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### PLATO'S STYLE AND METHOD.

PLATO'S STYLE. THE DIALOGUE.

A S no philosopher before Plato, and no philosopher since his day, has consistently chosen the dialogue as a vehicle of expression, it is natural to look for an explanation of this peculiarity in the general habits of the age. (a) The remark of Montaigne "Nous ne sommes jamais chez nous," "We are never at home," (Essais, Chap. 111), applied by the essayist to humanity at large, may with a change of meaning be taken to describe the ordinary social life of Athens. The street, the forum, the gymnasium were the places where men most did congregate. The women When Aristotle says that the characteristic of perfect friendship or love (φιλία) is equality (ἰσότης), meaning by equality an intimacy between men of equal and lofty intellectual and social attainments, and that the friendship of brothers, when of a noble kind, comes to resemble the friendship of comrades, (Ethics, VIII, 7, 9, and VIII, 14,) he is merely interpreting the prevailing Greek sentiment. A glance at the scene of any of Plato's dialogues is enough to show how small a part was played by the "home" in the daily life of Athens. The wits of the city drew together for a discussion of public affairs or for an intellectual combat, just as regularly and frequently as the youths took their exercise and bath.

Under such circumstances it would be a matter of surprise if conversation had not developed unusual keenness of edge; it

would be equally surprising if the substance of the conversation were not of a high order. Trivialities, commonplaces, scandal there were, no doubt, but the staple subject, amongst the nobler spirits at least, would be some public event or broad question of the hour. It was natural that Plato, growing up in this atmosphere, should have found the dialogue to be the most adequate instrument for the presentation of his theories, and have become a master of prose style.

- (b) Not the home only, but also the study plays an unimportant part in Greek life. Even after Plato's time, when philosophy had become a separate training, and had begun to assume the form of continuous exposition, it was the debate of the school, which to some extent superseded the conversation of the gymnasium. Though the general, the statesman, the poet, in their distinctive capacities disappear in the school, and all stand upon the level of "lovers of the sight of truth," ideas were still moulded largely through the oral interchange of opinions. Just as the ordinary philosophical treatise of to-day reflects the process by which the writer, in the solitude of his study, organizes his conceptions, so Plato in his earlier dialogues reflects the sparkling variety of the gymnasium or market place, and in the later dialogues the more uniform discussions of the incipient school.
- (c) That the talks of Socrates not only inspired Plato to devote himself to philosophy, but furnished him with the dialogue is manifest. More than that, the dialogue is already partly formed in the conversations of Socrates. But we have to turn to the spirit and manners of the time in order to find out why his conversations are his philosophy.
- 2. Conversational the dialogues of Plato certainly are, but it would be a mistake to infer from this fact that they were in form mere reproductions of the conversations of the street. In two ways they differ from ordinary intercourse, (a) in their substance, and (b) in their form. (a) Doubtless the conversation of the street was of an exceptionally high quality in Athens at Plato's time. But, if we are to judge from Aristophanes, the brilliancy and acuteness of mind visible in the usual street talk, was limited to the objects and events of the time, to the great war, for example, and the subsequent kaleidoscopic changes of government; but a consistent examination of a moral principle,

such as justice or temperance, or the consistent exploitation of such a theme as knowledge, was as complete a departure from the daily matter of Athenian gossip, as the life of Socrates was an exception to the usual civic life. The dialogue of Plato is, therefore, in its substance not a mere reproduction of the casual ebb and flow of public opinion, but an idealization of it, preserving and even refining its vivid nipping quality, but always concerning itself with the real problems of existence.

- In form the dialogue of Plato is more intimately connected with the conversation to be found in the Greek drama, than with that to be overheard in the market-place. gatherings are more or less haphazard in time, place and personages; but in the drama the conversation is carried on by characters, as they are called, persons who constitute an organic network and, by the influence of one upon another, bring to com-In Plato, too, the pletion the thought embodied in the action. characters have each a necessary part, and are selected because, by playing this part, they assist in chiselling into shape the definition. In fact, Plato, with a mind steeped in the drama, and captivated by the wonderful possibilities revealed in the method of Socrates, was driven towards the dialogue irresistibly, and it is in his case no more an external vehicle of expression than the form of Aristotle or Hegel is external to the matter Plato himself understood perfectly that with which he deals. the dialogue unlike casual conversation was a work of art. He compares the true discourse to a living creature having its own body, head and feet, with a beginning, middle and end, which must be agreeable to one another and to the whole. (Phaedr. 264.)
  - 3. The connection of the dialogue with dramatic presentation gives us an interesting view of the digressions, freely interspersed throughout the dialogues. These interludes afford the author an opportunity to discuss a theme in easy amplitude, a habit which, as we may suppose, was more characteristic of Plato than it was of Socrates. The actual Socrates disliked long speeches, and kept strictly to the argument. "Invite Socrates to an argument," says Theodorus, "Invite a horseman to the open plain." But Plato with a more assured command of the subject permitted himself to digress. To many such as Theodorus the digressions, which have no direct counterpart in ordinary conversation, were

a relief from the strain of the argument, and in that respect, as well also as in their indirect connection with the main subject, resemble the chorus of Greek tragedy.

- 4. Dramatic is the term, therefore, which describes in general the style of Plato, or to use his own word, his method is that of dialectic. The term dialectic in its passage from current to philosophic use itself illustrates the difference between random converse and philosophic investigation. Dialektos, meaning at first merely a graver conversation and then a debate, discussion, argument or interchange of thought upon a definite topic, came to signify also the attainment of truth through the conflict of opinions and dispersion of inadequate conceptions. Further it was used by Plato as the name of the science gradually built up or evolved from the lower sciences, its object being the systematic presentation of the supreme reality or the absolute good. Although the term thus obtained a strictly philosophic sense, its current meanings were not dropped, and a happy union of them all is required for an understanding of Plato's style.
- 5. The following particulars will illustrate Plato's dramatic and dialectic style.
- (a) His delicate preservation of the general atmosphere of the dialogue is a dramatic quality of great value. This quality is not only recognized at once in the richly comic scenes of the Euthydensus, where Euthydemus and his brother are not counted worthy of serious treatment, as well as in the tragic surroundings of the Phaedo, which are in keeping with the discussion contained in it upon the immortality of the soul, but also in more subtle and unobstrusive references, of which the Theaetetus furnishes a striking The closing sentences of the dialogue prove that the conversation, which it details, occurred during the trial of Socra-This circumstance is in the course of the tes for heresy. argument noticed artlessly by three so simple arao xai אַנֿיע, \* that Jowett thought it unnecessary to translate them. It is only in works of a high order of genius that so keen a perception is expressed with such admirable simplicity and reserve. Again in the Symposium, at a banquet where Agathon

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Often indeed at other times as well as now, have I noticed how likely it is that those who spend much time in philosophic study will provoke laughter when they appear and make a speech at court." Theac. 172.

and Aristophanes have seats, the grave and the gay are skill-fully combined. Indeed, Socrates, seated between the two poets, is made by Plato to drop the golden conception that "the genius of comedy was the same as that of tragedy" (Sym. 223), a conception, which justified Browning in putting into the mouth of Balaustion the hope that Aristophanes "re-ordinating outworn rule" would have

"Made Comedy and Tragedy combine, Prove some new Both-yet-neither, all one bard, Euripides with Aristophanes Co-operant." "

Browning thinks that this conception was carried out by "the appointed fellow born thereto," namely, Shakespeare; but what Shakespeare carried out in the drama, Plato carried out in the Symposium, not only preserving with unsurpassed fineness of feeling the general tone of the picture, but inventing, and at the same time perfecting, a literary form of a highly complex kind.

Again, where in the region of satire is anything to be found superior in delicacy and precision of thrust to the speech put by Plato into the mouth of Aristophanes, when the poet is depicted as praising the good old times (Sym. 193, 194)? With astonishing reserve, Plato, through the speech of Socrates, hints a moment afterwards that Aristophanes in lauding the tempus actum, has placed emphasis upon the wrong idea, and adds that nothing but what is good should be the object of love (Sym. 205). The dialogue, neither in its tragic, comic nor satiric form, is adscititious to Plato's thought.

6. (b) A second feature of dramatic or artistic value in Plato is his furnishing incidentally a large mass of information concerning the private and public manners of the Greeks. From his works writers on antiquities have gathered facts concerning the domestic life of women, and their place in public esteem, the amusements and education of children, the condition of slaves, the various occupations of workmen, public amusements and festivals, private and public teachers, the distinction between artizans and soldiers, general social usages, the current popular estimate of prominent citizens, and the place occupied in the

<sup>·</sup> Aristophanes' Apology, 3440-3-

feeling of the people by the heroes and writers of the past. these and many more facts of domestic and public life, to be picked up by any careful reader of Plato, show how wide and direct was his contact with the various activities of his age. These casual observations are quite different from his systematic philosophic theories of social and domestic life and education, to which, of course, no reference is here made. The common charge that he refused to consider facts, and built speculative castles in the air, falls to the ground of itself before the array of facts and even figures concerning not only Athenian life but Greek life as a whole, which can be drawn merely by way of pastime from his profound attempt to justify the ways of God to man and the world. Observers of society nestle inside of Plato as easily as historians and antiquarians nestle inside of Sir Wal-

Plato's perception of an individual's thought is so 7. (c) direct and penetrating that it includes even minute details of character and manners. The reader is interested at once in the beauty of Charmides as well as in his naive ideas of temperance, in the personal appearance of Theaetetus, in the bearing of Alcibiades, in the Doric accent of Cebes, and so on. with the faculty of an artist sees the thinker when he sees the thought, and presents thinker and thought as an indivisible The most conspicuous example of this side of Plato's style is, of course, Socrates, upon whose characteristics he dwells with a disciple's fondness. We have a remarkable portrait of Socrates in his modesty, personal appearance, manner of dress, way of talking, habit of standing lost in silent debate, quickness of hearing, vindication of his record as never vino superatus, endurance, courage, and amazing love of discourse. His general method is alluded to in many places. A noteworthy instance of his fineness of feeling occurs in the Theaetetus, when Socrates discovers that Theaetetus and himself have been unwarrantably using the very terms which they are seeking to define. "A skilled disputant," Socrates then remarks, "would have warned us away from these expressions, and chidden me in particular for my manner of arguing," a passage hard to equal as an illustration of scrupulous regard for another's feelings. This artistic attention to the personality and atmosphere of the individual, is another element in

Plato's greatness, the lack of which has often embittered philosophic controversy.

8. (d) The dialogues of Plato are dramatic or dialectic in that they reproduce by means of characters the various elements or strata of thought composing the consciousness of Athens at this time. The characters are not deprived of their value as individuals, but become representative individuals. They are thus rightly called "types," in the sense that their thought is a pronounced manifestation of thought at large. This is another note of the great writer, whose characters belong to the whole age, or, rather, to mankind, while the creations of minor writers, depending for their force upon oddities of expression, or exaggerations of some single emotion, have, like Hepzibah Pyncheon's chickens, an air of antiquity as soon as they come into being.

From the varied pageant of Greek life displayed in Plato's pages come three, if not four, different files of typical characters. First of all come such men as Cephalus, whose life has almost arrived at the "last scene of all," whose thought it would, therefore, be an impiety to unsettle, and Laches, who, though holding fast to the traditional ideas, was yet a fair mark for Socrates' Younger men also are of this company, Lysis critical shafts. Charmides, and Polemarchus, who may fairly be expected to re-Behind all these, and spond to the new speculative impulse. forming one body with them are Aristophanes, the antagonist of innovation and champion of the good old times, Anytus, who fears to speak evil of dignities, and Callicles, who, presenting the claims of the man of substance and honour who is well to do, thinks that philosophy is the pastime of children and fools. the next main division are to be found sophists like Protagoras and Gorgias, worthy representatives of the new spirit of research, also their well-meaning disciples like Theodorus eager for knowledge, and, too, the younger brood of sophists, Polus, Thrasymachus, Euthydemus and the rest, showing the sophistic prin-In the third division are Socrates ciples in a degenerate form. himself, and his young disciples, Simmias, Cebes, Glaucon and Adeimantus, who have been swung from their moorings by sophistic criticism and are still grappling for some regulative principles of thought and conduct. In a fourth category must be placed Parmenides, Timaeus, Critias, the Athenian Stranger of the Laws, and the Eleatic Stranger of the Sophist and Statesman, all of whom are at a stage, at which Plato has not only abandoned the earlier descriptive dialogue, but has entered a field of discussion wholly beyond the scope of Socratic thought.

(e) While different theories and opinions find expression in Plato through representative personalities, he reaches his own theory not by direct criticism of any inadequate views, but by gradually passing through every-day opinion and the doctrines of the Sophists. Thus in the Republic we have what corresponds to the scenes or stages in a Greek drama. philosophic idea is ushered into our presence with such preparation as enables us to see how truly philosophic it is. method has an educational value, to which Plato was not blind. Imbued with the genius of Socrates he was as far as possible from desiring to substitute for current opinion a philosophic dogma, believing that a certain habit of thinking was fully as important as its results. It is thus necessary to observe the strategy of Plato in his effort to bring the philosophic spirit home to the inquirer. By his dramatic handling of his subject he gradually leads the undaunted wayfarer into view of the sun of the supreme idea out of the dark cave of thoughtless custom.

### II. PLATO'S METHOD.

the method of his master, amplified and deepened by the growth of philosophy in the interval. Socrates impresses us as one who is machine-like in his almost incredible energy and endurance. No Indian ever followed the trail of his foe with more unerring and unrelaxed purpose than Socrates follows the argument. What serves to take the edge off and even exhaust the analytic capacity of Protagoras merely whets his appetite. Three times in one day he will repeat a long discussion and go away hoping that the next day will bring a similar diversion.

Socrates sought to expose by means of questioning the contradictions and inconsistencies involved in common opinion, and to prepare the way for a knowledge of adequate ideas. He was wiser, he said, than other men, as the oracle had declared, only because he knew that he knew nothing, while all others, though equally ignorant, believed that they had knowledge. His mission

was to instil into every one he met the blessed consciousness of ignorance, that they might hereafter have a desire for knowledge, and, even if they could not be said to know, at least be free from The deference, which he paid, or seemed to pay, to their opinion, had the effect of drawing them into a conversation. Like the silly fly of the nursery rhyme the unwary respondent is enticed by the irony of Socrates and quickly entangled in the web of his dialectic. This unexpected exposure of incapacity had dif-The timid enquirer, ferent effects upon different temperaments. deprived of his usual habits of thought and coming suddenly to the brink of a void inane, fell back upon some less exacting discipline. The bolder advocate of the established ideas conceived a bitter aversion to the new-fangled teaching, and called to his assistance all the forces of religious and political conservatism. Only the resolute inquirer allowed himself to feel the full torture of the gad-fly of wonder or doubt, and like the wandering Io plunged forward sustained by the hope of reaching at the last some solid conception.

It is not to be wondered at that so large a portion of the Athenian public, following the lead of Aristophanes, should have classed Socrates with the Sophists. On knowledge and not on custom must be built law and morality, was his life-long con-More than all the Sophists combined he woke men out of the sleep of custom. Socrates nevertheless belongs to another and different order of thinkers from the Sophists. they, doubtful of the powers of reason, halted and gave way before the phalauxes of customary beliefs, Socrates never accepted a truce. Led on by the conviction that truth was a reality, he sought for it with unsurpassed singleness of purpose throughout his whole life. The easy way would have been to accept, as the Sophists did, a compromise with established ideas, and abandon the efforts to harmonize the inner reason with the social world; but Socrates, made of sterner material, was determined to measure the principles of a right life in measuring his own soul, and believed that in knowing himself, in placing his master-feeling clear, he was on the way to solve the riddle, if not of all existence, at least of morality and the state. It is true that his actual work was largely a clearing of the way, and that he left behind no system of thought or morality; but he never faltered in the belief that knowledge was the one thing needful. While the Sophists accepted tradition as a serviceable substitute for reason, Socrates held on to reason to the end. Accordingly the real enemies of truth were not Socrates but the Sophists. Like the unskilled bird-catchers, who "captured the ring-dove when they wanted the pigeon", the Athenian people, in condemning Socrates to drink the cup of hemlock, had, through lack of insight into their true needs, failed to punish the real culprit.

The best excuse for Aristophanes and the Athenian people is that to Plato himself the real nature of the difference between Socrates and the Sophists, although he had long felt it, became clear only gradually. In none of his earliest dialogues, not even in the *Protagoras*, is a vital distinction between them drawn. Only when his thought has greatly matured does he enrich his method by an analysis and refutation of Sophistic doctrines. While the method of Socrates is chiefly a subtle attack upon cherished opinions, the full-grown method of Plato comprises, in addition, a dialectical removal of the theories of the Sophists followed by a positive interpretation of reality.

