb. xiii. 20. *The blood of the eternal covenant.*

1 Pet. i. 2. *Elect unto the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.* See just above on Heb. xii. 24.

1 Pet. i. 19. *Redeemed . . . with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish.*

1 John v. 6. *This is He that came by water and blood ; not in the water only, but in the water and the blood.*

1 John v. 8. *There are three that bear witness . . . the Spirit, and the water, and the blood.*

These two passages are doubtless not self-explanatory as many others are. But they therefore lend themselves as freely to an exposition consistent with the mass of others, as to any other.

Rev. i. 5. *To Him that . . . washed us (or, read perhaps with more certainty, "loosed us") from our sins in His blood.*

Rev. v. 9. *Thou wast slain, and didst purchase (men) to God in Thy blood.*

Rev. vii. 14. *They washed their robes . . . in the blood of the Lamb.*

Rev. xii. 11. *They overcame him, on account of the blood of the Lamb.*

In these Apocalyptic passages the holy blood is always seen (except in chap. i., which surely is to be explained by the other passages) as the blood of the Lamb. Its associations are altogether sacrificial.

All the New Testament passages in which the blood of Christ is spoken of, have now passed in review before us. Is it too much to say that the bearing of them is upon the whole decisively towards ideas not of life but death, not of infusion and suffusion, of a quickening and purifying current through the limbs of a living organism, but of effusion, of the blood of

death, of the striking of covenant, the propitiation wrought at an altar, the sprinkling of a mercy-seat, the lawful "purchase" from death, by death, of the "sons of death"? Is not the whole preponderance of this evidence accordingly for an interpretation of 1 John i. 7 in the same direction, and not in another?

But the Lord's blood is not the only key-word of this verse. We have others, in *cleanseth* and *sin*. And what I venture to assert is that these two words, or thoughts, *standing in one context with the word, or thought, of blood, of death*, are things that attach themselves in Scripture usage to ideas of sacrificial, atoning, propitiatory "cleansing," not of the cleansing which has to do directly with purified motives, affections, will, internal state.

I could hardly put the ground for such an assertion at once more concisely and more clearly than by referring again to Heb. ix. 22: "Almost all things by the law are cleansed in blood, and without shedding of blood is [by the law] no remission." True, the Old Testament, as well as the New, is full of precious utterances about a cleansing of heart, of motive, of will; about a purification which is in deed and in the inmost man subjective. But these utterances occur where there is no presence in the immediate context of words or thoughts which lend themselves to ideas of death, of blood. It is the co-ordination of the three things, *death (blood), cleansing, sin*, which fixes, as I believe, the reference, in such places, of the word "cleansing."

I may close this, the main section of my remarks, with a reference to one most important Old Testament passage. It is Lev. xvi. 30, where the principles and purpose of the great yearly Atonement of Israel are being summed up: "On that day shall the priest make an atonement for you" [in the Revised Version, "shall atonement be made for you"] "to cleanse you; that ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord." In the LXX. the verse runs: *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐξιλάσεται περὶ ὑμῶν, καθαρῖσαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν ἐναντὶ Κυρίου, καὶ καθαρῖσθήσεσθε*. This is a close and impressive verbal parallel to 1 John i. 7 (and to ii. 2 in connection with it); and it is needless to point out in detail that it comes from a context quite full of ideas of sacerdotal, sacrificial expiation, and of them alone.

II. A few remarks on the context of the passage before us will supplement and close the inquiry. It is a context where ideas akin to the Atonement Day of old are apparent. Close to our verse is the reiterated injunction to confess sin. And just below, chap. ii. 1, 2, in intimate and continuous connection, appears the Figure of One Who is at once Advocate (Intercessor) and Propitiation. Here surely is at least a suggestion

of the bearing of the words which we have been discussing. Chap. ii. 2 at least disposes of the assertion, or assumption, which, strange to say, has been made, that "the idea of propitiation has passed *from the Epistle to the Hebrews* into modern theology." The Bishop of Derry, in the "Speaker's Commentary" here, quotes that sentence from Professor Jowett, and then justly remarks that "to *English-speaking* Christians, at least," the idea has come "exclusively from Romans iii. 15, and from St. John's Epistle," ii. 2, iv. 10.

I must not conclude without observing what is the positive teaching of this clause of 1 John i, 7, interpreted of the blood and the cleansing of propitiation. It is at once profoundly searching, and graciously reassuring, to the awakened conscience. It negatives tenderly, but decisively, the illusion of the Christian who believes himself to be, through grace, so pure subjectively as to be beyond confession of sin for himself. In effect it says: "The propitiation of the Cross, once offered, eternally availing, is continuously at work, and therefore *needs* to be continuously at work, not only for the believer 'taken in a fault,' but for the believer 'walking in the light, as God is in the light.'" On any interpretation, indeed, the clause negatives the illusion above described. For its *καθαρίζει* marks a continuous process, and therefore a continuous need. And that process is not "keeping clean," but "cleansing," a widely different matter. Whether the cleansing is propitiatory or internal, there is something to be cleansed away, or the cleansing would cease of course. But, let me repeat it, the phraseology points in the propitiatory direction, and this is a direction which the awakened conscience knows to be always one of peculiar and salutary humiliation.

But it is also graciously reassuring. It invites the believer, as he ponders the holy call to "walk in the light as He is in the light," to step into that photosphere, if I may say so, with humble cheerfulness and peace. Let him not fear that the discoveries which that Light will make, discoveries of self as well as of the Lord, shall be too much for his peace and hope. No; he shall understand more deeply than ever there both the need and the provision of the Atoning Sacrifice, the perpetual Efficacy (not the repetition) of the Propitiation. He shall see, among the revelations of that light, more fully, more perfectly than before, the reality, the glory, the fitness, the presentness of the Propitiation.

Meanwhile, delightful paradox, all these things are written to the "little children" of St. John, "that they sin not." Come, then, and "let us walk in the light of the Lord;" none the less, but the more, trustfully, expectantly, and at rest,

because—whether at any given moment we “feel” it or not—we *know* that we always have, as we always need, the blood of the Lamb of God, of the Son of God, our Propitiation, cleansing us from all sin.

H. C. G. MOULE.



ART. III.—CHRYSOSTOM AS AN INTERPRETER OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

Chrysostom, a Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation. By FREDERICK HENRY CHASE, M.A., Christ's College, Theological Lecturer at Pembroke College, and Tutor of the Clergy Training School, Cambridge. Deighton, Bell, and Co. 1887.

IT is curious that the one Father whose name every Sunday-school child knows, and who alone out of all the Fathers is referred to in the margin of the Authorized Version (Acts xiii. 18), should be so little read by us English Churchmen. Augustine is far more often studied and referred to. There are, no doubt, reasons for this. The influence that Augustine has had upon the whole realm of Western theology has made us insensibly have much in common with his writings. We know not why, but we feel as we read them that the thoughts are like our own; we can understand them and appreciate them. And there are deeper reasons than Augustine's influence upon the Western Church generally. For to his teachings of the relation of the individual soul to sin and to God the Protestant Church owes almost its very existence, if, as Melancthon tells us, it was the study of St. Augustine that under God led Luther to accept the doctrine of Justification by Faith. We cannot imagine that Luther would ever have arrived at the same clear understanding of this vital truth from the study of Chrysostom. For Chrysostom had never passed through such a crisis as Augustine passed and as Luther passed in his turn. Chrysostom's views alike of sin in its extent and depth and of the freeness with which God forgives the sinner are far less decided than Augustine's. Chrysostom does not commend himself so easily as Augustine to the man who is convicted of sin and who is seeking a guide to the truth. Nor, we must add, does he commend himself so easily as Augustine to those among us who like to see sharp dogmatic statements of the unity and catholicity of the Church. Though his statements about the Lord's Supper verge on the blasphemous—so strong a belief has he in what is called the Real Presence—yet he had no Donatist schism to contend with and to draw out a dogmatic exposition

of the nature of the Church. Some strong passages may be found in his writings, but they have to be searched for. For, unlike Augustine, he does not systematize. Augustine owes his popularity and influence largely to the fact that he argues out certain doctrines to their logical conclusions, almost regardless of their relation to other doctrines; and he thus becomes the champion at once of Roman Catholicism and of Calvinism. Chrysostom can lay claim to no such honour. His name is connected with no special doctrine. No party or "school of thought" boasts of being the true followers of Chrysostom.

And yet he deserves our careful study, partly for our own sake, partly for the sake of others. I say for the sake of others, having in my mind other than English or indeed Western Christians. For it will soon be a matter of importance that we should place in the hands of our rapidly increasing Indian brethren such tested commentaries as they will be most likely to receive. Within a few years they will assuredly read the Fathers, and we cannot imagine that so typically Western a writer as Augustine would be the best that they could have. And though we can no more hope to restrain the flood of native Indian Christian thought than to put bounds to the sea, yet it is our duty to try and place before them such books as they will be most likely to appreciate with the greatest amount of benefit to themselves; and of the Eastern Fathers Chrysostom is probably—as I hope will be gathered from this paper—at once the most scholarly and the most devout.

There is further, at the present moment, a special reason why we should study the writings of our great predecessors in the faith, more particularly as regards their interpretation of Scripture. For it has been urged that their principles of interpretation are almost entirely wrong, believing as they did that "everything in Scripture which, taken in a natural sense, appears unedifying, must be made edifying by some method of typical or figurative explanation."¹ This charge refers, of course, primarily to their explanations of the Old Testament; but it is very certain that such principles would react also on their interpretation of the New Testament; while the charge, if true, would tend to cause distrust of the results attained by the primitive Church in their investigations of the highest and holiest mysteries. But, however true it may be of some of the Fathers, the charge is not true of all. The principles of Chrysostom and the Antiochene school to which he belonged, were directly opposed to merely edificatory exposition. The Antiochene school, generally speaking, erred upon the other side. It was,

¹ Professor Robertson Smith, "The Old Testament," etc., p. vii. (Chase, p. 38).

in fact, a protest against the allegorizing methods of Alexandria, and it has, therefore, fallen under the severe censure of those who, unable to defend their opinions satisfactorily by grammatical exegesis, have recourse to other and less easily examined methods.¹ Its primary aim was to understand the grammatical and plain meaning of Holy Scripture, convinced that the Holy Spirit intended the more important lessons to be learned from this, and that other lessons, learned by other means, were subordinate to these. And, in fact, the Church at Antioch was almost obliged to take this line; for it was nearly torn in pieces by conflicting sects, each claiming that its own views were true, and each appealing to Scripture as the ultimate authority. It is clear that, wherever this was the case, great stress would be laid on finding out the exact meaning of the passages of Scripture quoted. It is, therefore, not surprising that Athanasius, in his arguments against the Arians, should have somewhat deserted the methods of the Alexandrians and approached those of the Antiochenes. His words "are one continuous appeal to Scripture." "Allegory with him is secondary and ornamental, and never long kept up."

