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THE
CHURCHMAN

JUNE, 1887.

ART. I.—THE MOSAIC ACCOUNT OF CREATION.

THE Mosaic account of creation is not a matter of mere archæological interest, nor one of curious inquiry to see how so old a writer would express himself upon a subject which has grown into a science in our own days. We cannot dismiss it with the commonplace remark that the Bible was not intended to teach geology; nor, on the other hand, does its main value to the believer consist in its verbal, or even its substantial, agreement with the last arrangement of the geologic record. On this point we may agree with Professor Huxley in his sneer at the "reconcilers," as he calls them, just so far as to own that too much importance has been attached to the establishment of an exact concordance between the first chapter of Genesis and the last text-book of geology. But it is a wonderful testimony to the inspiration of Holy Scripture that such an attempt is possible, and that its difficulties arise from the fact that geology is an imperfect record of creation, in which vast periods, such as that represented by the Laurentian rocks, tell us scarcely a single word as to their history, while as to others, the information is vague and fragmentary, and only gradually attaining to a moderate degree of exactness. My own feeling is, that the harmony already established between the Mosaic account and the proved facts of geology is wonderful; and that as our knowledge of the geologic record increases the reconciliation will become complete.

But I am anxious to point out that the real value of the Mosaic account of creation consists in what it teaches us about God. It is the preface, if I may so speak, to a Book intended to reveal to us His nature and His relation to us. We have in the Bible a library of short treatises, written under ever-varying forms of outward condition and mental development. During a period of more than a thousand years, from

Moses to Malachi, this Book was given, "by divers portions and in divers manners" (Heb. i. 1), with the one great object of preparing for the fulness of Revelation in Jesus Christ. We grant that the light was a growing one; that it was as the rising of the sun, beginning with a dawn and attaining its meridian splendour only in Him in Whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily.

And how does this archaic record of creation, this dawning of spiritual light, set the Deity before us? Not merely as Almighty and All-wise, and All-good, but as preparing the earth for man. All is for man's sake. And when man is reached there is a pause, and a consultation among the Persons of the Blessed Trinity; and man is made in the likeness of God, and has dominion given to him. If our spirits ever sink, almost oppressed by the greatness of redeeming love, and we ask, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?" (Ps. viii. 4), we need but turn to this first chapter of Genesis to be assured that a being for whom such vast preparation was made, and who was so ushered into existence, can never be neglected in the counsels of the Most High.

In the Commentary on Genesis, which I contributed to the Bishop of Gloucester's "Commentary on the Old Testament," I have pointed out that the whole scheme of human redemption is present in the Book of Genesis—in outline, of course, and germ; and that without it the unity of the Bible would be gone. I repeat, therefore, that its interest does not consist in its archæology, or its geology, or its table of peoples, or its description of Oriental life. All these matters are there, and are most precious. But the Book is an integral portion of Revelation, and belongs to our faith. It lays for us the foundation, explains to us the problem of man's condition, shows us what is God's nature and His purpose towards us, and gives us the outlines of the Divine plan for man's restoration in all its chief constituent parts.

But I must proceed to the Mosaic account of creation itself. And first, I grant the word "Mosaic" without affirming that Moses actually wrote the first chapter of Genesis, and the first three verses of chapter ii., which form part of it. My belief is that, certainly in the rest of Genesis, Moses has preserved for us the remains of a literature far more ancient than his own times. This belief is confirmed by finding a large number of points of similitude, and even of exact agreement, between the Mosaic account of creation, of the deluge, of the Tower of Babel, etc.; and the inscriptions recently discovered in the Chaldean clay cylinders. All the difficulties, too, that used to be paraded about the non-existence of writing and writing-materials are now exploded. The Accadians, who preceded

the Chaldees at Ur, Abraham's birthplace, had not only a very plastic clay, far more cheap and manageable than the wooden tablets smeared over with wax which the Romans used, and practically indestructible, but other materials, though the clay, made into little tiles, was so convenient as to be chiefly employed. And writing was in such common use, that several cylinders of the age of Abraham, now in our museums, record business matters of very trivial importance. The possession of religious documents in the family of Shem, of which Terah naturally would be the depositary, would explain the stout opposition made by him and Abraham to the polytheism prevalent all around. And I can quite believe that the narratives on the Cuneiform cylinders were legends which had their origin in the records which were the heritage of the descendants of Shem. Such records would be carefully preserved; and what more probable than that Moses, moved by the Spirit of God, and under His guidance, selected and arranged such portions as were of eternal value?