12. Thus Plato's method involves three stages, only the first of which is adequately illustrated in the method of Socrates. These three stages are firstly a criticism of ordinary opinion, secondly a criticism of Sophistic doctrine, and thirdly a positive account of reality. The Theaetetus exhibits these stages, although its constructive teaching is not so pronounced as is that of some later dialogues. (a) The question discussed in the Theaetetus is as to the nature of knowledge, and Theaetetus at first asserts that knowledge is the different sciences and arts, whatever, in fact, one may learn from Theodorus. Socrates soon convinces Theaetetus that he has not explained the point at issue, since in the reply it is taken for granted that we understand what is meant by knowledge of space, although we are still in the dark as to the nature of knowledge in general. Those, whose minds are governed by common opinion, when asked for the meaning of a term, are apt to give a number of instances or particulars. Plato elsewhere humourously refers to these separate elements as a swarm. "When I ask you, Meno, for one virtue, you present me with a swarm of them, just as though, when I ask you the nature of a bee, to carry on the figure, you tell me there are many kinds

of bees, although bees as bees do not differ from one another at all". As he says later in the same dialogue he is looking for the meaning of the whole, and is expected to understand it when it is frittered away into little pieces. What he seeks is knowledge in the universal, whole and sound, the simile in multis. this indirect way condemns common opinion as incapable of getting below superficial differences and of grasping their central truth. Separate objects appeal to our observation, and do not call for any conscious effort of inquiry. It is his aim to create the suspicion that direct contact with separate objects is not by itself the final office of consciousness. This suspicion becomes a deep self-mistrust, at least in the case of those who have any faculty of reflection, and at the same time the very foundations of the universe seem to them to be shaken. This wonder or doubt is the parent of thought, or as Plato has also put it, Iris is the daughter of Thaumas, and wonder is the beginning of philosophy. Roughly this stage in the method of Plato coincides with the work of Socrates, and is abundantly exemplified in the earlier dialogues. It is more than probable that even at this stage there are in Plato hints of ideas beyond even the imagination of In the Charmides, for example, there is a delicacy of Socrates. premonition which suggests the Republic. With less penetration than was possessed by Plato the criticism of common opinion would leave behind it a smarting sense of loss rather than a longing to know, and this difference, we may surmise, marked out Plato from Socrates at the very outset.

their method, which he called "Rhetoric," and (2) in what he thought to be the outcome of their teaching, that is to say, their "Sophistry." (1) The teachers of rhetoric, of whom Georgias, the Sophist, was the Nestor, professed to impart to young men the ability to make a telling speech upon any topic merely by the study of oratory. Plato contrasts this method with his own method of dialectic in point of both style and substance. As to style he contends that the oration is confused, and like the epitaph of Midas, the Phrygian, might be recited either backwards or forwards without any detriment to its meaning, while dialectic is an orderly development of the subject. He accuses the rhetorician, further, of assuming a complete acquaintance on the part of the auditors

with the topic of discourse. Dialectic, on the contrary, setting out from clear definition and proceeding by careful division or classification, exhibits the principle common to many different things and at the same time directs attention to their essential differences. But his main charge against rhetoric is that it is in substance a "flattery" or "enchantment," by means of which the multitude is persuaded of the finality of its present opinions. It is like the false art of cookery or tiring, which ministers to the mere pleasures of the body, and ignores its health. You can best persuade, thinks the rhetorician, by assuming the truth of the people's ideas, and then proceeding along the line of least resistance. Persuasion, not instruction, is the objective point; and by studying the notions of the multitude the rhetorician is able to persuade them to do evil instead of good. Socrates, indelibly impressed with the ignorance of the many, is bent upon healing, if possible, this almost incurable cancer of the soul, and instead of offering them dishes and drinks of grateful flavour, uses the purge and the knife. Not soothed but chastised must the soul be, if it is ever to gain truth. While the orator uses the opinion of the multitude as the foundation of his argument, Socrates cares not how many may be of a mind different from his own; if necessary it is Socrates contra mundum. cares only that the truth should be brought home to the person with whom he converses. When the difference between rhetoric and dialectic is pressed, it is discovered that the orator runs after probability, and says good-bye to truth, while the dialectician cannot be satisfied except by knowledge. The orator says what is pleasing to men, the dialectician seeks to say what may be acceptable to God. Hence rhetoric, on the side of its substance, is the false appearance (Schein, as Hegel would say), of which justice is the truth. It is "justice" which in this case is the truth of dialectic, since rhetoric naturally deals with practical affairs, and justice, as Plato states at length in the Republic, is the moral basis of the state. Dialectic has, of course, a theoretical as well as a practical side, but in its theoretical side it is opposed not to rhetoric but to Sophistry. (2) As to Sophistry the main stages of its development lie outside of the subject of this article. Plato sought to prove that the theoretical teaching of the Sophists led to scepticism. He does not argue that the Sophists were sceptics,

but that a negation of the reality of truth is the necessary and also the actual outcome of their views. That he does not accuse them of direct scepticism may be shown from the Theactetus, where not Protagoras but a follower is interrogated, where, also, the connection of the theory that man is the measure of all things with the doctrine that sensible perception is knowledge is not attributed to Protagoras, but is an interpretation of his ideas. the Gorgias Socrates criticizes Polus, a follower of Gorgias, much more severely than he criticizes his master. A similar line of treatment is pursued in the Republic, where Socrates deliberately turns his criticism away from Sophistic doctrines to the scepticism concealed in ordinary morality. Indeed, Plato, whose mistrust of the people had been growing and his annoyance at the Sophists correspondingly cooling, has in the Republic turned the edge of his attack directly upon the loose opinions of the people. all, the people were the great Sophist, the weakness of the Sophists being that they were led by the fickle many instead of opposing their shallow thought.

14. (c) The third and final form of the dialectical method of Plato is reached only when he has propounded his theory of ideas. Though he is then a long distance away from conversation or even controversy, his method still bears traces of its origin. Conversation and controversy, as Plato thought of them, were a system of question and answer, intended to expose error in order to prepare for a statement of truth. In its last form dialectic is a colloquy not between persons but between ideas. Ideas, which seemed to be in their inner nature antagonistic to one another, such as "the one" and "the many", "the same" and "the other", were set face to face, and made to come to terms. By this process, illustrated at length in the Parmenides and elsewhere, contradictory ideas are found to contain one another. At the end of the argument the contradictions disappear, and harmony is reached. This unity of contradictories is the aim of dialectic. By means of this splendid and fertile principle Plato is enabled for the first time in the history of thought to reach a conception of the universe, which is at once scientific and religious. But this article has already too far crossed the line which separates the method of Plato from his philosophy.

S. W. DYDE.

### HORT'S "THE CHRISTIAN ECCLESIA."

THE late Professor Hort is principally known to the theological world as the collaborateur of Dr. Westcott in their monumental edition of the Greek Testament. What the exact part done by Hort amounted to will not be known until the correspondence between Westcott and Hort is published, but it is not improbable that Hort's was the lion's share of the work.

It is some ten years ago since Rev. G. A. Schneider, Vice-Principal of Ridley Hall, told me that there were not a few in Cambridge who considered Hort more than the equal in scholar-ship of either Lightfoot or Westcott, and since his death Professor Sanday, in an article published in the American Journal of Theology, is inclined to place him at the head of English theologians of this century. It requires some temerity to differ from one so well qualified to judge as Dr. Sanday, but I do not think this is an opinion which is likely to be accepted by many. The world, at all events, must judge a man not by what he might under certain circumstances accomplish, but by what he actually does. Judged by this standard is it possible to consider Hort's investigations so considerable or so valuable as those of Lightfoot, or do his published writings contain such a wealth of profound and suggestive thought as those of Westcott?

But it is invidious to draw comparisons between three such illustrious names as those of Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort. They were truly fellow-labourers in the Gospel, and with one mind strove together for the Faith. Not even the Oxford movement with its picturesque friendships brought any of its promotors into such close and enduring fellowship as bound together these three fathers of English theology in the 19th century at Cambridge. When Lightfoot became Bishop of Durham, Westcott preached the consecration sermon in Westminster Abbey. When Lightfoot died Westcott became his successor in the see of Durham, and Hort preached the sermon in the same venerable church. On that occasion he said, "In commending

him to your prayers, I find my lips sealed by a sacred friendship of forty years from speaking as I might otherwise, perhaps, have desired to do." A friendship of forty years! To how deep a unity of both spirit and mind does such a fact testify. And then he characterized the work of his beloved friend in language, reserved yet so eloquent with the eloquence of the simple truth, that albeit irrelevant to the present article I cannot forbear to quote it, as setting forth both the greatness of Westcott and an ideal which every young theologian may well set before him. "One who has laboured unceasingly to bring his countrymen face to face with the New Testament Scriptures; one for whom Christian truth is the realm of light from which alone the dwellers on earth receive whatever power they have to read the riddle of the world aright: one to whom the Christian society is almost as a watchword, and who hears in every social distress of the times a cry for the help which only a social interpretation of the Gospel can give."

During his lifetime Hort published but very little, principally because of the extreme cautiousness of his mind, and his desire to absolutely exhaust his subject before putting forth any definite opinions about it. Whilst this thoroughness and reticence might well be recommended to not a few of our dogmatic theologians, whose confidence is not seldom in inverse ratio to their knowledge, we think this was mistaken policy on the part of Hort. For we learn much from even the errors of a really great scholar. It is probable, too, that the difficulties in his style, which makes large demands upon the attention of the reader, had something to do with the paucity of his publications. But he left behind a considerable mass of manuscripts, and a devoted band of disciples are gathering together and editing such matter as they deem useful.

Of these works, the most important is a volume recently published by Macmillan under the title of "The Christian Ecclesia: a Course of Lectures on the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia." It deals less with the history of the Ecclesia than with the conceptions of the Ecclesia which were entertained by the Evangelists and the Apostles. It was the author's intention to have supplemented this course of lectures by another in which the history and conceptions of the Ecclesia should be traced in the sub-apostolic

period. It is much to be regretted that he was not spared to complete his plan. And yet it cannot be doubted that we have the most important part of such an undertaking. It is singular that albeit so much has been written about the ministry, we cannot call to mind anything like an exhaustive discussion of the New Testament evidence. Texts have been collected and commented upon according to the views of the various authors, but Dr. Hort goes deeper than this. As the title of his book indicates it is a study not only of the history, nor of the ministry of the Church but of the conceptions of the Church that prevailed in the Apostolic age so far as these can be gathered from the New Testament.

Such an undertaking requires gifts of a high order. It is very easy quite unconsciously to read our own ideas into the words of Holy Scripture. The letter of Scripture does often lend itself to the support of conceptions which were born at a far later date. Nothing but a prolonged study of the New Testament, together with a close knowledge of the history of the various ideas about the Church that have sprung up under the influence of great writers from Cyprian down to Dr. Pusey, can justify anyone in assuming to speak with authority on such a subject. this there must be, what is rarest of all, the absolutely impartial mind, the mind of the genuine scholar. It is the lack of this that has vitiated the writings of many able and good men. Apologies for any particular view of the ministry are at the present day out of date. There is no body of Christians that does or can exactly reproduce the Apostolic organization of the Church, or even the Apostolic conceptions. But a study of these questions by a really first-class student and author is of inestimable value, and is likely to have important practical results.

Dr. Hort possessed in the highest possible degree the necessary qualifications for this task. Of his learning something has already been said. Of his impartiality it is enough to say that he cannot be labelled as either of the High, Low or Broad School of Anglicanism. His extreme sensitiveness to the need of impartiality, and the difficulty of achieving it is shewn in the title of his book, and the reasons that led to its adoption. Rev. J. O. F. Murray, its editor, says in the Preface, "The title of Ecclesia' was chosen expressly

for its freedom from the distracting associations which have gathered round its more familiar synonyms." Dr. Hort himself says "the reason I have chosen the term Ecclesia is simply to avoid ambiguity. The English term Church, now the most familiar representative of Ecclesia to most of us, carries with it associations derived from the institutions and doctrines of later times, and thus cannot at present without a constant mental effort be made to convey the full and exact force which originally belonged to Ecclesia." After explaining why he could not have recourse to the word Congregation, Dr. Hort concludes, "Ecclesia is the only perfectly colourless word within our reach, carrying us back to the beginnings of Christian history, and enabling us in some degree to get behind words and names to the simple facts which they originally denoted."

Dr. Hort's method is extremely simple. He mainly follows the chronological order of the books of the New Testament, and comments upon all the passages which shed any ray of light upon either the history or the conceptions of the Ecclesia in that early period. Thus we have at the outset as a kind of introduction a discussion of the sense of the word in its Hebrew equivalents in This naturally leads up to its use in the the Old Testament. The relationship of the Apostles to the Ecclesia is next made a subject of enquiry, followed by a description of the early stages in the growth of the Ecclesia as contained in the Acts. Here a considerable space is given to the subject of the Ecclesia at Antioch, and to the kind of authority that was exercised by the Apostles, St. James the brother of the Lord, and the Elders. St. Paul's discourse to the elders at Miletus naturally attracts attention, and then leaving the Acts, the author takes us step by step through an exceedingly close albeit condensed examination of the usage of the word Ecclesia, and of the various indications of offices or officers in the Ecclesia in the The book concludes with some "Brief Notes on Vari-Epistles. ous Epistles and Recapitulation."

In studying any book upon a subject which has been one of prolonged inquiry and much controversy, we cannot abstain from asking ourselves what is the author's object in writing. Is he going to defend this, that, or the other view? Is he, that is, no matter how apparently impartial, really an apologist for Bishops,

or for Presbyters, or of Congregationalism? Is he at bottom most concerned to contribute something to the refutation of Papal claims? Will he, no matter how subtly his hand may work in his material, choose and adapt his texts so as to support a foregone conclusion? Such are the methods of many writers. But we believe the day is past when a book however brilliant or learned, written with any such object can secure a place in the first rank of discussion. All respectable scholars now know that there is no completed ecclesiastical system in the New Testa-As Dr. Sanday has excellently written in the Expositor, "The inquiries which have of late been made into the early history of the Christian ministry seem to me to result in an eirenicon between the churches. The inquiries in question do I think stand in the way of aggressive partizanship. Our confessional differences are indeed reflected in primitive Christianity but not as mutually exclusive. They represent not conflicting and irreconcileable conceptions of the original constitution of the Church, but only successive stages in the growth of that constitution. The Church passed through a Congregational stage . . . it also passed through a Presbyterian stage . . . the main note of the eirenicon from both sides is the frank recognition of the relativity of all existing eccelesiastical politics." Similarly Dr. Hort writes concerning "the futility of endeavouring to make the Apostolic history into a set of authoritative precedents, to be rigorously copied without regard to time and place, thus turning the Gospel into a second Levitical Code. The Apostolic age is full of embodiments of purposes and principles of the most instructive kind, but the responsibility of choosing the means was left forever to the Ecclesia itself, and to each Ecclesia, guided by ancient precedent on the one hand, and adaptation to present and future needs on the other. The lesson-book of the Ecclesia, and of every Ecclesia, is not a law, but a history."

Dr. Hort's object then is primarily to set forth the stages in the history of the development of the Ecclesia. He wishes to trace out "the purposes and principles" of the Apostolic age. But after the most scrupulously impartial study of these things has been made, it is impossible not to compare the results arrived at, not only with the different organizations of the present, but with the prevalent ideas and conceptions

of the Christian Ecclesia. No doubt Dr. Hort made such comparisons, but with a marvellous self-restraint he has rigidly excluded them from this book. Yet in one short sentence which might easily be overlooked, he has indicated that one object of his study has been the "recovering for 'Church' the full breadth of its meaning," from which we may surely gather that in his opinion prevalent conceptions of the Church are lacking in breadth of meaning which the word and the thing possessed in the Apostolic age.

The word "Ecclesia" occurs only twice in the Synoptic Gospels. The first occurrence is in the famous passage "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church." rejects the hypothesis that this is an interpolation. differs (herein again shewing his strict impartiality) from most Protestant commentators in accepting the most obvious interpretation that St. Peter himself is the rock, and "yet not exclusively St. Peter, but the other disciples of whom he was then the spokesman and interpreter." But, on the other hand, "it was no question here of an authority given to St. Peter; some other image than that of the ground under a foundation must have chosen if that had been meant. Still less was it a question of an authority which should be transmitted by St. Peter and others. The whole was a matter of personal or individual qualifications and personal or individual work. outburst of keenly perceptive pith had now at last shown St. Peter carrying with him the rest, to have the prime qualification for the task which his Lord contemplated for him." The second passage containing the word "Ecclesia," has also in a lesser degree been made famous by its use in supporting the authority of the Church over the individual. "Hear the Church" is a familiar exhortation, but it is almost certain that the Church here is the local congregation to which the injured person and the offender both belonged. (St. Matt. xvIII,17.)

It is natural that we should expect from Dr. Hort in connection with a study of the "Ecclesia" a full discussion of Our Lord's favourite expression "the kingdom of heaven". Some writers have seen in it no relation to the church, others have simply identified the two.

In both cases we believe the interpreters have been guided by prejudice. Dr. Hort, however, bestows but little space upon this question. He perceives that there must be some relationship between the "Ecclesia" and the "kingdom of heaven," for in the very next verse to that in which Our Lord speaks of building His Church, he adds "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Yet a candid examination of all the passages wherein the latter phrase is used forbids its identification with the Ecclesia. "We may speak of the Ecclesia as the visible representation of the kingdom of God, or as the primary instrument of its sway, or under other analogous forms of language. But we are not justified in identifying the one with the other, so as to be able to apply directly to the Ecclesia whatever is said in the Gospels about the Kingdom of Heaven or of God" (p 19).