But we are dealing with Chrysostom. How does he stand as an interpreter of the Old Testament? Low enough as regards his interpretation of words and phrases. For he seems to have been almost entirely dependent on the Septuagint, and ignorant alike of the Hebrew language and of Jewish customs.² But in his general principles he is extremely satis-

¹ Mr. Chase's note on p. 59 deserves careful study. After quoting the opinions of Alexandrian and of Antiochene Fathers, he refers to "three typical English theologians." Hooker says, "I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst." Fuller, "In a word, for matters of number, fancy is never at a loss, like a beggar never out of his way, but hath some haunts where to repose itself. But such as in expounding of Scripture reap more than God did sow there, never eat what they reap thence, because such grainless husks, when seriously threshed out, vanish all into chaff." Dr. Newman, however, says, "It may be laid down as an historical fact that the mystical interpretation and orthodoxy will stand or fall together." To this Mr. Chase very truly answers, "It might be enough to urge in reply that, there being no external law or standard in the matter of mystical interpretation, authority can only be allowed to it when the absolute infallibility of private judgment is conceded. But the appeal is to history. One typical fact will suffice. The Gnostics, the earliest depravers of the Christian faith, found their support in mystical interpretations of the Gospels. . . . In the region of mystical interpretation there is no critical police: every man does what is right in his own eyes."

² In connection with this the following points are to be observed: First, that the general ignorance of Hebrew shown by the Fathers has its advantages. It probably saved the Church from adopting the methods of interpretation that existed in the Synagogue, and led to a much freer

factory, and it would have been well for the Christian Church if they had always been borne in mind. He says that God used certain expressions only out of condescension to human weakness. Such, for instance, are the words, "Let us make man in our image," and "He took one of his ribs." He further points out that there has been progress in Divine Revelation. God in Scripture "orders each detail with reference to the special crisis for man's good, thus correcting the weakness of each successive generation." The legislation of sacrifices "is due to our weakness. The case is parallel to that of divorce. God, desiring to uproot greater evils, permitted the less. He suffered what He did not desire that He might secure that which He did desire." To Chrysostom the Lord's words, "It was said of them of old time," imply a recognition of the different stages of His people's education. "He spoke thus to shame any hearer who shrank from rising from these commands to higher things; just as a teacher might say to an idle child, 'Don't you see the time you have wasted in learning spelling?'"¹

It is important, too, that, unlike teachers of Alexandrian tendency, Chrysostom insists on the reality of the sins said to have been committed by Old Testament saints. "The aim of all Scripture," he tells us, "is the reformation of mankind," and he does not shrink from believing that one means of causing that reformation is to delineate the effects of sin. "Scripture has recorded not only the good deeds, but also the sins of the saints." Noah's drunkenness is a warning to those who are "sunk beneath the flood of other terrible sins."

and apparently truer view of inspiration. Not being able to refer to the original, the Fathers were not tempted to lay that stress on the inspiration of every letter which we find among the Jews who were contemporary with them.

Secondly, it is a pity that comparatively little has been done to elucidate how far the early Christian writers were influenced by Jewish exegesis of their own and previous generations. Patristic students have, as a rule, been little acquainted with Jewish methods of exegesis. Talmudic scholars have generally paid little regard to the Fathers. It is usual to set down the derivations found in Origen and other Fathers as mere blunders, but anyone acquainted with Rabbinic methods will hesitate before doing so, for their so-called blunders are often exactly parallel to Jewish midrashes, and it may be questioned whether they are not due to the adoption of Jewish explanations current at the time. If so, they are *in themselves* no proof of the writer's ignorance of Hebrew, although this may of course be proved by the way in which they are adduced.

Thirdly, it is possible that some of the mistakes are due to false readings in the Greek lists from which they seem to have gained information as to the meaning of Hebrew names. Such may be the origin of Chrysostom's interpretation of Eden (Ἐδέμ) as "the virgin earth." Read A for Δ, and it is at once intelligible.

¹ Cf. pp. 42-47.

But how did he interpret prophecies? Did he here also yield to the prevailing fashion of the time, and find prophecies of Christ wherever he liked, or, as Mr. Spurgeon quaintly says of a modern writer, "see Jesus where Jesus is not legitimately to be seen?" This question is investigated by Mr. Chase at some length. We cannot pretend to give even a summary of his investigation. But two points come out very clearly; the first due to the school in which Chrysostom was trained, the second to the era in which he lived. For as to the first, it was altogether in agreement with his Antiochene training that he should try to discover an historical basis in the Psalms and Prophecies. They bore a message to the men of the time in which they were first written. "The prophecy of Isaiah," he says, "becomes clearer and easier if we know in what state the world was and what the condition of the wounds of the Jewish people, when the prophets applied their remedies."

The second point was surely due to the general feeling of his time, though it would be hard to say that the feeling has even yet died out, or will die out until we have a deeper knowledge of the nature of inspiration. For he says that a prophecy at times lies imbedded, having an apparent but no real connection with its context on either side.¹ "If the prophecy cuts the context in two, and is an interruption, there is nothing strange or novel in that; for it is thus that many of the prophecies found utterance in the Old Testament, because it was needful that they should be veiled for the time, that the books themselves should not be destroyed. For even the prediction of Christ's birth, 'Behold a virgin shall conceive,' while it *seems* to have a close connection with the history, has really nothing to do with it." No wonder that Chrysostom often found himself in difficulties when expounding a passage. Yet I am not sure that the canon is not still secretly acknowledged, though no one puts it into words as clear as Chrysostom's.

In the remainder of the book² Mr. Chase treats of Chrysostom as an interpreter of the New Testament. Of the three chapters devoted to this, the first, upon criticism and scholarship, is clearly the result of much minute examination of his writings. To the ordinary reader, indeed, it would seem at first sight to be a matter of purely antiquarian interest whether Chrysostom caught the exact meanings of tenses and prepositions—but it is really far otherwise. For the study of this chapter will point out one great secret of Chrysostom's success as a popular preacher, and of the continuance of his influence to our own day. The secret is that his preaching was based

¹ P. 72.

² Pp. 79-194.

upon criticism and scholarship. It is a lesson that the working clergy would do well to take to heart. Here is a man who was preaching lengthy sermons two or three times a week to a congregation composed of the most diverse elements, who nevertheless found his scholarship useful at every turn, and used it continually. It may teach us that however much pressure of work we may have, we cannot really spare the time to neglect our careful study of the Greek Testament, and that every hour which we give to it through the week will amply repay itself in its effect upon our Sunday labours. Not that Chrysostom is always dragging in his grammar—reminding one of a clergyman quoting Greek to a “bush” congregation—it is the naturalness and ease of the allusions that gives the charm. He speaks from a full knowledge, the result of much study. His criticism and scholarship give substance to his eloquence.¹

In the last two chapters Mr. Chase deals with Chrysostom's interpretation of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles. And here we meet with an opinion which seems curious to our present ideas—the opinion that not only the older Apostles but also St. Paul were men of no education. St. John was “absolutely uneducated, the son of a father who was abjectly poor.” St. Paul was a “leather-worker, a poor man, unversed in worldly learning, only able to speak Hebrew, a language despised by all men, and most of all by Italians.” “His mind was once poor and mean, absorbed in matters pertaining to contracts and skins.” The mistake is not likely to be made by men of our generation. Perhaps it were better for us if we were more possessed by the feeling which prompted it, for we

¹ It must not, however, be thought that Chrysostom's scholarship is immaculate. Mr. Chase's investigation shows that in Chrysostom's eyes ἐν may stand for almost any preposition in the Greek language, even for ἀπὸ ! while at least one of his etymologies is refreshing from its naïveté. The hart, for instance, is called ἑλαφος—διὰ τὸ ὄφεις ἐσθίειν. As, therefore, the hart panteth after the water-brooks and also devours serpents, “Do thou follow this example. Do thou devour the spiritual serpent, and thou shalt be able to be athirst with a longing for God” (p. 104).

In connexion with Chrysostom's scholarship, reference may here be made to his views of the Canon. Mr. Chase points out that, though he usually limited his quotations to the Syrian Canon, which excluded 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse, yet that he seems to have occasionally referred to at least the first and the last of these books. Mr. Chase is inclined to accept as genuine the fragments in Cramer's *Catena* on 2 Peter attributed to Chrysostom. We wish, however, that Chrysostom's voice about traditions were less unsatisfactory. He does not, as it appears, often refer to them, but he says distinctly that “the Apostles delivered many things without writings. . . . Therefore let us regard the tradition of the Church as worthy of credence. It is tradition ; ask no more” (p. 81).

may well doubt if our present tendency to trace to its furthest limits the personal powers and influence of the human instrument is calculated in the long-run to deepen our respect for Scripture. Our motive is good. It springs from a desire to remove stumbling-blocks out of the way of our weaker brethren; but it tends to make us, even in our devotional readings of the Word, look at the instrument rather than the Divine Agent. Chrysostom was in no such danger. The ignorance and weakness of St. Paul, and of the other writers of the New Testament, only brought out the more strongly the greatness of the Divine power. "Nothing," he says, "could be more ignorant than Peter, nothing ruder than Paul." "Truth was the one and only thing they cared for."

It is tempting to linger over Chrysostom's views of the relative dates of the Gospels, of their substantial unanimity, notwithstanding their divergence in details; to notice his attempts to reconcile seeming contradictions, as when he says, by way of explaining both, "before the cock crow," and "before the cock crow twice," that in each single cock-crowing the cock crows three or four times; to consider his opinion of miracles, that they were given to the unbelieving, that while prophecies and teachings influenced the more thoughtful, they influenced the duller minds, that they are for the sake of those who lack understanding; and to recall his sensible remarks on the interpretation of our Lord's parables, that every detail of a parable must not be pressed—"the drift of a parable must be seized—curiosity must ask no more." But we must hurry on to mention briefly some hints that he gives as to the interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles. It is almost like reading a modern commentary to see how he insists on the importance of considering the date at which each Epistle was written, and the character of the people to whom it was addressed. Every Epistle, too, was written with some special motive. The words must be studied, not as bare words, but with reference to the general mind of the writer, and in close connexion with their context.

Mr. Chase tests Chrysostom's powers as an expositor by a detailed examination of a few passages. We think that we can best consult our readers' convenience if we transcribe his summary of Chrysostom's treatment of the Epistle to Philemon:¹

He bids us notice that St. Paul does not make his request at once; how he leads up to it; how he would have Philemon think that he had other reasons for writing, to express his affection, to ask that a lodging might be prepared. When he speaks of the hearts of the saints being refreshed by his friend, he does not add, "much more should my heart be." He hints at this, but he gives it gentler expression. We must note too how

¹ P. 179.

gradually he approaches the name which may rouse resentment. He prefaces it with his own. His plea is his own personal influence; his age; then the highest claim of all, "a prisoner also of Christ Jesus." Yet still he keeps the name back. First there comes the word of entreaty, "I beseech thee," then a word of commendation, "for my child," the very name he gives to Timothy; again there comes the argument of his chain, "whom I have begotten in my bonds;" then at last the name itself, Onesimus.

Again, Chrysostom calls attention to St. Paul's delicate choice of words. He does not say ἀπόδεξιαι, but προσλαβοῦ, for Onesimus is worthy not only of forgiveness but of respect; not ἔφυγε but ἐχωρίσθη; not ἔκλεψε, a slave's crime, but ἠδίκησε, the fault of a friend against a friend.