But one very important argument for this belief does not apply to the first chapter of Genesis. The rest of Genesis consists of ten *tôldôth*, as they are called in the Hebrew—literally, *generations*, but answering to our word *histories*. The word does not occur again until Matt. i. 1, where we find "The Book of the generation of Jesus Christ;" that is, His history, for the word does not belong simply to His genealogy. It is thus a link binding the Old Testament and the New in close union. Now the second account of creation, beginning at Gen. ii. 4, is expressly called a *tôldôth*. "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth;" *i. e.*, in our language, "This is their history." Now I regard it as clearly proved, both by internal and external evidence, that the ten *tôldôth* are pre-Mosaic, and taken from records brought, probably by Abraham, from Ur of the Chaldees, and carried by Jacob into Egypt. But this first account of the creation is not a *tôldôth*. It is remarkable, too, for its simplicity, its grandeur, its nobleness of conception, its majesty. It is of God, and for God. In the second account of creation man is a prominent actor, and the representation of the Creator's doings belongs to a much less developed state of thought. It is more picturesque, more human; represents the Deity as more on a level with His creatures, as their kind friend even, and companion; and while its lessons are of infinite value and importance, its mode of teaching is such as suited men at a very early stage. The first account of creation is grand and divine.

If, then, we were to conclude that this was revealed first to Moses, and was by him prefixed to the older histories, I can see nothing either in the outer form of the document or in its

contents to render such a conclusion untenable. The one argument on the other side is the agreement in so many particulars between the first chapter of Genesis and the account of creation in the Cuneiform records.

In turning to the document itself, even those scientific men who love to dwell upon a supposed opposition between science and revelation, cannot surely help being struck at the majesty of its opening words. It enters upon no philosophic speculation, like Eastern cosmogonies, as to the manner in which the Deity passed from a state of quiescence into a state of activity, from a state of repose to that of willing that worlds should exist. It loses itself in no difficulties about the pre-existence of matter, and the relation of matter to mind. Grandly and clearly it sets before us one Will pervading all space, and calling into being things visible and invisible, the heaven and the earth. In the heathen world there were gods many and lords many. To the man who believes in the opening words of the Book of Genesis, there is, there can be, but one God omnipotent, omnipresent.

And mark, it is not the faint, far-away God of the Agnostic. It is a God who wills and works, and who manifests Himself in His works. Still less is it the God of the Pantheist, who is but the sum-total of natural forces, without will or personality. It is the Being Who created those natural forces, Whose they are, and Whom they serve. This first chapter of the Bible sets before us a Personal Being, willing creation, carrying His will into effect, watching over it, and passing judgment upon it when complete; and not a blind power, unknowable, and working unconsciously. And clearly it distinguishes Him from all things that are made. If "the beginning" here spoken of be, as some argue, the beginning simply of our solar system, it makes no difference to the conception of the Divine nature. It simply narrows our field of view. And besides what God was in one beginning, that He was in all beginnings. "He made the stars also;" and the worship of the heavenly bodies is not only made impossible to one who believes that they are things created, but no room is left for supposing that the one God, Who willed the existence of our world, did not in like manner will the existence of every star, with the system to which it belongs, throughout the whole realms of space. We have then, in these first words of revelation, no unworthy idea of God, but one of noble majesty and grandeur; and subsequent revelation does not, and cannot, raise the idea to a greater height of sublimity, or to a more philosophic clearness of conception. Its office rather is to bring Him nearer and closer to us, to teach us that not only is He infinite in power, but infinite also in love, our Father in heaven.

The next words are very important as regards the duration of the process of creation. In the Authorized Version it will be noticed that in the sentence, "The earth was without form," the verb "was" is printed in Roman letters; while in the next sentence, "darkness *was* upon the face of the deep," "*was*" is printed in italics. The Revised Version has obliterated this distinction. Rightly, according to grammar, for the word *was* exists in the original; but it also obliterates a distinction made in the Hebrew. In Hebrew and other Semitic languages the mere agreement between the subject and predicate is expressed, if emphatic, by a pronoun; if not emphatic, by the mere collocation of the words. We insert some part of the verb "*to be*;" but the Hebrew verb "*to be*" means existence, or the coming into existence. It is the Greek word *γεννομαι*, as contrasted with *ειμι*. In this verse the Septuagint translates carelessly, giving "The earth was invisible and unfurnished;" but in the next verse it gives the force of the Hebrew word more correctly, rendering, "And God said, Let light become" (or, "come into existence"); "and light became."