Concerning a very interesting chapter on the relation of the Apostles to the Ecclesia we can say but little. It is almost needless to remark that Hort does not make use of that unhistorical and altogether misleading and even mischievous expression "the College of the Apostles." Such words instantly beget in the mind of the reader a false conception, and it is Hort's aim to give us true conceptions of the Ecclesia. Very instructive is the examination of the meaning of the terms "disciples" and "apostles." Discipleship, not apostleship, was "the primary active function of the twelve till the Ascension, and, as we shall see, it remained always their fundamental function." Thus Hort concludes that the Twelve did not sit at the Last Supper as apostles, but as dis-"Of whom then in after times were the Twelve the representatives that evening? If they represented an apostolic order within the Ecclesia then the Holy Communion must have been intended only for members of that order, and the rest of the Ecclesia had no part in it. But if, as the men of the Apostolic age and subsequent ages believed without hesitation, the Holy Communion was meant for the Ecclesia at large, then the Twelve sat that evening as representatives of the Ecclesia at large: they were disciples more than they were apostles" (30). So when in our Lord's prayer (St. John xvIII) He cries "As Thou didst send me into the world, I also send them into the world," it is no exclusive ministerial commission that is given to the twelve as the representatives of a clerical order, but it

is the commission of the whole Ecclesia, whose purpose is to draw the rest of mankind to its own faith and love. And so, we may add throughout the book the Twelve stand as representing the whole church, not the ministry of the church alone. Upon the last charge to go into the world and preach the Gospel, we read that "it is to the Ecclesia itself as the missionary body that Christ's charge is ultimately addressed" (34). In the Acts the apostle is not one clothed with exclusive authority to rule, but he is a personal witness (39). The sole conception of their work put before us in the Acts, is that of making known the kingdom of God by words and deeds (40). On the occasion of the death of Ananias and Sapphira Hort remarks that "this is the first indication of the exercise of powers of administration by the apostles, and, so far as appears, it was not the result of an authority claimed by them but of a voluntary entrusting of the responsibility to the apostles by the rest" (47). With Lightfoot, and, I suppose, most writers of the present day, Hort leaves the exact origin of the Elders in uncertainty. They may have been appointed by the apostles, they may have been appointed by the Ecclesia, but in any case "it is but reasonable to suppose that the Christian Elders were not a new kind of officers, but simply a repetition of the Jewish elders who constituted the usual government of the Synagogue" (62). So again it is the members of the Ecclesia itself who set apart Barnabas and Saul; and "it is the members of the Ecclesia itself that dismiss them with fast and prayer and laying on of hands, whether the last act was performed by all of them, or only by representatives of the whole body, official or other" (64). The very careful discussion of the question of the authority exercised by the Twelve, the Elders and the Ecclesia at large in Jerusalem in the famous council met to consider the question of circumcision, concludes as follows: There is no evidence that authority is then implicitly claimed. it is more than a moral authority; but that did not make it less real" (83). That the apostles possessed an "ill-defined but lofty authority in matters of government and administration" is admitted, but on the other hand "there is no trace in Scripture of a formal commission of authority from Christ Himself' (84). apostles naturally wield from the first the moral authority of founders, an authority which accumulated as years rolled on "by the spontaneous homage of the Christians of Judaea". How far this authority was felt and acknowledged beyond the limits of the Holy Land, it is hard to say. In the letter sent to Antioch the authority of the Apostles is "moral rather than formal; a claim to deference rather than a right to be obeyed" (85).

It would be possible to multiply quotations on this head, but I fear my readers are already wearied of them. But they are important as showing that the Roman conceptions of the church, not only are not found in Holy Scripture, but are so far from being developments of the original conceptions of the Ecclesia that they involve us in conclusions diametrically opposed to them. a free church should delegate its authority for convenience or order's sake to a body of officers would be exceedingly natural; but that the absolute surrender of all powers, into the hands of the Episcopate and finally of the Pope, and the conversion of a free church into an absolute monarchy, is a process that can by the most ingenious manipulation of history be described as a "development", we must firmly deny. In candour it must be admitted that the argument, if less obvious, is no less cogent against any form of Apostolic succession, or such a theory of Presbyterianism as that against which Hooker wrote, or indeed any Divine right at all save that of the whole Ecclesia.

All this has been set forth by Dr. Hort in an entirely non-controversial manner. Yet if we stopped here we should be giving our readers a poor idea of the warm spirituality which pervades many parts of this book. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the sympathetic description of St. Paul's glorious conception of the one universal Ecclesia. The stress of controversy has drawn the attention of students too exclusively to the external relations of the Ecclesia, and in most works on the church we have but little concerning the inward relations of its members. Dr. Hort, just because he is not writing as a controversialist, but as an exponent, is not unmindful of the large space occupied by the spiritual and ethical conditions of the Ecclesia, especially in the writings of St. Paul. St. Paul approaches the great subject of unity from a different point of view from that of many modern writers. Needless to say the great Apostle does not fall into that common error, the modern counterpart of the old Jewish error about the Sabbath, of supposing that man was made for the church.

he describes the relations of Christians to one another in terms that involve their unity in the Ecclesia. Compare the striking exhortation "μόνον άξίως του εθαγγελίου του Χριστού πολιτεθεσθε," "behave as citizens," not merely as redeemed individuals, but as fellow members of the kingdom, directed "by the inward powers of the spirit of fellowship". The Epistle to the Ephesians is particularly rich in its presentation of the corporate side of Christianity. "He would be a bold man who should suppose himself to have fully mastered even the outlines of its teaching: but even the slightest patient study of it must be fruitful, provided we are willing to find in it something more than we have brought to it." Hort's great powers of sympathetic insight are nowhere more conspicuous than in the sections on St. Paul's "image of the body". Christ the Head, "needed a body of members for its full working out (i.e. of salvation) through the ages: part by part He was, as St. Paul says, to be fulfilled in the community of His disciples, whose office in the world was the outflow of His own". The same remark is applicable to the section on the comparison of the Ecclesia to a bride, and to that on the image of building, through each of which figures the social aspects of the Gospel are described.

We do not anticipate for this work any very extensive sale. It will not run through two or three editions annually for two or three years and then be forgetten. It is a book not indeed exclusively for scholars, but for students, for it is not an essay but a study. But indirectly it will influence all succeeding discussions of this same subject, and its influence will be in the direction of liberty and of love. Particular points will, no doubt, be open to controversy. It cannot be otherwise. But it is not at all likely that in its description of the stages of the development of the Ecclesia in the Apostolic age, or in its presentation of the Apostolic conceptions of the church it will be either confuted or superseded. Personally, I believe it will make for Christian unity more powerfully (though indirectly) than any book which has yet been written.

#### PRUDENTIUS.

EVERY man is influenced to a greater or less extent by his age and his contemporaries, and we must understand these if we would understand the man. His thoughts will be guided by those of his time, for whether he agree or disagree, whether he lead or follow he will think of what other people are thinking around him.

Prudentius was born in the middle of the fourth century, A.D., in the midst of a cluster of great men. Jerome and Ambrose were born in 340, Chrysostom in 347, Prudentius in 348 and Augustine in 354. This of itself should suggest much. Add the following. Prudentius was thirteen when Julian ascended the throne and made the last attempt to galvanize heathenism into life, and failed as all men do who try to stop time by putting the clock back. Hilary of Poitiers, more or less a neighbour, and Athanasius, a household name in every Christian land, died when he was in the twenties. He was thirty when the Goths won their first great victory in 378 at Adrianople, and he lived to see Rome herself the Christian centre of a Christian world, and died felix opportunitate mortis before she too fell to the conquering Goth when Alaric sacked Rome in 410. It was a century of great movements and great men-interesting from its dark beginning with the persecutions of Diocletian, Galerius and Maximin to its end. It was the century when rid from foes without, the Church had her first great fight with foes withinperhaps the greatest she ever had—and the councils from Nicaea onward mark the progress of the struggle. And all the time there was this dark cloud of barbarism threatening in the North —a terrible background for all this carnal and spiritual warfare.

Let us look a little more closely into the mind of the times. Christianity, as we have seen, had won the day and had won the world—a dangerous victory. It was no longer perilous to be a Christian—it was profitable and the world rushed into the Church. We picture to ourselves an Athanasius and an Augus-

tine as types of the age, but a far more typical man is the great semi-Arian ecclesiastical diplomatist and politician Eusebius of Nicomedeia. The world had swarmed into the Church and taken the sacraments, but alas! the baptismal wave had not washed off all original sin, and the result could have been prophesied. The tone of Christian living and thinking grew Even before now heathen influences had lower and lower. deeply coloured much of the best Christian thought, but now the dye is unmistakeable. The priesthood had grown great, thanks to St. Cyprian and his followers; it now grew greater still. Saints and martyrs took the place of eponymous heroes and demi-gods—a change for the better perhaps for they were less immoral, but scarcely an improvement on primitive Christianity. Eastern and Western heathenism alike had elevated the Supreme God to such a height that he was out of reach of the universe, and now they introduced the martyrs to bridge the gulf. And with the martyrs came their relics, the tales of their passions, their tombs and their images, pilgrimages to see all these wonders and prayers on inspection. We shall find all this in Prudentius, and we must remember that he was a Spaniard and in Spain began the worship of pictures. Simultaneously came in from outside heathen notions which turned the simple rites of the early Church into mysteries. Let any one read St. Ambrose on baptism and contrast him with St. Paul, and the fourth century will be understood. And with all this came a lower tone of Christian living, and the gladiatorial games (not ended till after Prudentius' death, and the subject of more than one honourable appeal made by him) and the races and the theatres (privatum consistorium impudicitiae) divided with the churches and the martyrs' shrines the interests of mankind, and as is usual in such cases took more than their share.

Of all this, and of the heresies with which the Church had to contend, we find abundant evidence in Prudentius, and if at times we half resent and half wonder at his attitude towards martyrs and heresiarchs, we must remember the age in which and for which he wrote. When he is frustrating the Arian and refuting the Marcionite, he does not seem to us always very subtle or very original. But then in the West, when once the Nicene creed was settled, it was adopted and supported through

thick and thin, largely because the Western had little taste for theological speculation being a practical man. Still Prudentius does make or borrow some good points, and if we feel much of his reasoning to be a little hackneyed nowadays, let us hope that some of our own most brilliant aphorisms and most startling intuitions may live to be hackneyed fourteen centuries hence.

Prudentius was born in 348, in the Spanish town of Caesaraugusta or Saragossa. "His early age wept under the cracking rods," he tells us, and leaves us to infer what other elements there had been in his education. Probably, like most other boys, he studied the two great subjects of the day-grammar and rhetoric. Ausonius, his contemporary (320-400), the poet of Bordeaux, wrote a series of poems on his professors (not every pupil is so grateful), and it appears that most of them were grammarians or rhetoricians. Both would use the same text book-one still authorized by our Minister of Education in Ontario-Virgil. In every school of the Latin world haerebat nigro fuligo Maroni, and as the grime gathered on Maro's page the grammarian drew from it all the lessons letters can givegrammar, prosody, style, archaeology, philosophy, history, religion, andwhat not? And the rhetorician taught the youth to write replies for Dido, and did not teach him one of the best lessons Virgil has for us all-self-restraint. They knew their Virgil in those days, when ladies and churchmen told the stories of the creation and the Passion in Virgilian centos, till Pope Gelasius had to warn the faithful these were apocryphal; when an Emperor, Valentinian, by the gentle art of misquotation did the great bard wrong by a mean poem of Virgilian lines, and the good Ausonius had reluctantly to desecrate the dead poet to humour the living Emperor with a poem in the same vein. Juvencus, an elder Spanish contemporary of Prudentius, alludes in the preface of his Evangelic History to Minciadae dulcedo Maronis, and the same sweetness shaped Prudentius as a hundred passages in his poems shew. Over and above his Virgil, he learnt his Bible till he knew it as few I fear know it to-day.

On boyhood followed the toga of manhood and taught him to lie, he tells us, and wanton lust and selfish indulgence defiled his youth. This may be poetical license. A man is never the best judge of his own conduct, or Bunyan would be damned and

Jay Gould canonized. So do not suspect our poet of too excessive sin. He probably means he was a lawyer. Then he served in the army, and was twice thereafter magistrate of noble cities, dealt out Roman law to the good, and was a terror to evildoers, and was finally honoured by the Emperor and awoke to find a snowy head convicting him of old age. And then, say the authorities, he took to religious poetry at fifty-seven, and though they borrow this from the peom I have been doing into prose, I beg leave to doubt at this point. I believe he had been writing verse all the time, and was fifty-seven when he wrote this preface after the manner of authors on the completion and not at the inception of his book. For he certainly foresees so well what he is to write, that it might serve as a table of contents to his works, and I do not think any poet was ever so successful a prophet. He will, he tells us, write hymns day and night, war against heresies and unravel the catholic faith, trample under foot the sacred things of heathenry, do despite to Rome's idols, hymn the martyrs and praise the Apostles. I will shew you that he did all this or had done it already.

First, however, let us see what had been achieved by his predecessors in sacred song. A hymn was in circulation, though not I suppose very widely known, which was alleged to have been sung by our Lord at the last supper, but as St. Augustine did not believe in it and it has not survived, we may let it go. We are told Tertullian wrote poems and so did Cyprian, but the best editors group their several poems as spurious works, and in three cases the same poem appears amongst the pseudonyma of More genuine works are those of some men both fathers. roughly contemporaries of Prudentius. Damasus, Pope 366 A.D. by the grace of his friends' fists, wrote neat Ovidian verse on Jerusalem, some hymns on the saints, and a couple of acrostics on our Lord's name. Hilary of Poitiers wrote some dull and rather halting hexameters on Genesis, a fatally attractive theme at this period, and some hymns in iambic dimeters remarkable chiefly for their neglect of quantity. I come now to two more important poets. Juvencus the Spaniard made a harmony of the Gospels in dreadfully tame hexameters, a monotony of elisionless lines made on one pattern, from which he freshness of the Gospel has been successfully expelled. In justice to him I should add that he won the approval of St. Jerome, though Migne's reference is wrong and I could not find the saint's ipsissima verba. St. Ambrose of Milan (beside the Te Deum which is not in verse) wrote hymns for the Christian day in iambic dimeters, one of them noble in its simplicity, the others simple but hardly noble. He is superior to Hilary in his versification, but by no means equal to Prudentius.

Given a poet of a religious temperament, and given the fourth century, it is not difficult, at least after the event, to foresee what he will write. Prudentius must from a child have heard tales of martyrdom galore. The five edicts of persecution from 303 to 308 must have fallen in his grandfather's, if not in his father's time, and what child of Covenanting stock can ever forget Margaret Wilson drowning in the Solway? The Church had conquered, but, as we have seen, Heathenism was still strong, and Prudentius had at the most receptive time of boyhood lived through the reign of Julian (Apoth. 449), for whom it is interesting to find he had like St. Augustine a not unkindly feeling, else why does he call him Perfidus ille Deo quamvis non perfidus urbi? a patriot if an apostate? Consequently Prudentius has a good deal to say about idolatry, and if much that he says was said before by Tertullian and others, still we must not think it needed not to be repeated, or that our poet was thrashing a dead horse. By our day many books have been written to shew up the darker side of the Papacy, and each must inevitably be like the rest, while each may do service in its time. So Prudentius devoted a good deal of attention to idolatry, and like many another good man did not notice how much could be said, and would have to be said, about martyrolatry.

Again heresy called for attention. We do our thinking so much in compartments that we do not realize always to what extent things are mixed in this world. We read of Julian, Valentinian, Stilicho, and we read of Athanasius, Jerome and Augustine, but we do not always properly correlate the spheres in which they moved. Prudentius was the contemporary of them all, and in a measure entered into the life of them all. He saw the Roman world as a whole still, though the year 381 marked the beginning of the end, and the ultimate cleavage of East and West. Various questions rose in his mind. Why had God thus

welded the world into one? Long ago Virgil had seen mankind under Roman sway, and in Prudentius' own day Claudian was writing nobly of Rome's imperial destiny with a clearer and a broader view than Virgil's, for he saw the Roman world a world of Romans, and he was himself the symbol of his age, a Roman poet of Egyptian birth and Greek education.

Haec est in gremio victos quae sola recepit, humanumque genus communi nomine fovit, matris non dominae ritu: civesque vocavit quos domuit nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.

In 11. cons. Stil. 150.

But even Claudian does not answer the question, Why? In fact it is one of the mysteries of literature, the detachment of Claudian from the thought of his time, his unconsciousness that men no longer worshipped Jove as of old.

Prudentius rises to the problem in the very spirit of St. Paul. He sees that the object of the unification of mankind under the sway of Rome was the unification of mankind under the sway of Christ. There was to be one earthly and one heavenly empire, the one in order to the other; mankind was to be one in Rome that it might be one in Christ. Christ was the author of Rome's greatness for Himself.

Felices, si cuncta Deo sua prospera Christo principe disposita scissent! qui currere regna certis ducta modis Romanorumque triumphos crescere et impletis voluit se infundere seclis. Adv. Symm. 1, 287.

Vis dicam quae causa tuos Romane labores in tantum extulerit? quis gloria fotibus aucta sic cluat, impositis ut mundum frenet habenis? Discordes linguis populos et dissona cultu regna volens sociare Deus, subjungier uni imperio quidquid tractabile moribus esset, concordique jugo retinacula mollia ferre constituit, quo corda hominum conjuncta teneret religionis amor: nec enim fit copula Christo digna nisi implicitas societ mens unica gentes.

Adv. Symm. 11, 582.

O Christe numen unicum, O splendor, O virtus Patris, O factor orbis et poli atque auctor horum moenium: qui sceptra Romae in vertice rerum locasti, sanciens mundum Quirinali togae servire et armis cedere:

ut discrepantum gentium mores et observantiam, linguasque et ingenia et sacra unis domares legibus.