There is "a true spiritual grace" in the words, "I, Paul, write it with mine own hand." How importunate his manner, yet how winning (ἐντρεπικῶς καὶ χαρίεντως). If St. Paul does not refuse to give his bond for the man, Philemon cannot refuse to receive him. Throughout the Apostle has two things in mind. He must use every safeguard against the refusal of his request. Yet nothing on his part must hint that his confident assurance fails.

Finally, as Chrysostom notes, εὐχῆ τῆν ἐπιστολὴν κατέκλεισεν.

I cannot close this paper on Chrysostom without, at the risk of apparent repetition, again reminding my readers of the character of Chrysostom's writings. They are not commentaries, but homilies, the first part, at all events, of sermons actually preached. The charge has been brought against the clergy of the Church of England that they neglect the systematic exposition of Holy Scripture. If the charge be true—and I fear that it cannot be altogether denied—we are not only neglecting an important part of our duty, but we are in danger of substituting mere human opinions for the teaching of Scripture. Some preachers fear to expound, lest they should not be able to deal in their discourse with the special needs of the time. Probably we are all tempted to think a great deal too much of "the special needs of the time," and too little of the fundamental needs of the human heart. But even if this be not the case, Chrysostom supplies an example of the possibility of combining the two kinds of preaching. Never was a preacher who preached more suitably to the needs of the time; never was a preacher who expounded the Word of God more faithfully and more fully.¹

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¹ It would not be fair to take leave of Mr. Chase's exceedingly interesting volume without noticing that it is much more than a record of Chrysostom's views and a critical estimate of his powers as an interpreter of Holy Scripture. There are detailed notes scattered throughout the book upon points of special interest—e.g., p. 123, the fact that the observance of Christmas Day among the Antiochenes did not in A.D. 386 date back more than ten years, with the reasons given by Chrysostom to show that December 25th was the true anniversary; and p. 124, of more importance, illustrations of the meaning of τοῦ πονηροῦ in the Lord's Prayer. Mr. Chase gives reasons for thinking that Chrysostom's inter-

ART. IV.—WORSHIP ON BOARD SHIP.

LORD BRASSEY writes of a recent visit to the Sailor's Home at Rangoon:

From the Superintendent I heard the story, with which we are painfully familiar, of frequent misconduct on the part of British seamen. Masters of vessels, who visit the Sailor's Home at Rangoon in search of crews, always pick out foreigners. The present state of the mercantile marine in relation to the manning of sailing ships in the foreign trade is most unsatisfactory. . . . It is sad to acknowledge that our superiority can no longer be asserted when we turn from the ships to the seamen.

It is easy to find fault. It is more just, and it may be more profitable, to consider the circumstances that have brought about a state of things which every Englishman deplures. . . . In the coasting trade, in the fisheries, in the great lines of steamers, Englishmen of a creditable type are found. It is to the sailing ships in the foreign trade, where the conditions of life are hardest and the lowest wages are paid, that the residuum has gravitated.

Had Lord Brassey inquired further, he might have found that English firemen in many lines of steamers in the Indian and Pacific Oceans are also sad examples of British Christianity. One of her Majesty's Consuls in the China Seas also assures us that foreign seamen are apt to lose their superior morality after serving a few voyages under the British flag, with the contaminations which it covers; and that the crews of cargo steamers are by no means immaculate. Moreover, it is still said that missions to the heathen, especially in lands bordering on the Indian and Pacific Oceans, are more successful when undertaken inland, than when begun near seaports where the impure, riotous, and prayerless lives of so many British seamen mar Christian teachings and witness against the Christ.

It will be observed that Lord Brassey draws a wide distinction between the Englishmen of a creditable type found in the home trade, and the crews serving in the foreign trade, especially the sailing-ships. The question arises, how is it that creditable Englishmen refuse to serve in the vessels animadverted upon? Men go to sea to win bread for their families at the risk of their lives. But respectable bread-winners cannot afford that those dependent on them for food should be kept out of their earnings

pretation (*πονηρὸν εὐταΰθα τὸν διάβολον καλεῖ*) was as old as the second century, and may be seen (1) in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, (2) in the letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne. Whether Canon Cook will accept these passages is another question. But it seems probable that Mr. Chase's view is right. Those who have difficulties about the inexactness of the quotations of New Testament books by writers of the second century would do well to study p. 86, where Mr. Chase traces through Chrysostom's works his quotations of one text in St. Luke. The sentence, containing in all fourteen words, appears in at least eight slightly differing forms. "Yet no one disputes that our present Gospels were in Chrysostom's hands."

during the whole period of a slow and distant voyage. So long as working seamen are kept out of their earnings for many months, and sometimes for one or two years, self-respecting men cannot afford to go in long-voyage ships. It is not the amount of wages, but the withholding of the payment to the end of the voyage, which makes it difficult for creditable Englishmen to serve in the foreign-going trade.

But starting with firemen and seamen of the low moral class, who are driven by poverty to serve under such conditions of non-payment, why cannot more be done by the captains and officers during the voyage to raise the moral character of their crews? The army has long been a great reformatory institution. Even the royal navy does much to improve the character of the firemen, artificers, and seamen entering that service. There is no place like an isolated ship on a long voyage for exercising a salutary influence on men, if an active Christian element be present. And if owners, captains, and officers of the British mercantile marine would only emulate the examples of those of Norway and Sweden, there is no reason why this taunt of the moral superiority of foreigners—by which northern Europeans are meant—should be so constantly thrown in our teeth.

It is an old saying in the British mercantile marine, that "there is no God round the two capes," meaning that there is no acknowledgment of God on board ships sailing in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Happily, there are many honourable and praiseworthy exceptions of British merchant ships in which God is honoured by weekly, and oftentimes by daily worship, quite as much as in Scandinavian vessels. The difference in the conditions of the crews in ships where God is worshipped, and in those in which He is not publicly recognised, is such that, even if there were no hereafter at all, it would be an act of humanity to introduce habits of worship on board.

Only those who have served at sea can understand the misery of godless men shut up together for months in a prayerless ship, with nothing but their own thoughts and tongues to distract them, without a moment's privacy morning, noon or night, subject to all the ill-temper and evil passions of unrestrained companions, some sure to be men of vicious character, from whom there is no escaping, with all their selfishness and impure animal life laid bare, and without a leaven of good. Add to this, the worst part of sea-life, the minor ills, which Lord Brassey describes:

There are forms of discomfort more trying than storm and tempest to British crews. To spend months in a stuffy fore-castle, in a temperature ranging from 80 deg. to 90 deg., fed on biscuit and salt junk, with a limited allowance of water, is not a condition leading to contentment.

The misery endured in such prayerless ships is so acutely felt

by sailors that they themselves use a very strong term to describe their own moral sufferings, when they call such a vessel "a h—l afloat."

On the other hand, merchant ships sailing the same seas, under similar outward conditions, but in which God is acknowledged by united worship, either daily or on Sundays, are known as "happy ships." There is no drunkenness, tyranny, nor indiscipline, and much less sickness, proving that godliness suits both worlds. Some of these "religious ships," as they are sometimes called, are, in addition, commanded by God-fearing officers, who are made the means of bringing many of their crews into personal relationship with the Lord Jesus Christ as the Saviour from their sins. These crews, in their ubiquitous movements from port to port, and from country to country, are witnesses for Christ "unto the uttermost parts of the earth." When in heathen ports they are often active helpers of the Gospel, showing what a nation of missionaries Great Britain might become if a large number of those who sail under the British flag were men of prayer and of earnest devotion to God's service.

That this is no idle dream, we need not quote the customs of united worship habitual in Scandinavian ships, or in British ships of war. The British mercantile marine itself is rich in such examples of united worship and of the domestic happiness and purity which it brings into the forecastles, and that in the very class of foreign-going ships to which Lord Brassey's adverse comments refer.

The late Alexander Balfour, of Liverpool, owned a fleet of sailing ships trading round the Horn. He was one of the few shipowners who did not confine their religious activities to objects on land. He cared for his officers and crews, as a manufacturer might care for his factory hands. And amongst many good and liberal things devised for them at sea, as well as in port, he took care that his ships should be sanctified by prayer and praise, at least on the Lord's day. Discontent, tyranny, oppression, drunkenness, and disobedience were thus banished. There was no difficulty in getting creditable Englishmen to man Alexander Balfour's foreign-going ships. If any of the "residuunt" embarked as part of the crew, they had ceased to be "residuunt" before they reached England again. Speaking at a large assemblage of shipowners, captains, and their crews, to whom he had issued 3,000 invitations to a soiree and conversation at Liverpool, presided over by the Bishop, Mr. Balfour said :

I have the pleasure of speaking to a great many ships' captains and their wives, and I should most earnestly impress upon them the importance of beginning service on board their vessels, even under difficulties,

from the very next Sunday. "Where there's a will there's a way." What do we find to be the present state of things—say aboard a ship bound for a distant port? The captain may be three months on the voyage, and the men and boys under his command have no opportunity for public worship. When he arrives at his destination, perhaps there is no chaplain and no one to go on board the ship to read to or to address the men, and there may be no services which they can attend. He may be there a couple of months, and he then comes home, his men being again three months without any service or religious meetings. What would be the effect upon us if we were kept for six or eight months without worshipping God? We might be expected to get as hard as iron, and if these men do become so, who is to blame? I feel strongly that these are things that have been neglected too much. I was engaging a shipmaster not long ago, and, having satisfied myself as to his professional capability, I asked, "Are you accustomed to have worship on board your ships?" He said, "No." "Well," I said, "it is a very extraordinary thing. Did you have family worship at home at your father's house?" The man was a Scotchman, from Aberdeenshire, and he answered, "Yes." "And you have been all these years the captain of a ship, and have not had worship on board?" "No," he replied, "I have not." "And how long have you been at sea from beginning to end?" I inquired. "I have been twelve years at sea." "And you have not held or attended service all that time?" "No." I told that man, "If you join this ship, service is to be conducted as an act of discipline while you hold the command." I think this matter of service on ship-board is one at which we should aim and expect a reformation. . . . What has been done in the royal navy, in establishing worship on Sundays, can be done in the mercantile navy if shipowners and shipmasters would but take the matter in hand.

We would venture to point out that Alexander Balfour, godly man that he was, did not insist that his captain should be first a converted man, and then begin to pray; or that he should be assured of his own personal salvation before he sought the Lord in public worship, as some good men insist. Mr. Balfour expressly said: "Service is to be conducted as an act of discipline;" or, as another speaker put it on the same evening: "I remember hearing our good friend and kind host, Mr. Balfour, remark on one occasion that formal services were better than none at all, and, no doubt, often much good may be done in this way." It is an everyday experience that God is present and blesses many souls, in churches and chapels, where there is no reason to suppose that the clergyman or minister is converted. Yet this is one of the objections raised by good people against urging captains in general to restore the ancient custom of the sea of Divine worship on board ship.

But there is another difficulty in the way of Sunday worship, especially in steam-ships, which was thus spoken of by Captain Ward, a leading nautical authority at Liverpool:

We have great difficulties to contend with in regard to Divine service on Sundays, especially when ships are *in harbour*. Would you believe it?—there are *no Sundays* on board ships abroad. We are in such a state of "go-ahead," that we must work our crews on Sundays as well as on other days, and when a ship goes *into port* the work goes on just as usual. I am

now speaking of steam-ships. With sailing-ships it is a much easier matter ; for, as a rule, their captains have Sunday under their control. I can speak of the London ships more particularly ; and when I was going to sea—now some thirty years ago—almost without exception the crews were mustered for Divine service, weather permitting, and the order and regularity with which it was done, I think, could not be beaten even on a man-of-war. I feel certain that if they met with due encouragement, most ship-masters would only be too glad to have services held.

And now a word to ship-owners. They have rules to guide their ship-masters, and if they would only instruct their captains that it was their wish that such services should be held, it would beyond doubt have a most wholesome influence. I remember on one occasion that I sailed from London with a very questionable crew ; but there was one godly man on board, a sailmaker, and his influence was so great that it became as good a crew as anyone could wish for. If such was the influence of one man over a ship's company, how much greater would be the influence of a godly captain or officers ? . . . It seems marvellous that we should have to stand up and advocate the worship of God in the nineteenth century !

There are 38,000 ships flying the British red ensign, and the great majority of their crews are debarred from worshipping God at sea. The miseries incidental to this absence from God are, however, mainly felt by those shut up together for months on long voyages. The crews in the home trade are more frequently in English harbours, where worshipping facilities are sometimes provided for them, and do not suffer from prayerlessness afloat so acutely as those in the foreign-going trade.

All honour to those merchant captains who, of their own volition, without any request or encouragement from bishops or clergymen or ministers, do institute united worship in their ships. Their clear sense of spiritual responsibility towards the souls under their command supplies the lack of interest so generally displayed by the Church in this matter. Some captains, indeed, brought up from boyhood at sea in prayerless ships, in their new-found zeal for God do not always act according to knowledge. But even so, to their own Master they stand or fall, and He is able to keep them from falling. It is no small advantage that, as a rule, with a little tact in its use, the crews are all willing to meet before the throne of grace under the guidance of the Book of Common Prayer. Differing in nationality and creed, the men have more confidence when they see the captain using a book of some sort, in which they can follow his words with their own eyes, and see that he is going straight. Besides, they like responding and hearing their own voices. It is, moreover, the only book for worship which has prayers for those at sea, for sick bunks, for various exigencies of life, and for reverent burial of the dead, in which latter sailors, however thoughtless, are much concerned.

It requires no little courage for a British captain to stand out alone as a worshipper of God, amongst surrounding prayerless-

ness. A captain recently commanding a steamer belonging to the north-east ports, was allowed by his owners to control the Sunday work. Whilst other British crews in foreign ports were discharging or embarking cargoes on Sundays, he ran up to his masthead the blue flag with the flying angel carrying the everlasting gospel in the midst of heaven, showing that he was a Missions to Seamen Helper, and that as for him and his crew they would serve the Lord, by "resting the Sabbath-day, according to the commandment." His owners were quite willing to bear the loss, if any, of Sunday labour. He also gathered the crew, seamen and firemen, for social worship, when practicable, on week evenings; held a Bible-class on board; encouraged the more devout men to *kneel* in daily prayer in the fore-castle; visited his men when sick; supplied them with reading-matter; and in many ways added to their physical comforts. The owners gained by all this in having a contented, happy crew, who did not care to leave their employ. There was no crime or oppression, and not much sickness, on board; no drunkenness or impurity on shore. But, in the midst of all this, the ship was chartered by British merchants trading in the Indian Seas, from whence Lord Brassey writes. The charterers had control of the whole of the ship's time. They insisted on the crew being worked all Sunday when at anchor, and that the captain should order this unnecessary work. Divine service had to be given up. To read the fourth commandment publicly was felt to be a mockery. In vain the captain remonstrated. The charterers and their agents were inexorable; they must have their pound of flesh. The captain had to choose between his duty to God and his duty to his new masters. The bread of his wife and children hung in the balance, yet he gave up the command and came home. Hundreds of steam-ships were then laid up for lack of freights, and, of course, without officers or crews. For a long period no other command was to be had. He and his family had to eke out a subsistence from his little savings. But eventually his old owners, who valued the services of an able and conscientious captain, were able to give him another command. Meanwhile, if his old crew, handed over body and soul to the charterers, British merchants, and by them stripped of their Christian privileges, should fall away into those godless practices with which Lord Brassey is painfully familiar, who is to blame? Depend upon it, amongst the first persons to declaim against the misconduct of British seamen and to uphold the superiority of foreigners, would be just those British merchants who chartered that ship, and did their worst to make seamen reckless of good.

British seamen are a manufactured article. Some of them are manufactured into the saintliest and noblest of men; others

are manufactured into dissolute and degraded sots. The one set are manipulated by good owners and good officers; the manufacturers of the other set are indifferent employers and officers acting out an evil system. Alter the system, and its product will be altered. This is the experience of a volunteer Missions to Seamen Helper commanding a steam-ship, who writes at sea:

It has pleased the Lord to bring me within His fold, and to make me one of His flock. Oh! He has wrought a good work in me, and is still working. He has given me grace to become a total abstainer, and also to put away the pipe; and, what is better, most of my crew have become abstainers—nineteen out of twenty-one. Glorious! all except two, and the Lord will bring them in before we reach port.

I hoisted the Lord's flag [the Missions to Seamen flag] last Sunday for the first time. A glorious day! Officers and engineers hearty workers. I gave them the lessons to read. It gives them an interest in the work. . . . I have started extra rations of coffee, so that I may wean our dear lads from England's curse.

Another captain, who has embarked on the manufacture of godly seamen, writes from abroad to a Missions to Seamen chaplain: "We arrived here after a very fine weather passage, and, as you wished, we were enabled to have our services regularly on Wednesday evenings, and twice on Sundays, which were well attended by the crew. And we have great cause to praise Him from Whom all blessings flow, for He has brought us to our destination." Another volunteer Missions to Seamen Helper, in command, writes from abroad:

I dare say you have been wondering if I kept my promise to hold service on board my ship every Sabbath day. I thank God I have, and am thankful to Him for courage to take up my cross; and I have no cause to repent it. I have had as comfortable a voyage as I ever had, and the men did enjoy the singing. In the trades, all hands used to attend.

Under proper encouragement, British seamen are not backward in witnessing for Christ and doing their part to leave the world better than they found it. A foremast man, a volunteer Missions to Seamen Associate, writes from abroad:

As you say, it is not an easy matter to serve God on board ship, and if I rested entirely on my own strength, I know and feel I should not stand an hour; but I can truly say, humbly and with all reverence, that I have put my whole trust in God, and have had many happy seasons of prayer and praise on board. I am now sailmaker, and I live with the carpenter in a nice little berth, and every night I have two or three of the crew in there, and sing and pray to the best of my ability. The books you put on board were a great pleasure to us. Many thanks for the tracts; I read them aloud to the whole crew, and think they made a great impression on several of them.

The perils and dangers of the deep are an awful reality. Out of about 4,000 men who annually die in British merchant ships,

only about 1,000 die from diseases or natural causes. Three-fourths of the deaths at sea would involve an inquest, if there only was a coroner to ask, according to the ancient laws of Oleron, "Who killed them? and unto whom the said ship did belong?" Last winter was very fatal on our western coasts. And amongst the drowned was one of these faithful captains who had been a living witness for Christ on many waters. A Missions to Seamen chaplain reports :

Amongst the valuable lives that have been lost was that of Captain Puxley, one of our Mission Helpers. A conscientious, brave, and God-fearing man who did his duty as a sailor and a Christian—his loss is a great one. Fighting bravely against the storm early in October, his vessel, dragging both anchors, was seen to strike on a rock in the Bristol Channel, too far from shore to render any help possible; and while hundreds of anxious spectators looked on, unable to help, the barque went down, and all hands, including the captain's wife and child, perished. What a comfort to know that his heart was right with God, and that he had also been working as a Mission Helper for the promotion of godly living amongst his men!

In the perilous ventures of the hardy fishermen in the North Sea, the Mission to Seamen flag flies on fourteen fishing-smacks, certifying that their skippers are conducting Divine worship under the guidance of the Missions to Seamen chaplains, thus evidencing to Lord Brassey's assertion, that in the fisheries Englishmen of a creditable type are found. Noble fellows many of them are, who are a credit to Christianity.

We are far from joining in the ancient croak that "the former days were better than these." When the Queen began her glorious reign, matters were much worse in the mercantile marine; many merchant captains and officers were drunken and incompetent. The system of paying wages was the fruitful parent of every disgusting vice, giving rise to crimping, ruffianism, and unspeakable immoralities. The food, water and accommodation were not legally supervised, and often hardly fit for the lower animals. There were no checks on the brutality and tyranny of godless captains and mates. Merchant seamen on the high seas were outside the protection of law, and might be drowned with impunity, no coroner inquiring, "Who killed them?" Ships were rarely visited by a clergyman. The forerunner of the Missions to Seamen was working afloat as a solitary volunteer clergyman. In very few vessels was there any public worship. Kneeling in the forecables was unknown. God seemed to be cast out of many British merchant ships.

Much of this is happily altered in this Jubilee year of our gracious Queen. But there are large companies, with thousands of shareholders, who take no interest in the moral and spiritual welfare of their crews, in whose ships there is no public acknowledgment of Almighty God, and who never give a sixpence

towards making spiritual provision for their men. But in spite of such heartless speculators, other owners are striving to do their duty to their crews. And the Church on shore is arousing itself to care for souls upon the seas. Thrifty seamen cared for their families last year by remitting home £190,628 of their wages, besides depositing £70,000 in the Seamen's Savings Bank. 61,259 seamen, fishermen and bargemen became total abstaining members of the Missions to Seamen Branch of the Church of England Temperance Society, in the last eight years; whilst 40,270 seamen bought Bibles and Prayer-books from the Missions to Seamen chaplains alone in the last seven years. And 752 captains, officers and seamen are striving to promote godly living amongst their comrades by acting as the Missions to Seamen Helpers or Associates on board their ships. And the voice of prayer and praise rises from every ocean to the Lord God of Hosts, of land and sea. In some vessels men, seeking after God, administer to themselves the Lord's Supper, as they read it in their Bibles, showing at least a desire after God, whether rightly or wrongly expressed.

These are at least symptoms that all seamen are not given over to the service of the devil; and that where decent spiritual provision is made for those who live on the waters, they are willing to accept its aid, and God is present to bless it. The fault—the grave fault—for the frequent misconduct on the part of so many British crews lies in the main with their employers, with their officers, and with the system, which might easily be amended. The prayerless condition of many ships is clearly not the fault of the unfortunate crews. The lack of sympathy between the employer, the captain and the crew, is certainly not due to the seamen alone. These strifes and divisions do not exist where there is a mutual recognition on board the ship of Almighty God, of His Word, of His day, and of His worship. It is God Who maketh men to be of one mind in a house. The crew are almost helpless in this matter. The responsibility lies with those above them, who should not forget that man is a trinity, consisting not only of body and of mind, but also of soul. Let those merchants, and employers, and officers who are more ready to lift the finger of scorn against British seamen than to lift a little finger to raise them out of the mire, take Lord Brassey's sensible words to heart, and remember that "It is easy to find fault. It is more just, and it may be more profitable, to consider the circumstances which have brought about a state of things which every Englishman deploras."