Steph. 11, 413.

Hoc actum est tantis successibus atque triumphis Romani imperii; Christo jam tunc venienti, crede, parata via est.

Adv. Symm. 11, 618.

It follows then that heathenism is an obstacle to God's designs, but not the only one. When "the Holy War" (for so I think I may correctly mistranslate Psychomachia) is over and every vice is vanquished, a new enemy is discovered within the ranks of the victors-Discord or Heresy, and the names of Photinus and Arius occur immanes feritate lupi. Heresy has to share the fate of Idolatry, Lust, and other enemies, and then the temple of God is built within the soul. So in the case of the world Heresy mars God's intended unity, and must be done away. To what this led we see in the case of a younger contemporary, Nestorius, the bishop of Constantinople, who asked the Emperor to give him earth clear of heretics and he would assure him of heaven in return. Fate's revenges are interesting and Nestorius was an arch-heretic ere he died. Prudentius is very far from such violence, and would use no force with heretic or heathen. In fact I do not remember such liberality in a church man, for he goes so far as to ask the Emperor that attention may be paid to the images of the heathen gods, and that the statues may stand—the works of great artists, fairest ornaments of our land. (Symm. 1, 502.)

We may now turn to the works of Prudentius and pass them in rapid review, beginning with the two Theological poems—the Hamartigeneia and the Apotheosis. In both we may see Theology at smiling strife with Song, and the contest is fairly even, now the one and now the other predominating, much as in Lucretius Science and Song conspire and conflict. I confess to preferring to see the latter victorious in both cases.

The Hamartigeneia deals with the origin of evil—a problem I hasten to say not finally solved by our poet—and with Marcion and his two gods. If Marcion will maintain dividuum regnare Deum, Nature at least knows but one God. If two Gods, why not more? Si duo sunt igitur, cur non sunt multa Deorum millia? One of Marcion's gods is author of evil and the Old Testament, and the maker of man and the universe, but he is more a devil than a god. Inventor vitii non est deus. And then we have the story of Satan's revolt and his envy of man, man's corruption and nature's, (proved at length if by nothing else by our toilet tables), and the general depravation of the senses, though at the beginning it was otherwise, for God saw his work that it was good. Then after a good deal of other matter, and a prodigious parable from nature turning on the life history of the viper which illustrates sin, we have the great question:

Si non vult Deus esse malum eur non vetat? (641)

And the familiar and perhaps only answer:

Non fit sponte bonus cui non est prompta potestas velle aliud probitate coacta (691)

gloria nulla venit sordetque ingloria virtus. (694)

Man has a free choice, and so we come to lines which recall Browning.

Nunc inter vitae dominum mortisque magistrum consistit medius: vocat hine Deus inde tyrannus ambiguum atque suis se motibus alternantem. (721)

No, when the fight begins within himself A man's worth something. God stoops o'er his head Satan looks up between his feet—both tug—He's left himself i' the middle.

Then follow illustrations from Lot and Naomi's daughters-in-law and bird catching, with an allusion to the Two Ways—that wonderful parable, popular from the days of Hercules' choice, and in Prudentius' hands reminding one of Bunyan's Hill Difficulty and its alternative. And so with prayer closes a long but not uninteresting poem.

In the Apotheosis we have to do with a series of heretics. First of all the Patripassian is confounded with references to the manifestations of Christ in the Old Testament—the common property of the defender of the faith from Justin Martyr's days.

Then comes Sabellius, and we have a review of human folly, but does any idolater really believe Jove or dog-faced Anubis is the supreme God? Consult barbati deliramenta Platonis, and despite cocks owed to Æsculapius, the philosophers conclude their arguments with one god. So does the semifer Scotus, who is perhaps Pelagius, the only Scot of note of that day. It is only in Christ

heroum tandem intelleximus orsa priscorum.

(236)

Then the Jew has his turn and is confronted with legis in effigie scriptum per enigmata Christum, and our poet grows eloquent as he demands to know in what literature Christ is not now famous:

Hebraeus pangit stilus, Attica copia pangit pangit et Ausoniae facundia tertia linguae.

(379)and reliearses the triumphs of the cross among Scythians, Goths, Moors, and the world over, and the silencing of the world's oracles, Delphi, Dodona, Ammon and so forth, at the birth of Christ, adding a tale of his boyhood, how the heathen rites of Julian were baulked by a page who wore a cross. exiled Jew is being punished for the death of Christ. With this he turns to the Psilanthropists-Homuncionites or Mannikinists as he calls them—and confronts them with our Lord's miracles, and discusses the nature of the soul, dropping at least one memorable line,

sed speculum deitatis homo est.

(834)

Lastly he deals with the Docetists who held Christ was a phantasm, and really strikes out a fresh thought and a noble one.

Et quid agit Christus si me non suscipit? aut quem liberat infirmum si dedignatur adire carnis onus, manuumque horret monumenta suarum? (1020)

The lines may be not inaptly parallelled by Browning's I never realized God's birth before-How he grew likest God in being born.

Tantus amor terrae, he continues, tanta est dilectio nostri.

So much for the purely theological works of Prudentius, in which, with much that is borrowed and even dull, are many thoughts, brilliant, suggestive, and his own. We now come to his book Peri Stephanon or "The Crowns"—a set of fourteen hymns to martyrs, of very various metres and merits.

Martyrology is generally a dull subject, and the poet who deals with it is destined to repeat himself like a Poet Laureate, who makes birthday odes. Every martyr has a family likeness to every other martyr, and hymns to martyrs grow as monotonous as Heine's songs to young women. Prudentius does his best for them, for he had a Spaniard's love of the Saints and a great enthusiasm for them, and he introduces some new features which are not all successful. Brilliant lines, and even brilliant passages, do not make a brilliant book.

The best of the hymns is perhaps the second, to St. Lawrence, a Spaniard and an archdeacon, who suffered at Rome under Decius. The complaint is made by the Praefectus Urbi that the Church is hoarding wealth and hunting legacies:

ct summa pietas creditur nudare dulces liberos :

charges if not already true soon to be so. Lawrence has three days to produce this wealth, and then brings forward a crowd of pensioners, ne pauperem Christum pules. He is then committed to the "grid iron," and thence utters a remarkable hymn from which I have already quoted. He foresees (no doubt with the aid of the poet's retrospect) a Christian Rome and a Christian Emperor who will close the temples and keep as works of art what now are idols. The hymn ends with a picture of the lights of the Senate, sometime Luperci and Flamens, kissing the thresholds of martyrs' shrines, while afar beyond Alps and Pyrenees the Spanish poet sees the saint in heaven and implores his grace.

Audi benignus supplicem Christi reum Prudentium.

One or two of the hymns border on the humorous. The story of St. Eulalia, a child martyr of Emerita, is told trippingly in a dactylic metre, roughly the first half a Virgilian hexameter, which we also find in Ausonius, though the dactyl was not permanently or comfortably adopted by the Church till the days of the Wesleys. Germine nobilis Eulalia was a sadly precocious child who would be martyred, in very truth a torva puellula. She bearded the prætor, declaimed at large on idolatry, spat at the poor man who was very gentle with her, kicked over the idols and thuribles, and so achieved a martyrdom, the details

of which a Spanish poet could hardly be expected to spare us. The story of St. Cassianus the schoolmaster, delivered over for death to his schoolboys, is amusing enough, but Prudentius took it seriously, for he saw a picture of it all at Forum Cornelii on his way to Rome and was moved to prayer, which the saint granted, receiving the poem as a polite acknowledgement. of the poems (iv) is a mere tour de force perhaps in imitation of Martial's little epigram (i, 62), on the towns of Italy and Spain and their literary glories, but for poets Prudentius puts saints, Caesaraugusta his own town carrying the day with no less than eighteen martyrs crowded into sapphic verse-a great achievement but scarcely poetry. The worst poem of the collection is the martyrdom of St. Romanus, a garrulous worthy who in a speech of two hundred and sixty lines denounces heathenism on the familiar lines of Tertullian, and even when his tongue is cut out talks on for hundreds of lines more. A ridiculous episode in this poem is that of another lamentably precocious child who knows a good deal too much Theology and Physiology for his seven years, and who when a familiar remedy fails

(pusionem praecipit sublime tollant et manu pulsent nates)

is put to death, while his mother sings a psalm to encourage him. Romanus was a real historic character, but Eusebius' account of his martyrdom (M.P. 2) is much milder. A hymn on St. Hippolytus gives a picture of the catacombs, and those on St. Peter and St. Paul, with descriptions of their churches in Rome, have an interest and a value as contemporary accounts of these famous places then recently built.

One turns with relief to the Psychomachia or "Holy War"—a curious blend of Virgil and Bunyan, though not quite equal to either. The War is a series of single conflicts between Virtues and Vices, in which the former invariably win. Lust is overcome by Modesty by the virtue of the Virgin birth of our Lord:

inde omnis jam diva caro est quae concipit illum majestate quidem non degenerante per usum carnis sed miseros ad nobiliora trahente. (80)

Patience waits for Anger to fall of itself. Pride stumbles into a pit, after reviling Humility and her sister graces:

Justitia est ubi semper egens, et pauper Honestas.

Luxury, gorgeously described as she rides to the fray, comes nearer winning the day, but is overthrown by Sobriety, who displays the *Vexillum sublime crucis*,—a favourite theme with Prudentius, who has many noble thoughts on the *Insigne Lignum*. Lastly, as I have said, Heresy is dealt with, and a temple is built to the design of the Apocalypse, with gates and jewels as there described. Altogether it is a bright and interesting work, though one is startled to find how Homerically the Virtues treat the fallen Vices.

The "Daily Round" is again a collection of hymns for various occasions, made more interesting by digressions into Scripture history. They are consequently not adapted for singing, but for poetic touch and thought they rank with the best of Prudentius' work. A few examples will suffice. For the hour of lighting the lamps many hymns were written in early days, which are necessarily short and apt to be jejune. But Prudentius strays very happily to the burning bush, and thence in Moses' company to the Red Sea and the desert and the fiery pillar, and draws from it all very skillfully a parable of Heaven. There are one or two odd little touches in the piece, e.g., even spirits sub Styge have holiday on Easter Eve; candles and lamps are described with some detail and grace, and classed as God's gifts—a pretty thought—for artificial lights are given us

ne nesciret homo spem sibi luminis in Christi solido corpore conditam.

When he writes a hymn for sleep time, he tells of Joseph interpreting dreams in prison and of St. John on Patmos. The sign of the cross on brow and heart before going to bed will keep you safe. His hymn "for all hours" is a graceful poem in trochaic tetrameters, setting forth Christ's glory, his miracles, passion and triumph. That on the Epiphany contains the well-known lines on the Holy Innocents. My favourite, however, is the hymn for before meat. It is in the same metre as the hymn to Eulalia, but more dignified in every way. It opens nobly

O crucifer bone lucisator omniparens pie verbigena

and is full of fine thought never so gracefully expressed. It tells

of the bounties of God, of Eden, and of resurrection, in the spirit of inspired poetry, and prays

fercula nostra Deum sapiant, Christus et influat in pateras: seria ludicra verba jocos, denique quod sumus aut agimus trina superne regat pietas.

But I must forbear to quote lest I transcribe the poem.

We come lastly to the great work, "Against Symmachus." With the triumph of the Church heathenism fell. The Altar of Victory, removed from the Senate by Constantius and restored by Julian, had again been removed. In 384 deputations were sent by the Senate, which was still the stronghold of Paganism, to Valentinian II. to plead for the restoration of the altar to the goddess, even though she were but a name (numen and nomen), and of various immunities to priests and vestals. The petition of Symmachus summed up their requests and pleadings. one to his taste and custom in religion. Every nation had its tutelary genius, and Rome had hers. Let not antiquity go for nothing. The great mystery of life could hardly be discovered by one line of search. Rome personified pled for her old usages, for the Vestals and their due, out of gratitude if for no other reason. In fact, famine and disaster marked heaven's disapproval-not, of course, of the Emperor's new religion, but of the neglect of the old religion.

To this St. Ambrose made a vigorous reply. The old rites had not, as alleged, defended Rome—from Hannibal and the Gauls for example. Rome personified resents her victories being put down to aught but her valour. She is not ashamed to be converted in her old age. As for the great mystery God's voice reveals it to us. Contrast seven Vestals with the multitudes of Christian virgins. Heavy burdens lay on Christian priests who must surrender their taxable property on ordination, while the wealth of the Church was the revenues of the indigent. Why had the famine been so slow in following its cause? As for antiquity everything advanced; agricultural methods were bettered; man himself grew; even Rome had adopted foreign rites. The temples never helped Pompey, Cyrus or Julian, victory being more a matter of legions than religions—the good bishop here anticipating Napoleon.

In 404 Prudentius published two books of hexameters on the same theme. Boissier seems to be right in saying the world was not fully converted and men of letters were still heathen in their libraries, and that a literary presentment of Christianity was needed, for which Symmachus gave as fair an opening to Prudentius as Celsus did to Origen.

He begins by saying Plato's dream of philosophers for kings is realized in Christian Emperors, and proceeds to shew up the heathen Pantheon, as Tertullian had done before. Heathenism is so longlived because of early training, and he has a fine passage on the heathen associations of childhood and growing years opening out with further initiation into pagan rites. He boldly attacks the gladiatorial games with which heathenism made no attempt to cope, and tells the story of Constantine's victory at the Mulvian Bridge and his speech to the Senate, of the Senate's conversion and how sua secula Roma erubuit, and finally tells Symmachus that to a Christian Emperor he owes his rise in the world. So much for the first book. It is interesting throughout to remark the kindly and respectful way in which Prudentius always speaks of Symmachus. Courtesy is not always the mark of Christian controversy in the fathers.

In the second book he repeats Ambrose's points about victory won by labor impiger, aspera virtus, about progress and other things, but adds much of his own which is better and undreamt of by Ambrose. Once more he approximates to Browning:

Nonne hominem et pecudem distantia separat una? quod bona quadrupedum ante oculos sita sunt: ego contra

shero.

Progress, man's distinctive mark alone, Not God's, and not the beasts': God is, they are, Man partly is and wholly hopes to be.

If there is no future, he continues in fine declamation, let us eat and drink and break every law at once. Where Symmachus introduced Rome as speaking, Prudentius introduces God speaking of man's creation, end and resurrection, and pleading for a temple of mind not marble. Curiously enough, here as elsewhere, Prudentius does not mention truth as belonging to the spiritual temple. He makes great game of the genius of Rome, and of immigrant gods.

Non divum degener ordo et patria extorris Romanis adfuit armis.

No, it was God who made Rome for His own ends, that Rome might make mankind one, and so prepare the way for Christ. Rome too is personified, congratulating herself on having sloughed off her former taints, on being free from danger from the Goths, through Christ and His servants, the Emperor and Stilicho. As for the many ways to the great mystery, one is right if rough and hard, and the others are wrong if pleasant, and his language recalls Hesiod. The famine! nobody goes to the Circus hungry! and he concludes with an entreaty for the abolition of the gladiatorial shows—

nullus in urbe cadat cujus sit poena voluptas. (1125)

This rapid sketch must suffice for the works of Prudentius, but a few points of style remain to be considered. To begin with his failings. He had the characteristic fault of his training. All the rhetoric-bred poets declaim from Lucan onward. They cannot break loose from the school of rhetoric. They lack imagination and balance, and are carried away by language. Prudentius rarely knows when to leave off. One or two samples will serve. A common taunt against the heathen gods is that they betrayed their own lands to Rome. This is how Prudentius sets it.

Juppiter ut Cretae domineris, Pallas ut Argis, Cynthius ut Delphis, tribuerunt omine dextro. Isis Nilicolas, Rhodios Cytherea reliquit, venatrix Ephesum virgo. Mars dedidit Hebrum; destituit Thebas Bromius, concessit et ipsa Juno suos Phrygiis servire nepotibus Afros.

Adv. Symm. 11, 489.

Is not this to make catalogues rather than poetry? When speaking of the way which does not lead to the great mystery and its ramifications, he spends seventeen lines in detailing some thirteen forms of heathenism—the worship of Bacchus, Cybele, etc. Again the Star in the East outshone the Zodiac, and we have some twelve lines describing how each of nine signs was affected, and the sun too. Contrast Horace's moderation when Astrology tempted him to prolixity. The jewel gates of the New Jerusalem at the end of the Holy War take fifteen lines, as jewel after jewel is invoiced.

But this is not all. For besides what may be called relevant overloading, we have overloading which is irrelevant. Prudentius could tell a story and could not refrain. So we have plentiful digressions into stories, interesting no doubt and well told, but not needed. They are generally Biblical.

Though his sententiae are often crisp and clear, he has a tendency at times to let his thoughts draggle—whether from age or from impatience. Contrast Virgil's perfect sentences with never a word too much and these which continue for metrical reasons when you have expected them to stop.

While in hexameters Prudentius seems fairly strong, in argumentative passages, like Lucretius and Juvenal, he is almost bound to drop into ending lines with quadrisyllables or pairs of disyllables—especially when he expounds the Trinity—and the effect is not happy. His quantities, though generally, are not always classical—Greek diphthongs and long vowels being often shortened, e.g., rhomphaealis, haeresis, Paraclitum; and short vowels lengthened, e.g., charisma catholicus (too tempting a word metrically) sophia. Cui may be scanned as a long or short monosyllable, two short syllables or a short and a long.