WM. DAWSON.



ART. V.—THREE SISTERS.

I. THEIR LIFE.

IN the autumn of the year 1847, the literary world was startled by the appearance of a novel called "Jane Eyre," which engaged the immediate attention of thoughtful men. It was followed in quick succession by two more works, presumably from the same pen. "Wuthering Heights" and "Agnes Grey," it is true, bore another name on their title-page; but the sagacious critics shook their heads at the author's cunning, and wrongly ascribed the three books to the same hand, that of Mr. Currer Bell.

Three sisters, from a North-country parsonage, had sent out upon the world the offspring of their imagination, under assumed and sexless names. It was not until two out of the trio were beyond the reach of criticism that their secret was discovered to the world, and Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell stood revealed as Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Brontë, daughters of the incumbent of Haworth, a small village in the Yorkshire moors.

Death is the revealer of many secrets, jealously guarded so long as life lasts. Once the brave spirit has migrated from earth, we press in upon the sacred ground, which it has perforce left unwatched, and demand as our right to have its life and working revealed to us. So we catch together the scattered threads and take up the tangled skein, to unravel it as best we can.

Few were admitted to any intimacy with the Brontës during their lifetime. The world at large was not sympathetic to them, nor were they anxious to proclaim aloud the secret of their sex and name. It was something of a revelation, when Mrs. Gaskell showed them to the generation who had read their works, as they were; not authors ambitious of fame, but simple, hard-working, self-denying women, whose lives were wrought out chiefly in the shadow, and bound down to earth by a fast chain of circumstances from which they dared not attempt to escape.

*Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi."*

Dark and sullen stand the moors above and around the old rectory at Haworth. Undulating hills stretch away into the distance as far as the eye can reach, height succeeding height in endless range. Here and there, the tall chimneys of factories, and the cottages belonging to the scattered villages, intervene; but they form no relief to the universal purple-gray

tint which is the characteristic of the landscape, a tint deepened almost into black at certain times and seasons. "Our hills only confess the coming of summer by growing green with young fern and moss in secret little hollows," Charlotte writes. It is a wild and desolate country, one which bade defiance to the approaches of civilization with its utmost strength, for the people have borrowed from the land some of its primitive roughness and forbidding aspect. They are rough and rude, these Yorkshiremen, free and independent, as becomes their wild moorland home, distrustful of strangers. In the early years of the century, the squire and the cottager were not far removed from each other in churlish suspicion and boorish inhospitality. Living apart from their fellows, their lives hemmed in by the hills, which made of each valley a little kingdom to itself, what wonder if the natives of the soil were narrow, surly, jealous for their absolute freedom of action, slow to consort with the outside world?

There are wild stories of wickedness yet told by the fathers of those hill villages, which scarcely date back beyond the century; weird tales of superstition, mingled with cruelty, and stolid indifference to suffering. Roads were few and bad, communication from without almost impossible. A manufacturing population at war with the manufacturers would go almost any lengths; a parish at war with its minister would profane the church itself, place a drunkard in the pews, harry the clergyman and cause him to consider himself fortunate if he escaped with his life out of their hands. Such was the Haworth of seventy years ago, the home of the Brontës.

In judging alike of their life and their works, we have to take account of several influences which operated most powerfully upon them. The wildness of the country and people, which found its chiefest echo in Emily's breast; the stern personality of their father, which dominated their childhood; the inheritance of strong passion and feeling, shaking their very beings to their centre; and finally, the narrow circumstances which held them fettered to one spot, bound fast by the cords of poverty—all claimed their inalienable part in the lives of the sisters.

The Rev. Patrick Brontë was eminently a self-made man. He had risen from a very humble cottage in the North of Ireland, mainly by his own exertions, to be a clergyman and a gentleman, no mean feat in those days, when a university education was difficult to obtain, and in a family where the necessaries of life were anything but abundant. The young man early changed his father's name of Prunty for the Greek surname of Brontë, by which alone he was afterwards known. He was a man of strong passion and unbending will, no fit

husband for the gentle little Maria Branwell, who faded away after nine years of married life and disillusion. In an access of pride he would thrust into the fire the little boots given by others to his children, or cut in pieces the silk dress presented to his wife. His anger vented itself in firing pistol-shots at the wood-house door. Yet with all this he was sternly just, and to those who saw him only in his later years, it seemed scarcely possible that there should be truth in the wild stories told of this courteous, white-haired old man, who took so great a pride in his daughters' fame.

There were six children living in 1821, when their mother died, of whom the eldest was Maria, aged seven, and the youngest Anne, aged under two. Upon Maria fell the motherly care of the little family, and well did she fulfil her task. The gentle delicate child was relied upon by the others as though she were a mother indeed. They spent their days in wandering over the moors in perfect freedom, or closeted in the tiny "children's study," fireless alike in summer and winter, poring over any books they could lay hands upon, eagerly devouring the Leeds *Intelligencer* or *Mercury*, as eagerly discussing the news of the political world. They lived a life of their own, entirely apart from their father, who saw them only in the hours when they repeated their lessons to him, and perhaps at breakfast and at supper time they felt the influence of his dominating spirit, and kept out of his way. Maria, the eldest of the little politicians, was already in these early days able to converse with her father on all the leading topics of the day. The children were staunch Tories, admiring above all living men the Duke of Wellington, who finds a place in all their childish talks, in their novels and magazines.

They had learnt to be eminently quiet children. It was of the first necessity that they should not be heard in the house. They learnt, too, to restrain their impulses, to mask their thoughts in the presence of others. When, a year after their mother's death, her sister, Miss Branwell, came to undertake the care of household and of children, it made very little difference. Something more of restraint, it is true, entered into their lives; they lost a part of their freedom. There was sewing to be done and housework to be learnt. Miss Branwell did not understand the needs of childhood. So they hid away the little plays they wrote in the deepest secrecy, and carried on their plans and political discussions under the wing of Tabby, the sour old faithful servant, by the light of the kitchen-fire.

There were never less childlike children. Of toys they had absolutely none; for them childish games did not exist. No children visited the house, nor did they go to visit any play-

mates. Their simple meals of potatoes sufficed ; they had not yet tasted the pangs of hunger. It was not an unhappy childhood. They had each other, and no shadow had as yet fallen across their lives.

The first great event took place in 1824, when, in July, Maria and Elizabeth, and, in September, Charlotte and Emily, were admitted to the school for clergymen's daughters set up by the charity of Mr. Carus Wilson, at Cowan Bridge, in the spring of that year. For the sum of eighteen pounds the little ones were received and educated—the expenses, necessarily exceeding that sum, being defrayed by the subscriptions of charitable persons. The education was good, the food and lodging execrable. Scanty as were the meals in quantity, and ravenous as were the little scholars, they turned away in disgust from the viands set before them. The house, an old, ill-drained succession of cottages, stretched along the banks of a stream on a cold, dreary site. Fires were scarce ; the children must be out in all weathers ; sit in their soaked clothes during church ; cower in the freezing wind without complaint ; walk with feet bleeding from the open chilblains upon them.

Maria it was who suffered most acutely. Little Emily was the pet of the school ; Charlotte could hold her own ; Elizabeth was never in the wrong. But patient, motherly, thoughtful, untidy, and shiftless Maria was a thorn in the side of "Miss Scatcherd," one of the teachers. From her she endured humiliations and unkindness which daily bore down the sensitive spirit. The child was weakly, but Miss Scatcherd had no pity for her. One morning, when a blister had been applied to relieve the pain of her side, Maria, scarcely strong enough to leave her bed, was slowly and feebly beginning to dress, when "Miss Scatcherd" opened the door of her room, noted her slow movements, seized her by the arm on the side sore from the unhealed blister, and spun her into the middle of the floor, with the usual abuse for her untidiness. The girls murmured indignantly ; but what could they do ? Complaints brought reproof and the disapproval of the trustee and treasurer. They resigned themselves with the helpless hopelessness of childhood.

A stern friend arose to put an end to their troubles. Death stepped in and accomplished what could be wrought by no easier means. In the spring of 1825 a low typhus fever broke out, by which the girls were prostrated one after the other. Maria Brontë, too, got slowly worse, the bad food and intense cold attacking her delicate chest. She was fetched away by her father to die at home. Within a few weeks she was followed by Elizabeth. For them, at least, all trouble was over. Discipline was relaxed at Cowan Bridge. Mrs. Harberton, the kindly matron, had enough on her hands with the

nursing of the sick; the doctor insisted on better and more nourishing food; the children were allowed to wander at large in the spring sunshine. Reform set in apace. But before the school was removed to Casterton, Charlotte and Emily had fallen ill, and were taken away by their father. Their first experience of life was not a bright augury of the future.

Charlotte, aged nine, was now the head of the little family, and felt her responsibility. Their home-life was monotonous, but quietly happy. First in the morning came the household work, then lessons with Miss Branwell; the afternoon saw them ranging the moors. Then, after supper, came the delightful time when their aunt had retired to rest and they could talk over their plays, the first of which was established in 1826.

In the summer twilight in the parlour, or in winter round the kitchen-fire, the four children would give free vent to their imagination, gaining thus early a fluency in writing which enabled Charlotte in after years to say that she had passed her novitiate long before she wrote the "Professor." All had an equal share in the political tales which formed a great part of the magazines.

The centre of the family was the red-headed Patrick Branwell. Spoilt by his aunt, indulged by his father, admired and loved by his sisters, the head of all the scapegraces in the village, "t vicar's Patrick" was greatly beloved by his father's parishioners for his brilliancy and wild spirits. Many a traveller stopping at the Black Bull was entertained by his wit. He did nothing, and learnt nothing; but the scapegrace won all hearts, and raised eager expectations of what he should accomplish in later years—expectations doomed to the most bitter disappointment.

The life of these years was silently fashioning the characters of the children, growing into youth. Charlotte was developing outwardly the sturdy common-sense and the strong will which carried her far towards her purpose. Inwardly her passionate feeling was deepening; her love for the younger sisters, but especially for Emily, was growing more intense. As for Emily, she was day by day cherishing the imagination which inspired her poetry, even making in secret her first poetical flights. Year by year her passion for the wild freedom of the moors was growing with her growth, and striking its roots into the very depths of her being. Liberty!—she claimed it as her life, as a part of herself. None might interfere with the independence of her mind; she was a law to herself. In these days, Emily upon the moors was a bright, frolicsome girl, enlivening the rest with her sallies, yet withal reserved; lavishing her wealth of love upon Anne, yet even from her conceal-

ing the recesses of her thoughts. Of gentle Anne there is little to say. Patient, sweet, eminently lovable, the "little one" of the family, she was less strong in character than the two remarkable elder sisters, less fitted even than wild, impetuous Emily to cope with the world.