His spondaic hexameters are fairly numerous and not very impressive. His pentameters are weak. I do not find his alliterations very dignified or always very musical.

On the other hand, he is a master of narrative clear cut and effective. His language is often graceful and pointed, and he brings out his thoughts well. His prologues, for example, are masterpieces. He is particularly striking in his use of the form Asyndeton.

Metrically he has redeeming qualities which outweigh his defects. His hexameters are varied and easy, and his elisions frequent enough to relieve monotony without producing roughness. He is in this respect a wonderful contrast to Juvencus, whose lines are all alike and all lacking in elision. The careful student of Virgil will feel instinctively how important this is. In fine, if Prudentius' hexameters are not equal to Virgil's (and no Latin poet's ever were), they are still telling, vigorous and metrically good. He employs, besides, a considerable number of lyrical metres and handles them like a master. Many of them

are Horatian, and the rest may be paralleled in contemporary poets.

Of his indebtedness to previous poets, particularly to Virgil, much might be written. I will here content myself with remarking that I have found a number of cases of direct imitations, or perhaps of echoes of Juvenal; one or two cases of the influence of Propertius and Lucan, and a good few of Lucretius. I have noted some thirty instances of indebtedness to Horace. These are the truits of ordinary reading. To Virgil I have given more attention, and I have gathered some one hundred and fifty instances of his influence. Some were cases of undisguised pilfering: e.g.

Christe graves hominum semper miserate labores Psych. 1.
Phoebe graves Trojae semper miserate labores Aen. VI, 56.
others are more honest reminiscences or echoes:

Martis congressibus impar Ps. 549. impar congressus Achilli Aen. I, 495. ad astra doloribus itur Cath. x, 92. sic itur ad astra Aen. Ix, 641.

Others again would be less marked if not so numerous, e.g., such phrases as Psych. 40 gramineo in campo, 41 fulget in armis, 49 adacto transadigit gladio, which are Virgil's: others less conspicuous are metrical parallels if the phrase may be allowed: e.g.

funalis machina Ps. 866. fatalis machina Aen. II, 237. femina provocat arma virum Steph. III, 36.

Again there are instances of what I may call deliberate quotation: e.g. when Constantine comes to Rome as a Christian victor and the Empire becomes Christian.

denique nec metas statuit, nec tempora ponit: imperium sine fine docet, etc. Symm. 1, 542.

This same Virgilian influence is found in very many Latin poets, and is not at all extraordinary when we remember that Virgil was the popular educator of Europe for centuries, and would still be a better one than many in use to-day.

We have seen something of the Spaniard with his national love of and pride in the Spanish saints, his interest in martyrdoms and his devotion; of the Roman proud of his Roman citizenship, jealous of his country's honour lest it be usurped by false gods, and above all bound up in a Christian Rome and its mission; of the man of letters, the poet, the artist; one side of him remains—and that may best be set forth in his own words. When we have seen the whole man, and have studied him all round, and in relation to his times, we cease to think of the points strange and even grotesque to-day, but feel that here is a true man, as enlightened as he is true, as good a Christian as he is an artist.

Gifts for God the Father wrought
To Him true, pure, and holy spirits offer;
Gifts of honest mind and thought,
The riches of a heav'n blest life they proffer.

Wealth another man may bring,
The needs and sorrows of the poor relieving:
1, alack! can only sing,
Swift Trochee and Iambus interweaving.

Scanty holiness is mine,
Nor can I help the needy, rich alms flinging;
Yet will deign my Lord Divine
To lend a Father's ear to my poor singing.

In the mansion of the great
Stand needful furnishments in rack and trestle;
Gleams the gold and silver plate,
The bowl of polished brass and earthen vessel.

Wrought of precious ivory
Or carved of oak—or simple elmwood platters—
What their nature, so each be
Meet for the Master's use, it nothing matters.

There are uses for them all,
Great cost or small is not of use the token.
Me within my father's hall
Christ found: He came and found me old and broken.

Yet has Christ a need of me,
Though but a moment's space I have my station;
Use and place there still can be
For me within the Palace of Salvation.

Be the service ne'er so slight God owns it. Then whatever Time is bringing, This shall still be my delight That Christ has had the tribute of my singing.

T. R. GLOVER.

## SUNDAY LAWS.

ROM a time beyond the surviving records of man the seventh day seems to have been sacred. Its distinctive observance is one of the most ancient customs which have come down to us. How this began and has continued, what changes it has undergone, what has survived, what elements in it are permanent and vital, what claims it makes upon us to-day, are questions on which theologians, historians and scholars generally have differed and still differ, and the average man must be content to leave them unsettled, but an institution more than six thousand years old must have raison d'etre worthy of most serious consideration, in order to determine in what relation men stand to it to-day, and what claims it makes upon them.

The first definite form in which we find it is in the laws of Moses, but this is clearly not its beginning, and does not claim to be: on the contrary "Remember the rest-day" implies that the rest-day was no new thing, the words are wholly inconsistent with the notion that Moses was promulgating a new law; and it seems to be well established that the seventh day was sacred in Egypt, Assyria, and other Eastern countries. Some eminent scholars connect it with the week of seven days which had existed from time immemorial in almost all Eastern countries, and of which Laplace says, "Its origin is lost in the most remote antiquity-it circulates through ages, mixing itself with the calendars of different races. It is perhaps the most ancient and incontestible monument of human knowledge, it appears to point out a common source whence that knowledge proceeded." The week might have been suggested by the phases of the moon, or by the number of the planets known in ancient times, an origin which is rendered more probable from the names universally given to the different days of which it is composed. According to Dio Cassius, the Egyptian week began on Saturday, but on their flight from Egypt the Israelites, from hatred to their ancient oppressors, made Saturday the last day of the week. \*

<sup>\*</sup> IV Ency. Brit. 665.

Dr. Robertson Smith says: "What is certain is that the origin of the Sabbath must be sought within a circle that used the week as a division of time. It is found in various parts of the world in a form that has nothing to do with astrology or the seven planets; and with such a distribution as to make it pretty certain that it had no artificial origin, but suggested itself independently and for natural reasons to different peoples, in fact the four quarters of the moon supply an obvious division of the month, and wherever new moon and full moon are religious occasions we get in the most natural way a sacred cycle of fourteen or fifteen days, of which the week of seven or eight days (determined by half moon) is the half. Thus the old Hindus chose the new and the full moon as days of sacrifice. . . It is most significant that in the older parts of the Hebrew Scriptures the new moon and the Sabbath are almost invariably mentioned together. We cannot tell when the Sabbath became dissociated from the month, but the change seems to have been made before the book of the Covenant, which already regards it simply as an institution of humanity and ignores the new moon."\*

This view teaches that the Sabbath was a product from natural causes operating among primitive peoples, and that it gradually assumed the definite form which it has in the law of Moses, and which it has continued to hold ever since throughout the greater part of the Christian world.

It was originally a festival, which meant a day specially and publicly set apart for religious observances. "To trace the festivals of the world through all their variations would be to trace the entire history of human religion and human civilization."

"Of the Jewish feasts, which are usually traced to a pre-Mosaic origin, the most important and characteristic was the weekly Sabbath, but special importance was also attached from a very early date to the lunar periods. In Leviticus 23rd chapter, where the list is most fully given, they seem to be arranged with a conscious reference to the sacred number

<sup>\*</sup> xx1 Ency. Brit. 126. Ency. Brit. ix, 113. Ency. Brit. Festivals, p. 17.

The concurrence of testimony seems to indicate that the Sabbath was a religious festival and holy day amongst the Israelites, whilst still at the tribal and patriarchal stage of their history, that it had been so for ages before Moses, that if we regard it as a human institution we would say that it had grown up in the same way as the laws and customs of all ancient peoples have done.

"The larger mass of the law of every country has begun its growth long before the existence of the supreme political authority in being at any particular moment, and this mass of law was silently recognized and indeed formed the support of some of the main institutions of the state long before it attracted the attention of that authority."\*

"Ancient laws for many generations were not committed to writing, but transmitted from father to son with the formulas of religion."

They were all believed to be of Divine origin. "If legislator means a man who creates a code of laws by the power of his genius and imposes it on other men, then such legislators did not exist among the ancients."

"Solon, Lycurgus, Minos and Numa simply put in writing the existing laws of their cities." ‡

Again, the institution in Moses' day is full-grown. So far as regards its external form we can't improve on it now. King Alfred re-enacted it almost *verbatim*, and the modern legislation on the subject is directed towards matters of detail.

"To the Jews the Sabbath was a religious festival, a day of joy and delight. It was to be honoured by wearing finer clothes, by three special meals of the best the house could afford; fasting, mourning, mortification of every kind, were strictly forbidden. This character of cheerfulness and rest from the toil of the world's business, of quiet and peaceful return to oneself, of joyous communion with friends and kindred over good cheer, in short of mental and bodily relaxation and recreation that maketh the heart glad while the sublime ideas which it symbolizes are re-

<sup>\*</sup> Amos, Science of Law, 48.

<sup>†</sup> Baker, Ancient State, 127.

<sup>!</sup> Baker.

called to the memory at every step and turn, seems to have prevailed at all times down to our own among the Jews."\*

At the same time it was a holy convocation, *i.e.*, a religious assembly, in which readings and some kind of exposition of the law formed the principal features.

From the Christian era the day was changed, but the institution continued. Christ instituted no festival or sacred day, but he affirmed that the Sabbath was instituted for the whole human race. He fulfilled it as he did other Jewish laws by putting a profounder meaning into it. The first legislative recognition of Sunday after the Christian era is in the edict of Constantine (321) which implies that the day was then observed as a Christian institution. It runs thus: "Let all judges, inhabitants of cities, and artificers, rest on the venerable Sunday, but in the country husbandmen may freely and lawfully apply to the business of agriculture, since it often happens that the sowing of corn and planting of vines cannot be so advantageously performed on any other day, lest by neglecting the opportunity they should lose the benefits which the Divine bounty bestows upon us."

The Church in the year 538 recommended rather than enjoined, by the Third Council of Orleans, abstinence from agricultural labour on Sunday, in order "that the people might have time to go to church and say their prayers."

The exception of agricultural labour in the edict of Constantine was repealed by the Emperor Leo about the end of the ninth century. Nearly all the Anglo-Saxon kings, from Withraed to Canute, legislated on this subject, and the substance of their laws can perhaps best be given in the words of Dr. Lingard:

"The Anglo-Saxon legislature prohibited on the Sunday not only all predial labour and every kind of handicraft by which men of low and servile condition were accustomed to earn their livelihood, but also the field sports of hunting and hawking, the dissipation of travelling, the sale or purchase of merchandise, the prosecution of family feuds, the holding of courts of justice, &c. If a clerk was convicted of working on a Sunday he was adjudged to pay a fine of one hundred and twenty shillings; if a free servant, acting of his own will, to the loss of liberty or a fine of fifty shillings, and so on of other classes. From the exemption from labour thus granted to the working classes, the Sunday itself was called a freols-day or day of freedom."

Chambers' Ency. Art. Sunday, 398.

From the Conquest down to the Reformation the chief laws affecting Sunday were the Acts passed by Richard II. and Henry IV, enjoining the practice of archery on that day. There was similar legislation in Scotland about fifty years later (1467).

The Reformation was attended with a general dissolution of Church authority in those countries which did not provide adequately for the transition period. So it might have been in England had not legislation enforced church attendance and church influence. An Act of Edward VI. provides that "all inhabitants of the realm must endeavour to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed or upon reasonable let thereof to some usual place where common prayer is used every Sunday upon pain of the censure of the Church." There is an implied prohibition of work on Sunday, but going to church is the main point.

There is no civil penalty in this statute, but there is in the next, the church censures perhaps losing their effect. I. Elizabeth, cap. 3, is substantially a re-enactment of the Statute of Edward, but it adds a fine of one shilling for those who fail to go to church.

At the end of Elizabeth's reign there is a canon providing that all manner of persons within the Church of England shall celebrate and keep the Lord's Day.

The propensity to travel on Sunday is deep-seated in human nature. It troubled the Jewish rabbis, and it has received the attention of Christian legislators from Constantine down to Mr. Hardy. Charles the I. dealt with the evil in his day in a manner interesting still. III Charles I, chapter I, runs thus: "Forasmuch as the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, is much broken and profaned by carriers, waggoners, carters, wain-men, butchers and drovers of cattle, to the great dishonour of God and reproach of religion, be it therefore enacted that no carrier, &c., shall travel upon the said day upon pain that every person so offending shall lose a forfeit of twenty shillings for every such offence."

The Puritans devoted some attention to the proper observance of the Sabbath, and there is an ordinance of the Long Parliament by which "vainly and profanely walking" on the Sabbath Day is prohibited.

We come next to the statute, parts of which are substantially the law of Sunday in this Province to-day, 29 Charles II, chap. 7. It is an Act "For the better observation and keeping holy the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday," and it provides that all the laws enacted and in force concerning the observance of the Lord's Day and repairing to the church thereon be carefully put in force, and that all and every person and persons whatsoever shall on every Lord's Day apply themselves to the observation of the same by exercising themselves thereon in the duties of piety and true religion, publicly and privately, and that no tradesman, artificer, workman, labourer or other person whatsoever, shall do or exercise any worldly labour, business or work of their ordinary callings upon the Lord's Day.

II. That no drover, horse courser, waggoner, butcher, higler, &c., shall travel, &c., on that day.

It further provided that the Sunday traveller who was robbed should have no action against the Hundred for compensation under the Statute of 13 Edward I. A certain man was robbed in 1721, while in his coach on his way with his wife to the parish church, and he brought his action against the Hundred. This Statute of Charles was set up as a defence, but the court said that going to his parish church was not travelling within the statute, which was made for the better observation of the Lord's Day, and by the statute of I Elizabeth every one is to go to his parish church on Sunday, and the Chief Justice remarked that if they had been going to make visits the decision might have been otherwise.

The Act of Charles is the chief statute governing the observance of the Lord's Day in England.

Coming to America we find the principle of this statute generally in force by express enactment or by inheritance from colonial days. California is an exception. She has repealed her Sunday laws. There has been difficulty in America in separating the two things which form the institution—rest and worship. In a country where all religions are to be free and equal there are objections to legislating on the subject of worship, and so it is held that "the object of Sunday legislation is to make Sunday a day of rest, and to prevent private citizens from being disturbed in their enjoyment of the day by others practising their ordinary

trades and pursuits or indulging in disturbing and boisterous amusements."\*

Illustrating the American Sunday of a century ago there is an interesting note in Washington's diary under date of Nov. 8, 1789, when he was journeying through Connecticut. "It being contrary to law and disagreeable to the people of this State to travel on the Lord's Day, and my horses after passing through such intolerable roads wanting rest, I stayed at Perkin's tavern (which, by the by, is not a good one) all day; and a meeting-house being within a few rods of the door, I attended morning and evening service and heard very lame discourses from a Mr. Pond."

That law still remains in force in Connecticut. One of the best expressions of American judicial opinion on the subject is that of Judge Woodward, of Pennsylvania: "We have no right to give up this institution—it has come down to us with the most solemn sanctions both of God and man, and it we do not appreciate it as we ought we are at least bound to preserve it."

In Ontario we have the Act of Charles II. slightly modified, and it is noteworthy that the preamble has now disappeared. When first enacted in 1845 our Lord's Day Act is declared to be "for the better observance and keeping holy the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday," "which day ought to be duly observed and kept holy," and it is enacted that "all laws in force for the observance of the Lord's Day and repairing to the church thereon be carefully put in execution." Indians and corporations are exempt from the operation of this Act.

It implies that the Christian religion is part of the law of our land, wherein possibly we are better off than our American neighbours.

Four things are dealt with in these Sunday laws—work, worship, travel, amusement—but one main purpose seen in them all is to separate one day in seven from the pursuits of daily life. Whether work, or play, or travel, is forbidden, or church attendance enjoined, this day is to be kept apart from the other six. The Puritan makes it a fast, the Cavalier a feast, the Jew rejoices, the Scot strives to attain a spiritual height beyond his

<sup>\* 24</sup> Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law, 538. Hohnson v. Conn., 22 Pa., St., 109.

reach, the animal man takes a holiday, but to all alike this day means rest from the daily routine, time to think, opportunity to be a man, (especially does it mean this to the working-man who goes to work on six days before his children are awake and gets home at night after they are asleep). The institution has a vitality that survives the rise and fall of empires, it persists through all changes of place, and time, and circumstance. The day is changed, the grounds of its observance are different in different ages, the mode of observance varies in East and West, and from age to age, but the rest-day remains.

"Immutably survive for our support
The measures and the forms which an abstract intelligence supplies."

Does the man of the Victorian era need this day less or more than the man of the Mosaic age or of King Alfred's day? Human life is fuller and richer than ever it was in many ways, but there is no more time. In truth there is less. The higher spirits have been wont to withdraw themselves from the noise and bustle of men in order to commune with the unseen, and by so doing they have sometimes enriched humanity. In the artificial conditions of modern life is it less necessary to create a silence and stillness into which the spirit may withdraw itself?

"In all times men of religious genius and aspiration have sought in the silence of the hills, places of adoration and communion, for which the crowded streets of cities made no room."