Charlotte's second experience of school-life was a more successful one. She spent a happy time with Miss Wooler, at Roe Head, in the years 1831 and 1832, and returned home to teach her sisters from her little store of knowledge, having formed, for the first time, friendships with girls of her own age. Steadfast Charlotte! these friendships were to last a lifetime.

The rector's household was very poor. Old Tabby, the one servant, was supplemented by the willing work of the girls; the fare was of the plainest, the dresses to match, and not a penny went out that was not carefully looked to. With Branwell at home, doing nothing, as yet, for all his splendid promise; with Emily and Anne's education terribly deficient, despite Charlotte's most earnest efforts—it was clear that something must be done to make a little money. The "something" resulted in Charlotte going as teacher to Miss Wooler, Emily being enabled to accompany her as a pupil. But here Emily's nature, wild and free, asserted itself. She had been used to the life of liberty at home, free and unrestrained. "Liberty was the breath of Emily's nostrils; without it she perished," says the sister who loved her more than her own life.

Every morning when she woke, the vision of home and the moors rested on her, and darkened and saddened the day that lay before her. Nobody knew what ailed her but me. I knew only too well. In this struggle her health was quickly broken; her white face, attenuated form, and failing strength threatened rapid decline. I felt in my heart she would die if she did not go home; and, with this conviction, obtained her recall. She had only been three months at school.

Alas, strong-willed Emily! not even her iron determination, which could uphold her at her work with unshrinking firmness through her last illness, could avail her now. Only those who know the glories of the moors and hills, their subtle changes, their sweet wild fragrance; who can enter into their varied moods of sweeping storm and almost perfect peace; who have known the unutterable longing amongst other scenes for one breath of moorland air, one glimpse of the heather—can grasp what it was that sapped the strength from Emily's frame and the joy from her heart at Roe Head. The lark dies in captivity. "My sister Emily loved the moors;" and with Emily love was a passion in which her nature poured itself out generously. It emptied itself on the beloved object.

Emily went home to bake and iron, and her place was taken by Anne. The pittance earned by Charlotte was just sufficient to clothe herself and no more; and the girls turned their thoughts seriously to increasing these slender earnings. Already they were familiar with the art of composition, and with trembling hope, Charlotte wrote to Southey to ask his advice. The answer dealt a blow to their aspirations. It was discouraging in the extreme; and for the time all thoughts of writing were put aside.

Then Anne grew delicate. The school had moved to a more open situation on Dewsbury Moor. With the recollection of her sisters' fate burnt in upon her heart, Charlotte took alarm, dreaded the too-bracing air, and procured Anne's recall. She herself struggled on as best she might alone. Fits of despondency came upon her when all looked black; her health failed; she was getting past her prime, she said; she grew nervous; dark thoughts invaded her mind. "If Christian perfection be necessary to salvation, I shall never be saved," she wrote to her dear friend, Ellen Nussey. Hope failed her, too. "I never dare reckon on the enjoyment of a pleasure again," she wrote. Then Tabby had an accident, and the girls insisted on nursing her themselves during the holidays, doing all the housework into the bargain. They "struck" eating until the permission to do it was obtained. But Emily, who had forced herself to take a situation at Halifax, came home worn out with overwork and homesickness for the Moors. Branwell's plan of working at the Royal Academy had failed. Charlotte *must* struggle on. She did, and broke down. "My health and spirits utterly failed me," she writes, "and the medical man whom I consulted enjoined me, as I valued my life, to go home." Home she went, to receive her first proposal of marriage—and to set it aside.

A great deal of what we know concerning the home-life of the Brontës is gathered from Charlotte's correspondence with her friend Ellen, and from that friend herself. The three girls were as shy as the moor birds, opening out only among those whom they knew most intimately. A strange face would turn them from laughing, joyous creatures, into shrinking, awkward girls, on their guard against the intruder, painfully proud and reserved. Round Haworth they were simply unknown. Even in the village they knew only their special friends among the poor. The curates, young, illiberal, intensely narrow-minded, were no resource. They only drew down upon themselves the indignant sallies of Charlotte, or found Emily skilfully fencing off their proposals from the elder sister.

Yet some of these years must have been the happiest the

sisters knew. Emily, timid and shrinking abroad, at home was merry enough—the jester of the family. Clever Branwell, though they half-suspected that he was wild, was still the admired darling. They were inexperienced, they knew little of real life. Secluded from the world, they were happy in their solitude—for, after all, they had each other and the moors.

The little party broke up again. Charlotte and Anne left home to go out as governesses. They were not fortunate. Their attainments were few, their experience small. The governess has a difficult position to fill in any household, one which presupposes tact on her part, with a knowledge of child-life. The Brontës had never been children themselves; they did not understand their little charges. Intensely shy, they resented their dependence, yet could make no effort to improve it. It was a loveless work to them. Charlotte, at least, chafed bitterly against the slights to which she was exposed; Anne accepted them as inevitable. Both were unhappy among strangers and away from home; but poverty demands her sacrifices.

It was in 1839 that an idea, which had been fermenting in Charlotte's mind—Charlotte's was the practical mind of the family—began to take shape. Why not unite forces, stay at home, and set up a school? Here was the turning-point of Charlotte's life. She had come to realize very acutely the confined space in which she lived and breathed. She was ambitious; she saw the urgent necessity of making more than it was possible to do under present circumstances. Plans were canvassed by letter and in the holidays, eagerly, hopefully. What alterations would be needed at Haworth? How much would the starting of the school require? Would Miss Branwell lend the money? How would it be to take the goodwill of the school at Dewsbury Moor, from which Miss Wooler was retiring? For two years the scheme was revolved and viewed from all sides. It would not do to embark the money, lent by their aunt, upon an unsuccessful undertaking. Charlotte decided that they were not yet sufficiently learned themselves to be able to offer adequate advantages to others. The wild bird, too, was longing to set off, to try her wings, to make a longer flight than had yet been possible. So it was settled that she and Emily should go to school at Brussels, recalling Anne from her situation to take charge of the home. It was a time of hope. The world lay before them; and Branwell, after beginning life as a portrait-painter and an usher, had settled down as station-master on the Leeds and Manchester railway. There was much to encourage them.

The life on which they had entered was a strange one for

girls of their stamp. Alone in Brussels, without friends, except for two English girls, Mary and Martha Taylor, who were old schoolfellows, they were still, at the ages of twenty-five and twenty-three respectively, in a state of pupilage. Always sternly Protestant, not in religion alone, they clung to each other and stood apart from the mutinous band of foreigners, opposed to them alike in faith and in character. They had come to Brussels to learn, and learn they would with might and main. M. Héger, their master, recognised that, in dealing with these English girls, he was dealing with something different from the ordinary class of his Belgian pupils, whose learning was a matter of difficulty, entailing the least possible exercise of intellect on the part of the pupil, and the greatest exertions on the part of the master.

Emily, M. Héger judged to be the stronger mind of the sisters. She had a power of logic unusual in a woman, a strong will to carry her through all obstacles—the mind of an historian, with the deductive reasoning of a great navigator. Those who saw her and Charlotte in those days, passed by the unselfish, yielding elder sister, willing to be taught, eager to obey; and took note rather of the tall, self-willed genius, who stood out in stern protest against the evils of Romanism, who rebelled against her master, who emphasized in every way the difference between herself and those around her. Upon Emily, the year passed at Brussels made virtually no impression. She had come there to learn, and she slaved at her learning; otherwise, the year might have been a blank, so far as she was concerned. All the receptive faculties of her nature were closed, observation was suspended. The everyday life which Charlotte noted and treasured was as nothing to her; she passed it proudly by, suffering intensely from it while she despised it. Her powers were taxed to their utmost in all directions. She was an insatiable learner, she gave lessons herself; and the deadly home-sickness was tugging day by day at her heart-strings. It was kept down resolutely by the iron will which scorned to give way a second time; but it left its traces indelibly scored on the strong heart.

The sisters were recalled suddenly by news of Miss Branwell's serious illness, and arrived at Haworth only to find that all was over, and their father and Anne sitting in the desolate house, after the funeral. Emily stayed at home, Anne sought another situation, and Charlotte returned to Brussels, no more as a pupil but as a teacher, with a salary of £16 per annum.

In returning to Brussels, Charlotte constantly reproached herself with having yielded to a great temptation and failed grievously in her duty. The bird had found its wings and would try another flight. Her horizon had widened; she

thirsted for the fruits of knowledge which a longer stay in Brussels would secure to her. French had been mastered, German must be mastered too.

The temptation was yielded to, the retribution followed close upon the fault. Brussels was now a very different place to her. Emily was no longer at hand to share her every thought, Mary Taylor had left the town, Martha slept in the little cemetery without the walls. She was to feel, as she had never felt it before, the full meaning of the word "loneliness." Ill health assailed her, solitude in the crowd preyed upon her spirits, the long holidays spent alone in the deserted house unnerved her. In the day she haunted the streets, striving to escape from herself. By night, dark thoughts of evil at home oppressed her. When school re-opened she tendered her resignation. It was not accepted. M. Héger, the despotic master, would not hear of it; the disinterested friend disapproved. She took up her burden once more, and worked on. But not for long. She no longer got on well with Madame Héger; there was trouble at Haworth; Branwell was unsatisfactory; her father's sight was failing. She came home.

Her life had begun in good earnest. Brussels, the experiences, the daily round, the suffering, the loneliness, had formed the woman's character. She had longed to know something of life, that bright happy thing which loomed out in a long vista before her, behind a closed door. The door had been flung wide, she had entered. Disillusion and disappointment had met her on every side:

Something in me, which used to be enthusiasm, is tamed down and broken. I have fewer illusions; what I wish for now is active exertion—a stake in life. Haworth seems such a lonely, quiet spot, buried away from the world. I no longer regard myself as young—indeed, I shall soon be twenty-eight.

Active exertion—they attempted it; issued prospectuses for their school; prepared for scholars. Nothing came of it, and it was well. The clouds were gathering fast; Branwell was growing worse and worse. He had been dismissed from his situation on the railway for gross negligence and intemperance. He had found another in the house where gentle Anne was teaching. Day by day she suffered, as suspicions horrible to her pure soul were forced upon her. Matters culminated at last. Branwell was driven forth by the employer he had grossly wronged, to embitter the home-life of the sisters who had cherished him so fondly. They were thankful that the project of a school had failed now. How could young girls be brought into the house while Branwell was a tenant of it? He sought refuge from the passions which tormented him now in opium, now in drink. He had broken Anne's heart, and

crushed her life. He returned to wear out Emily's strength, and blast their hopeful prospects.

Charlotte met him with all her love turned into disgust; Emily, with the strong, patient affection which belongs rather to a mother than a sister. Their days were painful, their nights a terror. The wretched drunkard must be rescued from the fire his candle had caused; or the sisters would start up in the night listening for the pistol-shot which they feared must end their father's life, in whose room Branwell slept. Added to it all, Mr. Brontë was rapidly becoming blind.

What could be done? The sisters published a volume of poems, which was a failure. They each wrote a novel; their novels were rejected. Charlotte took her father to Manchester to undergo an operation, the whole responsibility resting on her shoulders. It was successful. They returned to their miserable home. Emily and Anne's novels were published, and fell to the ground. Charlotte must make a fresh effort. "*Jane Eyre*" was written, sent up to London, accepted, brought out, and succeeded. A glimmer of light showed through the clouds. Charlotte and Anne made a journey to London to establish the fact that the three Bells were not one and the same person. They saw something of the life in the great city. Charlotte began a fresh novel. Something in the midst of their shame and distress was yet left to work for.

Branwell's health declined rapidly. His constitution, shattered by excess, gave way. He died on the 24th of September, 1848, standing erect to meet the enemy. "Till the last hour comes," writes Charlotte, "we never know how much we can forgive, pity, regret a near relative. All his vices were and are nothing now. We remember only his woes." The strain on the little household was relaxed, yet they were filled with bitter regret. The idol had long ago fallen from his pedestal; yet they loved him still. Emily, the patient watcher, the strong controller, failed when the tension slackened. She never left the house after Branwell's death. Day by day the sisters, who loved her with an intensity of love, watched her sinking, yet dared not stretch out a finger to help. Such was Emily's will. "The awful point was, that, while full of ruth for others, on herself she had no pity; the spirit was inexorable to the flesh; from the trembling hand, the unnerved limbs, the fading eyes, the same service was exacted as they had rendered in health." No; she would rule herself to the last, be strong, self-reliant to the end. No doctor should come near her. No one should assist her. She rose and dressed herself on a Tuesday in December, slowly and painfully; she toiled relentlessly at her sewing. In two hours she had passed away. Alas for brave, impetuous Emily! "She died in a time of promise;" but she

died a failure. None mourned her more faithfully than the fierce old mastiff whom her iron will had mastered.

Anne, on whom Emily's great love had been poured out, sickened in her turn. Hoping against hope, this last dearly-loved sister was taken to Scarborough; anything to keep the last one, the little one. But she was beyond help. Gently, resignedly, fearlessly, she met death. "I am not afraid to die," she said. On May 28th, 1849, her gentle soul passed into God's hands. The world had been too hard for her.

"Take courage, Charlotte; take courage," were Anne's dying words of comfort, sorely needed in the years to come by the lonely sister. She had seen those whom she loved most pass out of reach. She returned to a lonely home crowded with the ghosts of thoughts and hopes now past, to crush down as best she might the memories which must rush ever in upon her solitary life.

My life is what I expected it to be. Sometimes when I wake in the morning and know that Solitude, Remembrance, and Longing are to be almost my sole companions all day through, that at night I shall go to bed with them, that they will long keep me sleepless, that next morning I shall wake to them again—sometimes I have a heavy heart of it.

Old Mr. Brontë needed constant and sometimes wearying care. He demanded much. Yet he was no comfort to his daughter. She dared not confide to him her weakness, her failing strength, her nervousness, for he easily took alarm, and by his over-anxiety intensified her suffering. Her solitude at home was complete. The postman's advent was the one event of her monotonous day. This was the one thread which bound her to the outer world and the active life for which she had so ardently longed, but which she must do without. "*Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren,*" was written across that dreary round of monotony which drove her down ever deeper, as her physical strength flagged and her brave spirit failed. Weak eyesight was added to her other troubles. The fear struck home that she might become "a stern, hard, selfish woman" in her desolation.

During these dark days she struggled through her books "Shirley" and "Villette." Some brightness was not wanting. There were happier times, when her friend came to cheer her; there was the excitement of her visits to London, where, when her personality became known, she made the acquaintance of such men and women as Thackeray, Sir David Brewster, Miss Martineau, and Mrs. Gaskell. An opening had come to her at last, too late. At rare intervals she would visit her friends.

A sudden sense of joys yet possible in the future broke upon her in the year 1852. Mr. Nicholls, her father's curate, who had for years cherished a deep love for her,

declared his love. But Mr. Brontë would have none of it. Mr. Nicholls was driven from the parish, and Charlotte, for a time, from her home, through the insults heaped upon this noble heart by her father in his passion. She returned with a promise that her father should stand first with her, and took up again, uncomplainingly, the duties of her dreary life. Selfish as he was, Mr. Brontë could not but see for himself that this trouble was wearing Charlotte's spirit and sapping her strength. He yielded. Mr. Nicholls was recalled. They were married on the 29th of June, 1854.

She was admitted for the first time in her life to taste the full cup of happiness, after the struggles of thirty-eight years had proved her worthy. Then, a nine-months' wife, she died—the last of the sisters.

England and America mourned a great genius departed. But in Haworth Parsonage sat two desolate men, weeping the loss of a tender wife and a devoted daughter, who, through health and sickness, in trial and in sunshine, had ministered faithfully in the narrow world around her. For them, not Currer Bell but Charlotte Brontë had passed away, the womanly woman in whose life theirs was bound up—who had striven through years of sadness, and a life of many shadows, simply to do her duty and trust God for the rest.

ALBINIA BRODRICK.

ART. VI.—NEW TESTAMENT SAINTS NOT COMMEMORATED.—SILAS.

THE history of Silas, so far as it is recorded, is comprised in a small compass. It lies chiefly within the limits of St. Paul's second missionary journey. Silas, or Silvanus as he is sometimes called,¹ is first mentioned as one of those who were chosen by the Church at Jerusalem to convey to Antioch its decision on the question, which had been referred to it, as to the necessity of circumcising Gentile converts. He is then spoken of as a "chief man among the brethren;"² and is described as a "prophet," or inspired teacher, who in the exercise of his gift of prophecy would be able,³ as, indeed, he proved to be,⁴ to explain

¹ Silas always in the Acts; Silvanus in the Epistles; 2 Cor. i. 19; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; 1 Peter v. 12. That they are two forms of the same name is generally admitted.

² Acts xv. 22. Dean Alford points out that this expression, which it is impossible for so modest a man as the writer of the Acts to have used of himself, is of itself sufficient to disprove the identity of Silas and Luke.

³ Ver. 27.

⁴ Ver. 32.

and enforce the rescript of the Church, and to exhort and confirm the brethren. When the special object of their mission to Antioch was attained, Silas and his colleague, Judas, "were dismissed in peace from the brethren unto those that had sent them forth."¹ Whether Silas did actually return to Jerusalem or not is uncertain. The words, "Notwithstanding it pleased Silas to abide there (at Antioch) still,"² are of doubtful authority, and are removed from the text, though they are noticed in the margin of the Revised Version. If we retain them, either as part of the text, or as a true, though unauthorized, gloss, it will follow that Silas remained at Antioch until he left it as the chosen companion of St. Paul.³ If, on the other hand, the statement of verse 34 be rejected, we must suppose that the interest of the work at Antioch, or "the spell of Paul's greatness,"⁴ induced him to return to Antioch after a brief visit to Jerusalem. In either case he was there in the good providence of God, ready to take the place of Barnabas when the sad occasion arose, as the companion of the great Apostle of the Gentiles in his renewed missionary work.⁵ Starting from Antioch, he accompanied St. Paul through Asia Minor and into Macedonia. At Berea he remained behind with Timothy, while Paul went on to Athens.⁶ He rejoined the Apostle at Corinth,⁷ where he preached the Gospel.⁸ He is not mentioned again by name in the Acts of the Apostles; but in the absence of any indication to the contrary, it is perhaps probable that he returned with St. Paul to Jerusalem when the missionary tour was completed.⁹ If the Silvanus of St. Peter's First Epistle¹⁰ is to be identified with the Silas of the Acts, we have yet another and later notice of this uncommemorated Saint in the New Testament.

In studying the history thus briefly sketched, some suggestive reflections seem naturally to arise out of it.

1. *The value of human testimony*, of the consentient evidence of the living witness, even though it come in aid of a stronger testimony and a greater witness than itself, is clearly set before us. The letter of the Church at Jerusalem claimed for itself the highest of all authority, in its decision of the disturbing question which had called it forth: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us"¹¹ is the august sanction by which its decree is supported. Sufficient such a sentence surely to command instant and complete acceptance, and to put an end to all controversy

¹ Ver. 33.

² Ver. 34.

³ Ver. 40.

⁴ Farrar, "Life of St. Paul," i. 438. ⁵ Acts xv. 40. ⁶ Acts xvii. 14.

⁷ Acts xviii. 5. On the movements of Silas and Timothy during this interval, see Conybeare and Howson, "St. Paul," i. 458, note, where the subject is fully discussed.

⁸ 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 19.

⁹ Acts xviii. 22.

¹⁰ 1 Peter v. 12.

¹¹ Acts xv. 2.

in all churches of the saints. Or if more were wanted, if the living teacher must accompany the written word, is it not enough to send with the letter, "Our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus"? And yet "it seemed good unto us," they write, "to choose out men and send them unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul." The authoritative document, the Apostolic teachers, are supplemented by these inferior, though great, witnesses. In common with Paul and Barnabas, though they could not go beyond the written document to which the acknowledged appeal lay, yet they could do what no written document of itself could do: take up the dead letter into their own life and personality, expound, enforce, apply it, and present it as a living reality to the men who heard them. Unlike Paul and Barnabas, they stood outside the controversy which had agitated the Church at Antioch, and were in the strictest sense independent witnesses—witnesses, moreover, who, because they were Jews themselves, and had overcome Jewish prejudice and narrowness in their own minds, were the better fitted to recommend the liberty of the Gospel to others. Is not the analogy close enough to be helpful and suggestive, between the relation of Silas to the Apostles and the decree, and our relation as preachers to the great doctors of the Church and to the inspired Word?

2. *The power of human sympathy* finds also an illustration in the history of Silas. The value of his testimony did not cease at Antioch. So long as they traversed ground already occupied, and "delivered" to churches previously founded, and in which the question of Antioch had evidently been raised, "the decrees for to keep, which had been ordained of the Apostles and elders that were at Jerusalem,"¹ his office as a witness would be continued. Indeed, the absence of Barnabas, and the questions which it would necessarily raise, would render the presence and testimony of a prophet like Silas peculiarly valuable throughout that part of the journey. But it is under another aspect that we are now considering the assistance which he rendered to his great companion. Independence is a marked feature in the character of St. Paul. He was eminently a man who could stand alone. His life confirms the claim which he makes to having learned the secret of self-sufficingness.² But his independence was not that of a heart that was insensible to human sympathy. On the contrary, he yearned for it intensely and prized it exceedingly. If he could do without it, it was not because he did not feel the loss keenly, but because he was strong enough to triumph over it. It has been truly said that

¹ Acts xvi. 4, 5.

² ἐγὼ γὰρ ἑμαυθόν, ἐν οἷς εἶμι, ἀνθρώπου εἶναι.—Philip. iv. 11.