Can we devise a better way of cultivating our higher nature than the way which has come down to us from the remotest past. For the average man there is no other visible. If he cannot once a week put off the yoke and dismiss the cares, and worries, and trivialities, and meannesses, that mingle with the daily toil, and think upward, his life is not worth living. We have shortened the hours of labour, we have heard "the cry of the children" and protected them from oppressive factory labour, but we are letting Sunday go.

We boast that our flag floats over no slave, but the slave was free from toil on Sundays, and many of our fellow-citizens are not. It is said that in the land of liberty south of us two millions of men work on Sunday—say one in ten of the men of the nation—and we are following this lead. In the year 1838 a Sunday train started on the Eastern Railway, near Boston, and ran

till 1847, when it stopped for want of patronage. It is running now profitably. Fifty years ago the Sunday newspaper was unknown. Forty years ago the Grand Trunk Railway ran no trains on Sunday except "perishable freight." Some years ago it started Sunday evening trains from Toronto and Montreal. Within the last year or two it has started day trains on Sunday. Fifty years ago Macaulay made a great speech in the British House of Commons on the ten hours' bill. He said,—connecting England's commercial supremacy with her Sunday rest:—

"Therefore it is that we are not poorer, but richer, because we have through many ages rested from our labour one day in seven. That day is not lost. While industry is suspended, while the plough lies in the furrow, while the Exchange is silent, while no smoke ascends from the factory, a process is going on, quite as important to the wealth of nations as any process which is performed on more busy days. Man, the machine of machines, the machine compared with which all the contrivances of the Watts and the Arkwrights are worthless, is repairing and winding up, so that he returns to his labours on the Monday with clearer intellect, with livelier spirits, with renewed corporal vigour. Never will I believe that what makes a population stronger and healthier and wiser and better can ultimately make it poorer."

High authorities say that Sunday rest is necessary to restore the physical strength after six days' labour—that the physiological argument is the strongest of all. Said Proudhon, "The certainty of science is proved by the result. Decrease the week by one day only and the labour is insufficient for the repose, increase it by the same amount and it is too much"\*

Humboldt says: "In Paris, in the time of the revolution, I saw this institution, despite its Divine origin, superseded by the dry and wooden decimal system. Only the tenth day was what we call Sunday, and all customary work was continued for nine long days. This being evidently too long, Sunday was kept by several as far as the police laws would permit it, and thus again too much idleness was the result."

Napoleon, who possessed some of the wisdom of the statesman, restored the Christian Sunday in 1803.

Writing of the masses of the working-class in Paris and other French cities, to whom Sunday is to-day unknown, Mr. W. S. Lilly, the author of "On Right and Wrong," says:

<sup>\*</sup>On the Observance of Sunday, p. 67. †Letters to a Friend, 1849.

"For these multitudes bereft of belief in God and immortality the luminous vision which once lighted up life with poetry and transfigured it with celestial radiance has faded away, leaving them poor indeed: better fed, better clothed, it may be, but more animal, less god-like, the only gleam of imaginative happiness left them. . . supplied by Monday drunkenness in which they drown the recollection of their Sunday toil."

The tendency to encroach on the Sabbath is as old as the institution itself. All the legislation here noted has been directed towards holding in check this tendency. The corporation of the period brings a new element into the play of forces more potent than any other in several respects; and it is not on the side of the Sabbath. In truth the great corporations are our chief Sabbath-breakers, the small ones crack it too.

Corporations to-day constitute a fifth estate in the realm, and they threaten to swallow up the other four. Their influence operates like a law of gravitation on all within its reach. It is invisible and pervasive as the air. A combine of our great railways could take the country by the throat, and the result of the struggle would be uncertain. Corporations don't keep the commandments. The railway director goes to church on Sunday and repeats the fourth commandment, and prays, "Lord incline our hearts to keep this law," whilst his railway train train is rushing through it, fifty miles an hour.

The Canadian Sunday is said to be the Puritan Sunday with modern improvements. The Puritan Sunday was one of the early settlers in this Province. It came over with the United Empire Loyalists, and the people from the home-land also brought it with them. They cherished it, for it had a good record. Under its influence the founders of American literature were bred—Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Lowell, Holmes. What it did for England may be judged by such products of its training as Cromwell's "Ironsides," of whom Macaulay tells us, that after the Restoration, "The discarded warriors prospered beyond other men, that none was charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask an alms, and that if a baker, a mason or a waggoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers."

Our Sunday of to-day has just been written of by Dr. Goldwin Smith in these words:

"It is impossible to insist on the obligation of keeping the Jewish Sabbath, the day on which the Creator rested after the six days' work of creation; and in fact we do not keep it, our Sunday being the first day of the week, and not the seventh. But the Sabbath has glided into the Day of Rest, of spiritual rest for those who are spiritually minded, of rest at all events for all, and of Sabbath stillness after the noise and bustle of the week. The French revolutionists, when they undertook to make new heavens and a new earth on the principles of Reason and Rousseau, substituting the tenth day for the seventh, found it would not do. Sunday has ceased to be an article of the law, but it remains an article of human nature."\*

This paper is not an attempt to defend the institution of Sunday on economic or physiological grounds, or to state the arguments for its moral and spiritual obligations. To do any of these things would require an article based on a special equipment of information. The sketch here outlined contributes to the defence of the Day of Rest only in its own item, namely, that what has for so many ages been regarded as a boon—that which has become "an article of human nature," ought not to be exploited by corporations, nor abstracted from one part of the community for the pleasure or gratification of another part, nor should it be lightly and thoughtlessly allowed to slip out of our hands.

\*Christmas Globe.

G. M. MACDONNELL.

## ROCK OF AGES.

DONE INTO THE RHYMED TROCHAICS OF THE ORIGINAL.

- Pro me scisse, Jesu mi, In te oro abscondi.
   Lympha undans ex corde Cum cruore mundet me. Purus ero sic culpa, Castus tota in vita.
- Nil est labor, coram te, Christo, justo judice. Fides valet nil ardens, Oculusve semper flens. Solus Tu Salvator es, Munda me, nam tu potes.
- Mecum fero nil ad te, Sed ad crucem verto me. Nudus vestem te rogo, Debilis ad te volo. Me immundum fons purget, Moriturum renovet.
- 4. Dum in vita maneo, Quando mortem obeo, Quum in coelum evehor, Ac cum mortuis judicor, Pro me scisse, Jesu mi, In te oro abscondi.

A. B. NICHOLSON.

## THE PACIFIC CABLE.

EVERYWHERE it is apparent that, the British Empire is being formed by a process of growth and development and there are many forces actively in operation, all tending to give it shape and strength and distinctive character. Lofty ideals are entertained by men of thought, experience and patriotism; but the future is veiled from us, and we cannot foretell the precise form of relationship which will eventually be assumed by members of the British family of nations in so many meridians of longitude.

If the form of the development to be attained is not clearly foreseen, it can at least be said that the entire British people in all parts of the globe are inspired by a unity of sentiment, and that they are simultaneously moving onwards in one general direction. Progress is the watchword in all quarters. It is impossible not to recognize, the advancement perceptible in the colonies of the southern seas, and equally, the amazing vitality in British Africa. The Dominion of Canada plays an important part in moulding the destiny of her own people and in promoting more intimate relationships between the motherland and the colonies.

It is but thirty years since the scattered Provinces of British North America became federated in one government. The Dominion thus created inherited many remarkable advantages. It can lay claim to the most important geographical position, owing to its extension between the two great oceans; a position which confers the only means of establishing under the British flag communications between the eastern and western territories of the globe. It enjoys the possession of vast fields of the richest virgin soil, with still unexplored mineral regions of immense extent and presumably of immense value. The population retains the high qualities of the foremost nations of western Europe from which it has sprung, and the wide expanse of unoccupied areas leaves ample room for a large accession to its number. These rich possessions of the Dominion give promise under wise guidance of a splendid future.

It soon became evident, that the development of a country continental in its extent exacted public works of corresponding magnitude. Lines of railway and telegraph were projected from ocean to ocean, and immediately after Confederation, both were proceeded with. In 1874 the policy of establishing the telegraph in advance of the railway was determined upon, and as a corollary to the trans-continental telegraph the proposal to extend the electric wire across the Pacific naturally followed. can be said that ever since the telegraph reached the coast of British Columbia the Pacific cable has engaged public attention, and that the necessity of this undertaking has been repeatedly It received recognition in the conference of representative colonial statesmen in London in 1887, in that of Ottawa in 1894, at telegraph and postal conferences in Australasia almost annually, and at various times by chambers of commerce at home and abroad.

The dominant idea with those who have most strongly advocated the establishment of a Pacific cable has been the unity of the Empire. They foresaw the difficulty of effecting any practical union between communities separated by distance, so long as they remained without the means of direct and cheap communication. At the same time it was plain to them that a telegraph across the ocean would foster trade and commerce—the life of an Empire such as ours.

Among the memorable gatherings of representative men, not the least important was the Conference of Premiers in London on the occasion of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee. these statesmen met, hopes had been entertained that some definite action would be determined for the inauguration of the scheme. Preparations had long been made for joint action. It was one of the chief objects set apart for special consideration at the conference of the Imperial and Australasian governments held at With this view, the Canadian government, Ottawa in 1894. agreeably to a resolution of the Conference, obtained much information on the subject, and transmitted it to all the governments interested in the projected work. Soon afterwards the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Chamberlain) invited the Canadian and Australasian governments to send representatives to London for the purpose of taking part in an Imperial

Committee to be appointed specially to receive evidence and consider the project in every detail. The Committee first met on June 5th, 1896, and on January 5th, 1897 they reported the results of an exhaustive enquiry.

The proceedings of the committee and the conclusions which have been formed have not been made public. They have been repeatedly asked for, but as nothing transpired respecting the labours of the committee up to the Jubilee week, the opinion gained ground that when the Conference was concluded full information would be given to the public with the decision arrived at by the Imperial authorities and the Colonial premiers. In many quarters it was expected that action would on that occasion be taken, and that the inauguration of the cable would result as a practical outcome of the Queen's Jubilee.

The old proverb tells us that it is often the unexpected which comes to pass. The proceedings of the Conference of Premiers were first made known to the public by an article purporting to be published by authority in the London Standard of July 25th, and the subject of the Pacific cable is thus alluded to:

"The Conference left the Pacific cable scheme in mid-air, and it is very unlikely that anything more will be heard of it for a considerable time. The position was entirely changed by a proposal by the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company to lay an all British line from Western Australia across the Indian Ocean to Mauritius, thence connecting with the Cape and St. Helena and Ascension. . . . . . The Eastern Extension Company, it is understood, does not ask for a direct subsidy for the new lines, but seeks other concessions from the Australasian governments which if made will justify them in proceeding with the work."

In the account of the conference of premiers laid before the British Parliament, there is a reference, in two sentences, to the cable, no mention however is made of any proposal having been submitted by the Eastern Extension Company. But the premier of New South Wales (Mr. Reid) returned home from England through Canada, and being interviewed by reporters in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, confirmed the statement with respect to the proposal of the Eastern Extension Company. The character of the concessions asked by the company has not been made public, but it has been stated that they desire to obtain exclusive rights for Australia on condition that they connect the colonies with the Cape and lay a new cable from the Cape to

England via St. Helena, Ascension Island, Sierra Leone or Bathurst and Gibraltar. This scheme is put forward by the company as a substitute for the Pacific Cable.

Owing to the fact that telegraphic connection with the Cape is at present extremely defective the proposal of the company is undoubtedly of great importance to South Africa.

There are two telegraphic routes from England to Cape Colony. Both have landing stations at Lisbon, one passes through the Mediterranean to Alexandria, through Egypt to Suez, through the Red Sea to Aden, and from Aden the cable follows the east coast of Africa, touching among other points at Mozambique and Delagoa Bay in foreign territory. The other route leaves the first at Lisbon and follows the west coast of Africa, touching at some fourteen points; eight of which are under foreign flags, those of Portugal, France and Spain.

Interruptions are frequent on both routes. There is evidence to establish that during the past four years communication between England and the Cape has been broken many times, and that the aggregate interruptions have averaged in each year 75 days on the west coast route, and 87 days on the east coast route; showing that each cable is unavailable from six to seven days While this refers to the average period that the cables have been thrown out of use, the durations of single interruptions have varied from one to 30 or 40 days. As both lines are liable to be broken at the same time serious inconveniences have not seldom resulted. Every one will remember this contingency occurring when the Transvaal difficulty was at its height. Intense anxiety was then caused during the cable interruption of eleven days, when South Africa was passing through an acute crisis in her history.

Obviously a new cable to the Cape is much required, and as the frequent interruptions to traffic by the two present routes is to a large extent owing to the fact that the cables are laid in the shallow water which prevails along the African coasts, they are in consequence exposed to accidents to which cables in deep waters are not subjected. That part of the proposal, to touch at St. Helena and Ascension, where the water is of ample depth, would give to the cable the necessary security and avoid the difficulties experienced on the present routes. It is, however,

not so clear that the northern half of the new cable would be so fortunate. By landing at Sierra Leone or Bathurst and Gibraltar and terminating in Cornwall, the cable of necessity would be laid for some distance in shallow seas, where it would be exposed to injury from various causes, and where too, the agent of an unfriendly nation, or indeed, an evil disposed fisherman, would have it in his power to destroy the cable with ease, totally unobserved. For hundreds of miles it would be exposed to such risks.

The question may be asked, would not this proposed new cable from England to the Cape with an extension to Australia be of general advantage? To such a question there is but one answer. It certainly would be of general as well as special advantage for the reason that we cannot have too many lines of communication. They are needed in the every-day business of trade and shipping, and moreover we must come to recognize that a complete telegraph system ramifying wherever Her Majesty's wide domain extends is an essential condition of the life and integrity of the British Empire. It is on this and on other grounds impossible to admit the claim of the Eastern Extension Company, that the proposal submitted by them is preferable to a trans-Pacific cable, and that it will render it unnecessary.

At the Colonial Conference of 1894, the outline of a telegraph system for the Empire was submitted. It was not confined to one side of the globe; the system projected, embraced and encircled its whole extent. The scheme was illustrated by a map of the world, with the chief cable lines laid down upon it. If the proceedings of the Conference be referred to, it will be seen that a trunk line of telegraph was projected from London through Canada to Australasia, with extensions to South Africa, India It was shown that by the Canadian route all the chief British possessions on the four continents would be brought into electric touch with each other and with the Imperial centre in London. It was demonstrated, moreover, that this result could be accomplished without touching a single acre of foreign soil, and without traversing shallow seas where cables are most liable to injury from ship's anchors and other causes, and where they can be so easily fished up and destroyed. No fact can with greater confidence be affirmed than that the cables by the Canadian route would be far less vulnerable than the existing cables, or those now projected by the Eastern Extension Company. But even if no advantage in this respect could be claimed, it requires no argument to prove that telegraphic connection between England and Australasia would be infinitely less subject to interruption from accident or wilful injury, by having the Canadian line established, in addition to the Eastern Extension lines, especially as the former would be on the opposite side of the globe and far removed from the immediate theatre of European complications.

It is not possible to believe that any one disassociated from, and uninfluenced by, the Eastern Extension Company, can view the proposed Canadian Pacific cable with disfavour. If it be important to strengthen the connection between the United Kingdom and the out-lying portions of the Empire, no one can question its necessity. But the Eastern Extension Company has never taken a friendly view of the Pacific cable. the first it has been its determined opponent. The proceedings of the Colonial Conferences of 1887 and of 1894 give evidence of this fact. The report on the mission to Australia by the Canadian delegates gives some indication of the intense and persistent antagonism displayed by the Company and the manner in which its powerful influence has been employed to thwart the enterprise. It may not be an unwarranted surmise that the immediate purpose of the company in submitting to the Conference of Premiers their new proposal was to divert attention from the Pacific cable.

The Eastern Extension Company represents a combination of associated companies engaged in telegraph transmission between England and Australasia. The lines of the company comprise those of three amalgamated companies:

- 1. The "British Indian Extension," from Madras to Singapore, with a share capital of £460,000.
- 2. The "British Australian," from Singapore to Australia, with a share capital of £540,000.
- 3. The "China Submarine," from Singapore to Hong Kong and Shanghai, with a share capital of £525,000.

The combined share capital of these three companies amounted to £1,525,000. On their amalgamation the united

share capital, by a well-known process of "watering" to the extent of £472,500, was increased nominally to £1,997,500. The united company, since known as the Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Company (limited), has been exceedingly prosperous; it has paid 7 per cent. on the enlarged capital, equal to 9 per cent. on the original capital. An examination of the published statements establishes that it has in addition expended out of the profits earned, no less a sum than £1,571,540 on extensions and other productive works, and there remains unexpended and undivided to-day a reserve of surplus profits amounting to £804,193.

These figures establish that the Eastern Extension Company has become a remarkably profitable investment. It regularly pays good dividends, but the dividends are no guide to the profits made. It holds in reserve undivided profits far exceeding in amount the whole value of its cables between Asia and Australia. The accounts of the company for 1896 and the first half of 1897 show that the net profits actually earned during these periods amounted to 13 per cent. on the present capital, and 17 per cent. on the capital prior to its being watered.

The Company is unwilling to have this state of affairs changed. They know perfectly well that the telegraphic traffic is steadily increasing, and that as the traffic grows the profits will become still greater. It is easy, therefore, to understand why the company has never viewed with friendly feeling the proposed Pacific cable. Its managers are not willing to divide the business with the new line. They must retain it entirely in their possession. They have secured a rich monopoly, and their desire is to make it even more profitable and to strengthen and perpetuate it.

The Pacific cable has been projected in no spirit of hostility to any company or to any country. It has been advocated as a means of extending to the whole Empire the advantages derivable from the geographical position of the Dominion. Canada offers the connecting link in an Imperial chain of telegraphs encircling the globe. When the project is completed, it will bring the mother country into direct electrical connection with every one of the great possessions of the crown in both hemispheres without touching the soil of any foreign power. Thus, it cannot fail in

a high degree to promote Imperial unity. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how a perfect union, or any union of the whole is possible without union between the parts. The whole Empire is in strong sympathy with the aims and aspirations which a few years back were limited to a few men of advanced thought. The historical event of last June has shown to the world that "the British people are one people animated by one spirit." recognized that we are approaching the period when new relations may be established between the United Kingdom and those younger British communities beyond the seas, known in past history as colonies, but which are passing from colonial tutelage to a higher national status. In order to promote these closer relations, what is more desirable, what more necessary, than that each and all be connected by the appliances which art and science have devised? Canada stands first among the British communities of the outer Empire. Scarcely second to Canada we look forward, in no long period, to welcome the kindred Dominion of Australia comprising under one federal government half a dozen colonies, each possessing great potentialities. What more in harmony with the spirit of the British people than that Canada and Australia be brought in close communion? Is it not indispensable to vital public interest that those two great units of the Empire-the island continent in the South Pacific and British North America, should possess the means of instantaneous communication, one with the other?

The proposition of the Eastern Extension Company submitted to the Conference of Premiers has no such purpose in view. Its object is indeed the very opposite. While the consolidation of the Empire demands that the Queen's subjects in Canada and Australasia shall possess all the advantages which the closest telegraphic connection can effect, the policy which animates that company would cause these communities to remain severed. Is such a policy to be commended? Does not the Eastern Extension Company when persistently exercising its manifold and widely ramified influence to keep Canada and Australia disunited, assume an attitude of hostility to both countries and to Imperial unity?

In the interests of the Eastern Extension Company the Pacific cable has been declared to be impracticable; its

cost has been greatly exaggerated; it has been denounced as a work which could not be maintained without burdensome subsidies; it has been stigmatized as inimical to telegraphy and trade; and it has been decried and misrepresented in every possible manner. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the company is unwilling to relinquish its monopoly and to rest satisfied in the future with a reasonable return for capital invested. On this point the writer is tempted to quote a single paragraph from his address at the Colonial Conference of 1894 as given in the proceedings (page 85).

"The progress and well-being of Canada, Australasia and the Empire cannot be retarded in order that the lucrative business of a private company may remain without change. Even if the chairman of the Eastern Extension Company succeeded in converting us to his commercial ethics, that the profits of the monopoly he represents must be maintained inviolate, it does not follow that the project of a Pacific cable would not be carried out in some form, even if Canada and Australasia abandon it. There are indeed unmistakable signs that a Pacific cable may shortly be carried out by France and the United States. We all know that France has already completed a section of 800 miles at the southern end, and the United States has recently expended \$25,000 in making an elaborate survey of about one-third the whole distance from San Francisco (to the Hawaiian Islands.) With a rival line in foreign hands, it is easy to see that the Eastern Extension would gain nothing, while the Empire would lose much."

With respect to the objections raised by the Eastern Extension Company they have been completely refuted. The very best evidence shows beyond all question that the project is perfectly feasible, that the cable should be established as a state work, that so established the revenue from business obtainable will be ample to meet every charge, including working expenses, maintenance, renewal, interest on cost and sinking fund to replace capital; that in fact the cable can be established in the most satisfactory manner, and that all its advantages can be attained without any cost whatever to the tax-payer. That the prospects are of this character is attributable to these facts, viz.:

- 1. As a state work the capital employed would be obtained at the lowest possible rate of interest.
- 2. The capital would be limited to the necessities of actual expenditure in establishing the work; there would be no possibility of enlarging the capital account by adding "promotion expenses" or by "watering stock" in any form.

- 3. No dividend would require to be declared, or bonus paid. Revenue would only have to meet ordinary charges, including interest on the actual cost at a low rate, possibly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.
- 4. Remunerative traffic which would be controlled by the Australasian government already exists.
- 5. Such traffic is continually growing, and it is difficult to assign a limit to its growth.
- 6. The facilities created and the reduced charges would open up a new and profitable business across the Pacific which would be subject to the new line.

Such being the case, the question may be asked, is there any reason other than the opposition of the Eastern Extension Company why the establishment of this important national work should be farther delayed? It must be admitted that the Pacific cable in operation would put an end to the monopoly of the Eastern Extension Company and diminish the immense profits it enjoys. As, however, less than half the whole traffic would prove remunerative to the Pacific cable, there would remain ample business to the Company to yield a good return for the capital invested.

In the memorandum laid before the House of Commons last July by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, it is distinctly indicated that, while the Home government is willing to co-operate with Canada and the Australian Colonies, the Imperial authorities are unable to see the way to take the initiative, and that they "now await definite proposals from the Colonies interested before proceeding further in the matter." tunately happens that the Australasian Colonies remain under the disadvantage of being disunited politically and they are not all equally in favour of the Pacific cable, Western Australia and South Australia being somewhat in sympathy with the Eastern Extension Company. New Zealand, New South Wales, Queenland and Victoria desire to have the cable laid on the Canadian route. As the traffic to make it a profitable undertaking would have its source chiefly in these colonies, and moreover the land lines within each colony are owned by each respective government, they have it in their power to control the trans. Pacific telegraphic traffic to the extent required to make the cable a profitable undertaking.

At this distance it is not easy to understand why these four colonies do not agree to take some definite line of action. It is now close on six months since the Premiers met in London, and as far as known they have not seen their way to agree on any joint proposal, owing doubtless to unexplained local difficulties.

Under these circumstances it is not improper to consider if there be any duty or obligation resting on us in Canada. The Dominion is now looked up to as the elder brother in the British family of kindred nationalities. If as Canadians we have faith in our destiny as no inconsiderable element of the great Empire, are we not called upon again to take the initiative? The mother country awaits a proposal. It cannot well come from disunited Australasia. If we are to be brought within speaking distance of the kindred communities in the southern seas, the first impulse must come from ourselves. Shall the opportunity which circumstances have presented be seized and another proof given to the world that "the Canadian government and people are determined, in all ways, to promote Imperial unity."

SANDFORD FLEMING.

## THE PULPIT, THE PLATFORM AND THE PRESS.

A LTHOUGH there are three items in the heading of this paper, only two things are discussed in it—speech and writing, or the printed page and the living voice—the scope and functions of each, and their mutual relations. The contrast is really between reading and listening, and so the term "press" may be taken to embrace written as well as printed matter—all communications addressed to the eye; while either the word "pulpit" or "platform" would in itself be too limited to stand for communications addressed to the ear, yet both together may be held to reach the sphere occupied by the living voice.

The measure of influence exercised by the printed page, as contrasted with the living voice, depends much upon the character of the communications to be made, and even more upon the degree of mental culture attained by those whose minds are to be operated upon. If it is the understanding that is to be reached, and instruction that is to be imparted, in the case of educated persons, the printed page is the channel of communication to be preferred. The tutored mind having its own time to dwell on the subject brought before it, when the eye is the medium for conveying ideas, definiteness and conciseness of expression are merits in the style. Those not trained to close thinking, on the other hand, profit more by having the subject expounded by the living voice; but they demand at the same time that it shall be treated copiously and with extended statement. effective in the concrete; the printed page in the abstract.

Popular instruction is, therefore, better conveyed by the platform than by the press. There is less strain upon the attention in listening to a discourse adapted to the capacities and requirements of the half-trained masses than in their reading through an equal amount of printed matter; besides the saving of labour gained by one person's virtually doing the reading for the whole of his audience. The methods of elementary and intermediate education in our day proceed upon the principle of getting the pupils to advance in masses and with equal step, the

teachers doing the large share of the work in the way of demonstrations on the blackboard and talks to the classes. And even the students in the universities are dealt with to a considerable extent in the same way. The degree of culture they have received does not as yet make it easier or better for them to gain knowledge by reading than by hearing. At all events, taken as a whole, they stand in need of the impulse to thought and research, imparted to them by the professors' lectures.

But while the many are moved to a higher mark of attainment than they would otherwise reach, by the demonstrations of teachers and professors, the real students—the select company who do their own thinking and make their own researches-prefer the quiet hour with their books and profit more by it. one cannot help feeling that this select company would be larger to-day if learning were not made so easy as it is. The boy who, in the old log school-house, before the days of blackboards, was left to his own unaided efforts to find his way through "the sums" in Walkingham's arithmetic, and had to study the rules laid down for his guidance, aided by the illustrative examples, came out of the process, if he succeeded at all, a far surer arithmetician than the modern pupil who has been helped from the teacher's platform right along from simple addition to the intricacies of the cube root. He who grubbed his way through an edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, which was furnished with neither note nor comment, with only his grammar and his lexicon in his hands, will never in after life get stuck when asked to read that author ad aperturam libri. Scribners' Sons are issuing a splendid work on the botany of the United States and Canada, which ought to make that delightful branch of science popular, since every plant described is also delineated; but while more persons are likely to take up this attractive study on account of the comparative ease with which it can now be prosecuted, it may be doubted whether more thorough botanists, if fewer of them, were not trained under former conditions, when they had to determine species by the written descriptions of them given by Gray, Wood and others. The independent student wants to be left to work out his own salvation by the help of the printed page; but he belongs to the select few. The masses, formed into large classes in schools and colleges, depend for their instruction upon demonstrations from the platform.

It follows that if all persons were independent thinkers and close students, the printed page, for purposes of instruction, would have a greatly enlarged sphere. And we may hope that in the millennial days in store for mankind, when one shall not need to say to his neighbour, know anything, every person will be able to make his way through the intricacies of learning and do his own thinking. Then the eye will be the great channel through which knowledge will make its way to the mind. for the present, the bulk of men and women trust to their ears more than to their eyes for obtaining ideas; although the advancement of learning must undoubtedly be increasing the number of those who prefer the leisurely and quiet reading of treatises on any subject, regarding which they desire information, to obtaining that information from addresses and speeches, although the latter may be the easier method, and in a sense the pleasanter, through the exciting influence of the living voice. When the day of more advanced culture arrives, the platform will be relatively a less potent agency than it is to-day, as a means of imparting instruction.

These remarks have regard to the domain of higher thought -the true science of things, as it is aimed at in efforts to instruct mankind in the fundamental principles of truth. But there is a sphere which the press has made pre-eminently its own, and which it is filling to the highest advantage of the race. It has become the great newsgatherer and newsdisseminator. respect it has no rival. Of old the best the people could do was to meet for gossip in the market place. Not so very long ago, gentlemen resorted to their clubs as a centre, in which they might learn the latest news of the day. But now the morning or evening paper furnishes us with details of the latest events that have occurred during the last twenty-four hours throughout the civilized world. This fact makes the daily press wield an immense power. It goes with its budget of news, and with its statement of opinions, into every corner of the land; and if the newspaper is conducted with enterprise and ability, it cannot fail to mould public opinion to its will. The endless variety of its matter, meeting the views and wishes of readers of every

description, taken in connection with the vastness of the constituency which it reaches, puts the daily press, as a means of shaping the views of the great mass of the people on public questions, far beyond the pulpit and the platform. Assuming that pains are taken to secure the utmost accuracy as to alleged facts, and that no opinion which is not fair shall be expressed, too high a value cannot be put upon our newspapers; they are one of the most potent factors in promoting the progress of mankind in these latter days. And any one who has a message for the general community had better try and get it delivered through the agency of the press. He thereby will obtain an audience of a thousand for every one he can reach with the living voice, on the platform or in the pulpit. No discerning man will despise or neglect the press, but will make such use of it as he can, for getting the principles of truth and righteousness before the people.

Of course, it is taken for granted that the aim of the conductors of the press is high. This is perhaps assuming too Respectable journals strive to secure accuracy in all matters of fact, and to set forth fairly what is matter of opinion. But there is one particular in which newspapers, which are the organs of parties in the state, cannot be trusted to speak the truth; and that is, in their criticism of their political opponents. Would that proprietors and conductors of these daily messengers to the homes of the people realized how weighty the obligation upon them is to tell the truth on all occasions and about all persons. The press is very fond of lecturing the pulpit, but here the pulpit may be allowed to return the office. If the daily newspaper would be perfect, if it would earn unqualified commendation, let it act on Christ's principles; and instead of twisting the words and aspersing the motives of those whose views differ from its own, give others the most credit it can. political papers would only evince sweet charity towards their opponents they would leave nothing to be desired. things are, it is dreadful to think of the criminal responsibility of those who circulate the poison of falsehood in the minds of a hundred thousand readers. Speak of bribery and corruption; for one person whose independence is sapped by getting money or his vote, there are thousands whose minds are bribed by the

falsehood of party newspapers. And yet the journal that is doing its best day by day, by deliberate bearing of false witness against its neighbour, to get people to change their views and their votes, is loud in its denunciation of the parliamentary candidate or his agent, to whom is brought home the comparatively less heinous offence of giving a poor man half a day's wages, it may be, in order that he may not lose that much from the income needed for the support of his family, by discharging his duty as a citizen in depositing his ballot.

And besides this temptation to which the political press is exposed, there is another one regarding which the pulpit dare not keep silent: it is the desire to obtain a large circulation and so win wealth and power by pandering, it may be, to vicious tastes. Sensationalism is the bane of public journalism; and every one who has the power to exercise any influence over these organs of popular opinion ought to exert it to the utmost to endeavour to secure that only clean newspapers shall be issued from the press of Canada. And what holds true of the daily journal, is equally true of all publications sent forth in book form. Wholesome literature is a cheerer and sweetener of life; but poison lurks between the pages of too many of the popular publications of the day. Books as well as newspapers, are got up to sell, the first aim of their authors being to command a multitude of readers, the ruinous effects upon virtue and morality resulting to those who peruse publications making light of the ten commandments, being indeed discounted by their writers and publishers, as elements ensuring the success of their ventures. The press is, therefore, not an unmixed good. It is a potent engine of destruction as well as of salvation; and it behooves all that can help to secure an elevated tone in the books given to the public, to do what in them lies to encourage those bookmakers and publishers who resist all temptations to make money at the cost of what is pure and lovely and of good report.

But granting the potency of the press, and conceding the splendid work which it is accomplishing, in promoting the material and intellectual interests of mankind, there is a sphere which it cannot fill, and which is filled adequately only by the pulpit and the platform. Whenever there is occasion for moving men the living voice excels the pen. Moses modestly pleaded,

when the great commission was given him: "I am not eloquent; I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue"; but whatever his natural defects in this regard may have been, God made powerful use of his tongue, in stirring up his countrymen on many occa-The test of successful oratory is the measure in which it moves the hearers to action; applying this test, the great prophet of the Exodus was in possession of the secret. "He spake in the ears of all the assembly of Israel," on more than one occasion, with such effect that he swaved them entirely from their own purpose to his. Æschines, the rival of Demosthenes for influence with the Athenians, evoked plaudits from the multitude for his finely turned periods; but when Demosthenes had concluded his speech their cry was: "Lead us against Philip." Great popular movements can be got under way only by bringing the people together in crowds to listen to gifted speakers. The personal magnetism, which is an essential attribute of a true orator, passes from him to his audience, and brings them into sympathy with Every tone and gesture tells; and what is of scarcely less account, where there is a multitude, enthusiasm becomes infectious and easily passes from one to another. So any public speaker is conscious of the inspiration that is begotten of numbers; as he is moved by the presence of a multitude, so every individual comes more or less under the spell of the crowd around him.

There was much and powerful writing in the British press, prior to the emancipation of the West Indian slaves; but it was the persuasive speeches of Wilberforce and his co-workers in the cause, that brought the nation at last to resolve to make the sacrifice required in recognition of the principle that all men who have not forfeited it by their crimes have a right to liberty. It was the passionate oratory of Wendell Phillips and the electrifying accents of Henry Ward Beecher, heard on many a platform, which made it possible for Abraham Lincoln in due time to proclaim freedom to the negroes of the south. Gladstone made Britain ring from John O'Groats to Land's End, with the Bulgarian atrocities, in 1876, his magnificent speeches against the unspeakable Turk, delivered throughout the length and breadth of the land, winning for him once more the premiership and sending D'Israeli into the cold shades of opposition. Dr. Chalmers' printed sermon on the cruel-

ties of field sports may be read in cold blood; but when it was spoken the people present were carried completely off their feet, and one man is reported to have been so moved by the graphic picture the great preacher had drawn of the excitements of the chase, that, oblivious of his surroundings, he cried out "Tallyho." Speech cannot be dispensed with when the emotions of men have to be roused. One may read, in the seclusion of home, without being stirred, a printed report of an appeal, which, addressed to him in the presence of others, would have produced tenfold the effect. One reason of this is that the spoken style is essentially different from the written one. Tribunes of the people instinctively employ a method of address which goes directly to the people's hearts and evokes their sympathies. They employ the language of ordinary conversation, which is simple and direct, elaborate, involved sentences are impossible to them; and they are indifferent to the fact whether they end their sentences with a preposition or not. They study effect rather than dignity. The first consideration is to hit the mark of the people's attention. Perhaps the most conspicuous example in our day of an effective platform style, as contrasted with the deliberate written style which is to come under the eye, is furnished by the speeches of John Bright. Lord John Russell, in a former generation, was master of a similar simple, direct style, by which he commanded the attention of popular assemblies in a way that scarcely any of his contemporaries could. This is a point well worthy of the consideration of teachers and preachers. preparing addresses and discourses much will depend upon the conscious attitude of the mind. One may, in writing cultivate the spoken style, if, during the process of composition, the ulterior thought is that it is to be spoken, not read. The audience is in such a case present in imagination, and the style will naturally adapt itself accordingly. But if the composer is thinking of a discourse which is to be read, and perhaps used again after an interval of years—if it is not to be ultimately printed—the thought of this ultimate destination of the piece, in the mind of the writer, will unconsciously give a complexion to its style. move the people, however, even if he has previously conned over the line of thought he is to pursue, composes most effectively on his feet, and when face to face with his audience. He instinctively feels their pulse, takes in the situation with a flash, gauges the tastes and capacities of his hearers and naturally adopts the manner of speaking that places him in full accord with them, and easily wins them to his views.