“the deep humanity of the soul of Christ was gifted with those finer sensibilities of affectionate nature which stand in need of sympathy. He not only gave sympathy, but wanted it too from others. A stern spirit never could have said, ‘I am not alone: the Father is with Me’—never would have felt the loneliness which needed the balancing truth.”¹ And in this St. Paul was like his Lord.² He too not only gave, but wanted sympathy. Very great, therefore, we may believe, was the sacrifice he incurred in parting from Barnabas, the tried and trusted friend possibly of his youth, but certainly of his early Christian life. With Barnabas he may perhaps have studied as a boy in the schools of Tarsus.³ It was Barnabas who stood sponsor for him when the Church at Jerusalem doubted the reality of his conversion.⁴ It was Barnabas who fetched him to Antioch and introduced him to the great sphere of usefulness which opened to him there.⁵ In all his subsequent work in that city, in the call from heaven to wider labours,⁶ throughout his first missionary journey, in the controversy that arose upon his return to Antioch, in his mission to Jerusalem,⁷ and in the errand of peace on which he was sent back,⁸ Barnabas had been ever most closely associated with him, one with him in heart and purpose, gladly recognising his superior gifts, cheerfully exchanging with him the highest place.⁹ How great must have been the loss of such a fellow-labourer! How must his spirit have yearned for the soothing sympathy of the “son of consolation”! And how much it speaks for Silas that he should have been counted worthy and “chosen”¹⁰ to fill the gap! Nor is it mere conjecture, however probable, that guides us here. Twice in the course of this long and arduous journey we have distinct mention of the help afforded to St. Paul by the sympathy and co-operation of Silas and Timothy. He “thought it good,”¹¹ indeed, for his converts and for the cause he had in hand, “to be left alone at Athens;” but for himself it was a sore trial. “As he bade farewell to the faithful Berean brethren who had watched over his journey, and had been to him in the place of eyes, the one message that he impresses on them is

¹ F. W. Robertson.

² See, for example, Acts xxviii. 15; Philip. ii. 20; 2 Tim. i. 15-18; iv. 9-11, 16, 17.

³ “Cyprus is within a few hours’ sail from Cilicia. The schools of Tarsus may naturally have attracted one who, though a Levite, was a Hellenist; and there the friendship may have begun, which lasted through many vicissitudes, till it was rudely interrupted in the dispute at Antioch.”—Conybeare and Howson, i. 127.

⁴ Acts ix. 27.

⁵ Acts xi. 25.

⁶ Acts xiii. 2.

⁷ Acts xv. 2.

⁸ Acts xv. 22.

⁹ Compare Acts xii. 30, xiii. 2, with xiii. 13, 43, 46, and the order of names subsequently observed.

¹⁰ Acts xv. 40: ἐπιλεξάμενος.

¹¹ 1 Thess. iii. 1.

urgently to enjoin Silas and Timotheus to come to him at once with all possible speed. In the words of St. Luke we still seem to catch an echo of the yearning earnestness which shows us that solitude—and, above all solitude in such a place—was the one trial which he found it the most difficult to bear.¹ And when at length his longed-for companions rejoined him at Corinth, the historian is careful to record the exhilarating effect upon his ministry which their presence produced, combined as it was with the good news they brought him and with the welcome contributions of which they were the bearers.²

3. If the Silvanus of St. Peter is to be identified with the Silvanus of St. Paul and the Silas of the Acts, we have in him a link, like that afforded by St. Mark, both of personal sympathy and doctrinal unity, between the two great Apostles. But though some interesting thoughts are suggested by it, the identification is perhaps too precarious to be safely built upon.

T. T. PEROWNE.

Short Notices.

In the *Foreign Church Chronicle* (Rivingtons) appears "In Memoriam : Bishop Titcomb." We quote a portion :

"By the death of Bishop Titcomb, which took place in April, the Anglo-Continental Society has lost a valuable member of its Committee, and the Old Catholics on the Continent a warm and appreciative friend. When, three years ago, he was appointed Coadjutor Bishop to the Bishop of London for the English chaplaincies in Northern and Central Europe, the wisdom of the appointment was soon made apparent, by the zeal and success with which he discharged the new duties of his office. His earnest piety, ready sympathy, and conciliatory tone specially fitted him to deal with the many questions which naturally arise in the English communities abroad.

"The Bishop graduated from St. Peter's College, Cambridge, in 1841, and after his ordination spent some years in Ireland. He became Vicar of St. Andrew's, Cambridge, in 1845, was afterwards Secretary of the Christian Vernacular Education Society, and in 1861 was appointed to the Vicarage of St. Stephen, South Lambeth. He was Rural Dean of Clapham from 1870 till 1876, and was made an Honorary Canon of Winchester in 1874. In 1876 he became Vicar of Woking, and in the following year was consecrated the first Bishop of Rangoon, in Burmah. His work in that important sphere soon produced the happiest results. It suffered some interruption, however, by his having to bring home to England a dying daughter, whose life it was vainly hoped might be thus saved. In the autumn of 1880 he returned to Rangoon, and in

¹ Acts xvii. 15. Farrar, "Life of St. Paul," i. 523. See also Conybeare and Howson, i. 425.

² Acts xviii. 5, *συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ*, "was constrained by the word," R. V. Compare 1 Thess. iii. 6; 2 Cor. xi. 9; Philip. iv. 15.

"the following spring met with the serious accident which led soon afterwards to the resignation of his Bishopric, and ultimately hastened his death. He was leaning on a walking-stick, while admiring the view on one of his journeys, when the point of the stick slipped off the edge of the mountain path, and he fell on his head a distance of about twenty feet, upon the rocks below. The injury was so serious that he never thoroughly recovered from it. He found himself unable to bear the strain of the constant travelling which his duties as Coadjutor Bishop involved, and therefore resigned that appointment also last year. It was hoped that the less fatiguing duties of the Vicarage of St. Peter's, Brockley, to which he was then appointed by the Bishop of Rochester, might still be performed by him. But in a few months his strength gave way altogether, and on Saturday, the 2nd of April, he was called to his rest, leaving behind him the fragrant memory of a truly Apostolic Bishop and a devoted servant of Christ."

The Church of the Roman Empire, by the Rev. Arthur Carr, M.A., late Fellow of Oriol College, Oxford, is a volume of the series of "Epochs of Church History" (Longmans), to which attention has been invited in three or four numbers of the *CHURCHMAN*.

We have received from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge two large coloured pictures for walls—"Gregory and the English Slaves," and "St. Augustine and King Ethelbert."

The third edition of Dr. Dale's Lectures on the Epistle to the Ephesians (intended to illustrate to a popular audience the "doctrine and ethics" of the Epistle) has been published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.

A good volume of the "Popular County Histories" (Elliot Stock) is *A History of Berkshire*, by Lieut.-Colonel Cooper King, F.G.S.

In the fifth volume of the *Expositor* (Hodder and Stoughton) appear Papers on "The Origin of the Christian Ministry." Canon Westcott's articles on the Revised Version of the New Testament, of course, are very readable, and full of teaching.

A revised and enlarged edition of *Gospel Types and Shadows of the O.T.*, by Rev. William Odom, a capital little book, has now been sent out (Nisbet and Co.).

The "Verily, Verilys" of Christ is a well-written and edifying little work by the Rev. J. H. Rogers, M.A., Chaplain of Holy Trinity, Pau (Nisbet).

The Welsh Church: What is She Doing? (Swansea: Pearce and Brown). This is the sermon preached in Skatty Church on the occasion of Mr. Gladstone's visit to Swansea, June 5th. We hope it will have a large circulation. The preacher, Canon J. Allan Smith, M.A., Vicar of Swansea, has given in small compass a great deal of information. Speaking of the difficulties and hindrances to the Church's work in the Principality, he refers to the inadequacy of means. He says:

This paucity of funds is still more apparent in view of the rapid increase of population which has been massed in commercial centres. Twenty-four parishes in the South Wales coalfield, including Merthyr, Cardiff, Swansea, Newport, and Llanelli, with an average size of 16,000 acres, have increased in population by half a million in fifty years. In this diocese of St. David's, though in place of 266 Incumbents fifty years ago there are now 340, assisted by 100 curates, individually the clergy receive not a farthing more, and the whole benefit of increased church income has gone to the public.

In the face of these, and many other serious hindrances peculiar to Wales, what has the Church done? In the 24 parishes named above, where the population has increased by half a million in fifty years, the churches have grown in number from 32 to 165 places of worship. In one parish a single church has multiplied into 14 places of worship.

THE MONTH.

THE preparations for the Jubilee Thanksgiving Services and rejoicings are being carried on (June 18th) with enthusiasm throughout the country.

In his laudatory addresses at Swansea Mr. Gladstone went to great lengths in bidding for the support of the Welsh people.

The tithe agitation in Wales has assumed, here and there, somewhat formidable proportions.

An instruction to the Committee on the Irish Crimes Bill to report to the House on the 17th, at 10 o'clock, was carried by a majority of 152. When the Chairman rose to put the question, at the appointed time, the Parnellite members rose and marched out of the House.

With sincere regret we record the death of Dr. Rowley Hill, Bishop of Sodor and Man.¹

The result of the Committee Meeting of the C.M.S. on the Jerusalem bishopric question is matter of thankfulness amongst the friends of this grand Society. The sound and conciliatory resolutions, moved by the President, and seconded by Sir Emilius Laurie, were unanimously accepted.

At the Canterbury Diocesan Conference, in his opening address, the Archbishop spoke of reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts and of obedience to the Law. On the latter point his Grace said :

We are commonly so absorbed in the subject of the moment, that when not before us such a case seems incredible or almost accidental ; we are so excitable that when it comes every case seems the most extreme that ever befell. Yet even so we might surely observe a state of things very near us which constitutes a tremendous warning to good men against entering on a career of continuous disobedience without some irrefragable necessity. But few men are so profoundly Christian as to adopt the genuine apostolic canon, "Ye must needs be subject (*i.e.*, to a law you do not approve), not only of wrath but also of conscience sake."

The Austrian and Hungarian papers, says a Vienna correspondent, are filled with laudatory articles about Queen Victoria. The Jubilee is spoken of as the "Golden wedding of Sovereign and people," and England is praised as the land of freedom by whose example every Continental country has been able to learn and profit.

In the *Débats*, M. John Lemoine writes on the wonderful display of loyalty which England and Greater Britain are now giving to the world. He says :

Happy the people who, having a past of historical greatness, are able at a given day and a given hour to pour out from their inmost heart the same good wishes, sing in chorus the same hymn, and drink the same health in unison. There will not exist on that day one corner of the inhabited globe in which "God save the Queen" will not be sung by a whole people or by isolated individuals. The Jubilee is essentially an English *fête*, but as there are English all over the world, the *fête* will be a universal one.

¹ Archdeacon Blakeney, Vicar of Sheffield, at a York gathering, said : " I feel that I must refer to the great loss which the Church has sustained by the removal from amongst us of the much-loved Bishop Rowley Hill. He was as well-known and respected in this diocese as in his own diocese in the Isle of Man. For nearly fourteen years he has been connected with this county—first as Vicar of Sheffield, and since his elevation to the higher office of a bishop he has assisted our revered Archbishop in his confirmations, which have brought him more or less in contact with many of the clergy. He was a man beloved by all parties in the Church, although he held very decided opinions, and had the courage to declare them. His noble and generous nature seemed to soften any asperity in those who did not agree with him in views."