And if speech is an indispensable organ of persuasion in moving mankind in masses with regard to ordinary questions of human interest, it is much more so when we come to consider man's attitude respecting the most important matters affecting His mind is turned away from God-he is averse to spiritual things, and so if his temper is to be changed, such change can be brought about only by the enthusiasm begotten of earnest, persuasive speech. "We, then, are ambassadors for Christ," wrote the Apostle to the Corinthians, "as though God did beseech you by us, we in Christ's stead pray you to be reconciled to God." It is the preacher's function to impress men with the supreme importance of the things of the spirit. must lay himself out above every thing to persuade men, -not so much to instruct them. The period is long past when parsons were the only "clerks," monopolizing the learning of the community. The press has brought instruction on every conceivable religious theme within the reach of all. But knowledge does not necessarily imply faith, much less obedience. To secure attention to the things that belong to men's peace, they need to be commanded, rebuked, exhorted. A first qualification for being an adequate messenger from God is that men shall themselves have had experience of the power of divine truth to deliver from sin. The apostle Paul was a splendid embodiment of passionate earnestness and sincerity, which gave him vast power in addressing He felt it to be his mission to lead souls to God; and in effecting his purpose he did not speak to them "in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." Paul wrote tenderly and persuasively; but we gather that his spoken was different from his written style. It is true it was adversaries whom he represents as saying of him: "His letters are weighty and strong; but his bodily presence is weak and his speech of no account." But I think there is an admission of his own which implies that for some reason or other there was a contrast between his letters and his addresses: "I, Paul, myself, intreat you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, I who in

your presence am lowly among you, but being absent am of good courage toward you." Did this difference arise from defective utterance or from the style he employed? The specimens of his elocution furnished by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles would scarcely justify the conclusion that Paul was not fluent of speech; so that it seems fair to infer rather that his ordinary addresses were plain and simple, because men's minds had to travel fast in listening to him; while his letters had rhetorical strength, since they were to be read and pondered at leisure. In those written communications he has laid the people of God under lasting obligations; but it is clear that he counted it his great work to preach, not to write letters. "Belief cometh of hearing, and hearing by the Word of Christ." "How shall they believe in Him whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" In this domain every auxiliary force is needed to make the message effective, because the natural heart is closed against it. The tone, the gesture, the living presence of the speaker, are all factors to be counted in. The enthusiasm engendered by numbers is not to be despised either, although the Lord's promise, "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," shows that the conditions, so far as the assembly of Christians is concerned, are not altogether the same as those governing ordinary platform performances. But the very term "ecclesia," by which Christians are collectively designated, indicates that its work was to be done by cooperation; its force was to depend upon meetings, in which they were to "provoke one another unto love and good works." gospel message is to be delivered mainly by preaching to multitudes, and those to whom it is sent are to "hear" it. sometimes comes across disparaging remarks upon the pulpit as if it were an effete institution. That it cannot become so long as "sin reigns unto death," and men need to have salvation offered to them. To the undiscerning "preaching" may be "foolishness," as it was to most people in the apostle's day; but it still proves, as it did then, "the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation," to as many as believe. Christ's own institution, and as both preachers and hearers, when they meet in solemn assembly, may not only count upon all the forces which unite in the case of the platform speaker and his

audience, but also on special help from heaven, the pulpit must be very inefficiently manned, indeed, if it loses its power. The promise of God goes with the preaching of the Word, and that promise has been made good in the past, so that the pulpit cannot be displaced. No other agency can do the work assigned it.

But there is really no rivalry between the "pulpit" or "platform," and the "press". Each has its own sphere, each is complementary of the other. Friendly co-operation is what should be aimed at, each rather the handmaid than the adversary of the other. Honest and kindly criticism from each to the other does good all round; but ill-natured depreciation or savage denunciation, each of the other, only harms all. Let pulpit, platform and press join hands in advocating all that is true and pure and good, and then shall they together prove "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

#### CURRENT EVENTS.

It is difficult to forecast the result of what is practically the invasion of China by Germany. The forces on the board are so eccentric that their combined action may produce anything. To many the Emperor William is simply a lunatic, but there is method in his madness. His immediate success in the West Indies and in the farthest East is likely to secure a majority in the Reichstag for his darling scheme of a big navy, whereas a short time ago every one prognosticated a defeat for him. The murder in China of two Roman Catholic missionaries happened opportunely, and he made the most of it by demanding the erection of a cathedral as an essential of the reparation to be offered. What could be more grateful to the solid centre in the Reichstag? Their Emperor has now more right to the title of defender of the

faith than Henry VIII. had. And what openings for German trade and manufactures may not his bold policy secure? wonder that there is a popular clamour in his favour. The question, however, is, will the sober, second thought of the people approve his action? We may safely answer in the negative, unless the German character has greatly changed of late. manifest uneasiness of the organs of public opinion which back him most defiantly, and their confident declarations that Britain intends to join in the game of plunder. The wish is father to the thought. That is not our way of doing things. We opened up China by defending rights, and as these were the common rights of mankind all nations gained by our action. China again disregarded our treaty rights, but after successful war open ports for the trade of the world was the chief demand made on the vanquished. This, in spite of the notorious political character of the Chinese, summed up thus by Lord Elgin, in 1858, after negotiating the treaty of Tient-Sin: -"They yielded nothing to reason, but everything to fear;" an epigram all the more striking when coming from a man who had gone out to the East regarding the Chinese as the oppressed and his countrymen as the oppressors. True, we took Hong-Kong, but what was it at the time, and what is it now? It was a barren rock, with a narrow strip of malarial coast at its base. Now, it is the Liverpool of the East, a city where a quarter of a million Chinese live in comparative comfort, and where German, French, American and British firms do business with the South of China with equal freedom. That is an object lesson of what is meant by an open port. Britain has greater commercial interests in China than all her rivals, but she asks for nothing but freedom of commerce. She has no intention of abandoning that policy for one of piratical invasion, even on so huge and helpless a prey as China. If the United States made common cause with her in pursuing this enlightened policy, Germany would be shamed out of her aggression, and Christendom would not stand condemned, as it now does to a great extent, in the eyes of the yellow races.

So far, the results of the frontier fighting in the grisly mountain passes between India and Afghanistan have not been encouraging to the Forward School. The success has been inde-

cisive, and the cost enormous. In Sir Auckland Colvin's excellent article on the subject in the Nineteenth Century for December, the main point is not to combat the strategic argument that we must control the passes if we are to keep our engagements to preserve the independence of the Ameer of Afghanistan, but to prove that such a policy is Imperial, and not purely Indian, and therefore that the cost of it should not be imposed on India alone. This, he shows, was the bed-rock of Lord Lawrence's policy when he declared the Indus to be the proper boundary of India, and economy to be the true watchword of our administration. No scheme of a scientific or strategic frontier could be sound in his eyes "which was not consistent with the progress of India, the development of its resources, and the contentment and loyalty of the people." Any policy which spends the revenues of India on other objects not only arrests all schemes of internal improvement, as the people of India are poor and the limit of taxation has been reached, but is essentially unjust. This is the real argument against the Forward policy. Let its advocates secure the consent of the Imperial Government to pay for the conquest and administration of the territories beyond the Indus. They know that, placed between that alternative and telling the Ameer that he must maintain his own independence, the House of Commons would not hesitate. The Ameer and the frontier savages would be left to guard or to break their own heads, while Britain devoted herself to fostering the loyalty of three hundred millions of industrious people by securing to them the blessings of peace, order, justice and industrial development. The world has never seen such a marvellous spectacle as the triumph of civilization in formerly distracted India; and as British rule is necessary, until Christian forces slowly work out a new social organization to replace the old iron framework of caste, nothing should be allowed to injure its basis, the only possible basis being the general content of the people.

When one thinks of the marvellous energy with which the railway has been steadily pushed north from the diamond pits of Kimberley into Rhodesia, the formal opening of the line at Buluwayo, without the presence of the prime mover and manager—Mr. Rhodes—seems hard. It was the play of Hamlet with Ham-

let's part left out, or the driving of the last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway by some one else than Smith, Stephen or Van But in this we see only one sign of the Nemesis that will dog him as long as he lives. His absence from a function at which he would otherwise have been the foremost figure indidicated illness or good taste on his part, and also in all probability good sense on the part of Sir Alfred Milner. Sir Alfred says little, but he is so far doing the right things all the time. It was permissible on such an occasion to pay a generous tribute to Rhodes, as well as to praise the enterprise and industry of the settlers; but it is to be hoped that he is freeing the Colonial Office from all illusions as to the possibility of Rhodes ever becoming again the Premier of Cape Colony or a force that can make for the union of Boer and British in South Africa. The Boer is what the Dutchman was in the 17th century, or what the Scottish Lowlander is in politics: slow to give his confidence, and if once deceived certain not to trust again the man who has betrayed him. He has, too, in John Henry Hofmeyr, a spokesman without reproach; a statesman who desires neither office nor title nor wealth for himself; who is determined to keep his own skirts clean, and who seeks only the welfare of his country. He has recently given an interview to the reporter of a London journal, and the British public should be able to learn from his straight speech how honest men regard Rhodes-"He has deceived us. He deceived me personally. How can he be trusted again in public life? It is impossible here in the colony." Hofmeyr, too, as might have been expected, has been disappointed with Mr. Chamberlain's utterances, and his conception of what is involved in public and personal honour. Emphatically he says, "There can be no trust by the Dutch community in the Colonial Office as long as these principles prevail there. man we expected to act as an impartial judge of Rhodes turns round even before the trial and receives him as a friend. punish the lesser man and commend the guilty principal." That is hard hitting, but deserved. A portion of the British press has been influenced by the millionaire, and a vocal section of the public applauds him, but the universal silent vote has pronounced its verdict, and Mr. Chamberlain by trying to muffle its force has only hurt himself. South African federation is sure to come,

but its coming will only be delayed by the interference of Mr. Rhodes. Even constitutional agitation, if he is behind it, will be suspected. Every public man and newspaper supporting his scheme must have exceptionally clean records, or the charge that they are bought will be at once made and generally believed, and their arguments subjected to a heavy discount.

Australian federation is also sure to come, and it is likely to come all the sooner, in consequence of the gathering of the vultures round what is supposed to be the carcase of China. native Australian is the most pronounced specimen of bumptiousness known to man, simply because there is no strong power near to keep him in check. India is near, but it is part of the So is China, but it does not count, except in the labour market, from which it can be excluded. But, with the fleets of Germany, France, India and Japan gathering in the northern seas, and plans of conquest and colonization in the air, it is high time for the island-continent to remember that she owes her immunity from invasion hitherto to her being part of the Empire, and that effective political organization is now an absolute necessity. When the French Foreign Office asked, half a century ago, what part of Australia Britain claimed, Lord John Russell answered, "The whole of it." The answer sufficed them. would be laughed at now, should war ensue. The odd thing is that Queensland, the colony most in need of federation, is the one that opposes; but Queensland considers bumptiousness the greatest of the virtues.

President McKinley's messages differ from Cleveland's as chalk from cheese. Whether you agreed with the views of President Cleveland or not, you felt that he was doing his own thinking, and that he was an independent force that had to be reckoned with. His style was of the laboured and rather stilted kind, considered by the half-educated to be fine writing, very different from the purity and nervous simplicity which seemed to grow with President Lincoln's spiritual growth, but notwith-standing that defect, a real man was seen through it, who, as far as he had the power, could be depended on to do right and to veto measures he thought wrong. President McKinley belongs to a different class altogether. He simply reflects the views of

his party, and these views never rise above party expediency. His literary style is scarcely less laboured than Mr. Cleveland's, and he has in addition quite a gift for pharisaical platitudes. These commonplaces of American orations are evidently considered necessary, though the nation might well dispense with them by this time. So might a President who had an adequate sense of the greatness of his office.

Regarding Cuba, his position is the same as Cleveland's, with the addition of a patronizing tone, most offensive to a haughty nation, and not likely to accomplish anything except to stiffen the backs of the Spaniards and make them ready to overthrow their government should it yield a single point, and to recall Don Carlos, who is free from responsibility for the rebellion, as well as for the military mismanagement by which it has been prolonged. He turns up the whites of his eyes at the idea of annexing Cuba, yet urges the annexation of Hawaii without consulting its inhabitants. The explanation is that he believes that the requisite majority in the Senate has been secured to settle the Hawaian business. Possibly he may find himself mistaken. seemed to the American people so small a matter that it was left in the hands of the politicians, but they are beginning to see that it means the beginning of a new policy on the merits of which they have not pronounced, and besides that it has some questionable and rather squalid aspects. If the two-thirds majority required for ratifying treaties cannot be had, open debate in both Houses will be required, and as discussion would be certain to injure the party, even if it did not defeat the measure, a halt may be called. Far from objecting to the United States taking possession of Hawaii, Britain would rejoice, if the people took the step with their eyes open, and as indicating thereby that they intended to concern themselves hereafter with general, and not merely continental interests. Monroeism was good doctrine for its day, though even in its day it would have been waste paper without the backing of Britain; but Monroe did not speak the last word for the people of the United States.

The Canadian Parliament will probably meet earlier than usual. It should always meet in January and transact its business in the three winter months. Otherwise, the representatives

of the chief industries of the people are practically excluded from it and none but lawyers need apply. This promises to be the first critical session for the ministry. Their supporters from Quebec Province are not altogether happy, and the grounds of discontent indicate that the battle is between "kites and crows." Mr. Tarte is attacked because of \$30,000 given to his sons for the purchase of a paper by a gentleman interested in the Drummond Counties Railway. The answer is to the effect that his opponents are working in the interest of the gentleman who gave \$100,000, or what Mr. Pacaud called "a gold mine," to the Mercier government for a consideration. We are told that this is the way in which things are done in Quebec. If so, the sooner we know it the better. Meanwhile it is a calumny on the Province to say anything of the kind.

Sir Wilfred Laurier's official letter to Mr. Foster on the sealing question contained all that should be said on the subject. and a little more. If the catch during the spring months averages only six to eight thousand seals compensation could be asked only on the basis of that number, and we should not haggle over such a trifle. But, on the main point, that all matters in dispute should be considered by a Commission, there can be no difference The lives of fish in the lakes are as worthy consideof opinion. ration as the lives of seals in the ocean, and the grievances of Canadian citizens, whether working men or hospital nurses, excluded from fields formerly open to them, while thousands of Americans are flocking to our gold-fields, call for as prompt settlement as the grievances of female seals and bachelor pups, even though their ownership is claimed by rich friends of the govern-No one denies that the regulations instituted by the Paris award for the protection of the seals are inadequate, and that these can be revised with more light on the subject than was attainable four years ago. The industry now is not very profitable for either the Alaski compiny or the Canadian sealers. The only people who make steady profit out of it at present are the London fur-dressers and fur-dealers; but though Britain is thus the party most interested in the permanence of the industry, she alone makes no trouble. It is to her simply a question of Canadian rights, which will be defended just as the rights of every part of the Empire must be defended. When Mr. Foster pleads that we should surrender our rights or be called "unneighborly," he simply shows that the Almighty has not endowed him with the slightest sense of humour.

Sir Sandford Fleming's article on the Pacific cable in this number of the QUARTERLY throws light on the reasons why the Eastern Extension Company opposed an enterprise important to the Empire in peace and essential in time of war. It is the old story of the insane greed of corporations and their callousness to the interests of the community. The Eastern Extension octopus is not satisfied with the fortunes already made, and can no more bear the thought of losing any part of the traffic than a tiger would consent to share blood with its companions of the What is the duty of Canada in the premises? Colonial office has said that the initiative in the matter of the cable must come from Canada or Australia. This is a perfectly reasonable position, in view of all the facts of the case; and as divided Australia cannot act, it is for Canada to step forward and show that its imperial sentiment is genuine. We have lost nothing; we have on the contrary gained immensely by the two steps already taken, and it would be the same with this third step. Let Canada offer to lay the cable, if Britain will guarantee the capital and New Zealand and the Australias guarantee the traffic, which they can easily do as the land lines are under their Let the initiative thus come from Canada. get the cable and the tax payer will not be called on to pay a Canada would then be in the position telegraphically, as regards the Empire, in which nature has placed her geographi-She is the keystone of the arch. An impetus will be given to intercolonial trade, to the development of national spirit and to the cause of imperial unity. That is the direction in which we have set our faces. We must go forward, for to halt now between two opinions, as if we were undecided as to our course, would be fatal to self respect and to national welfare.

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