The words, then, may mean, either that "the earth existed in a state of wasteness and emptiness," or that "it came into existence," or even "became waste and void." The first would imply a long duration of time; the second might signify the destruction of a previous earth, or of the whole solar system. The former is, perhaps, the more probable interpretation; but I cannot say that the other interpretation is impossible. In what follows the verb expresses, not a sudden, but a gradual formation. "Let light come into existence;" "Let an expanse come into existence." But I pass on, because this question about the duration of the creative period is best considered with reference to the meaning of the word "*day*."

Now, if Moses was the actual writer of this chapter, the use of the word may be explained by the manner of the Revelation to him. He may have had displayed before his gaze, in a trance, successive pictures of our orb in its onward stages, and we should thus have a very literal meaning of the words, "And there existed" (or "came into being") "an evening, and there existed a morning; day one." Between each manifestation there would be a gathering of gloom, and then the dawning of light, displaying God's creative work in its next stage of progress. How glorious, too, would be the spectacle of the fourth day, the earth clothed in verdure, the sun and moon shining in the clear atmosphere, and the stars lighting up the evening sky!

But except upon this picture theory, as it has been called, the idea that a day must mean twenty-four hours, which those who represent Scripture as opposed to science wish to force

upon this first chapter of Genesis, and which many believers cling to, cannot be maintained. If we lived in the Arctic regions, our day would last six months, and our night an equal period. But the Bible itself contradicts this view. In Gen. ii. 4, creation occupies one day, not seven. In Ps. xcv. 8-10 we are told that the day of temptation for the Israelites lasted forty years. But the great proof of the large meaning of the word "day" is the fourth commandment. We are to rest on each seventh day of our days, because God rested on the seventh day of His days. His days are not natural days, but divine days; and no man surely would argue that God rested for twenty-four hours. If so, did God recommence the work of creation on the eighth day, or are we not now living in His seventh day of rest? Is not this seventh day of rest the day of spiritual working (John v. 17); the day of grace, the day which belongs to our souls, just as our seventh day is our day of spiritual refreshing? If we are now living in God's seventh day our Lord's argument is plain and intelligible. God on His Sabbath still carries on His work of grace and love; and therefore our Lord broke no Divine commandment in performing similar works on man's Sabbath; He was but following the example of His heavenly Father. But, if this present age be not God's seventh day, then I do not see the force of our Lord's appeal, nor do I understand in which of God's days our lot is cast. Moreover, if you will read the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, you will see that God's seventh day, His Sabbath, is to include the rest of the saints in heaven. If so, by what argument can we hold that the six days were each of twenty-four hours' duration, while the seventh is eternal? St. Paul tells us that God is "King of the ages," βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων (1 Tim. i. 17). Surely these ages are God's days, the days of His working, and the day of His rest. In Greek you may find many words to express a period of indefinite length; in Hebrew I know of no word but "day."

Now in the work of these six days Moses draws a very remarkable distinction. In the first verse he uses the word *bara*, "create," the strongest word in Hebrew of all those which signify *making* or *producing*. But immediately afterwards he uses terms of far less significance, "Let light come into being;" "Let an expanse come into being;" "Let the waters be gathered together;" "Let the earth put forth verdure." And then, as each day's work passes in review, he says that God *made* the expanse, and so on. But when we come to the work of the fifth day, we read that "God created the great reptiles, and every living creature." And on the sixth day, though higher kinds of life were introduced, it is only said that God made them, until he came to man. Then again

it is creation, "Let us make man . . . so God created man." Surely this is remarkable. All the rest might be the result of the working of natural forces, for these forces are God's instruments. But the bringing of something into existence out of nothing; the bringing in of life out of dead matter; the bringing in of the reasonable soul responsible to God for its actions—these are reserved by God unto Himself, and can be wrought only by His personal act.

This leads to another important consideration. In the work of the third day we read, "Let the earth bring forth *deshé* (rendered *grass* in our versions), herb yielding seed, and tree bearing fruit." Grass really belongs to the second class, the seed-bearing herbs; while *deshé* is the name of the lowest forms of vegetation, such as those which clothe the surface of rocks with stripes of faint green and brown, and which, even in their highest development, are propagated without seed. Now, those geologists who oppose revelation have given themselves much trouble to prove that the lower forms of animal life came into existence before the higher forms of vegetable life. The Bible tells us more than this, for it says that trees bearing edible fruits were God's special gifts to Adam in the terrestrial paradise. But the whole discussion mistakes the meaning of the creative words of God. They are the eternal laws given to matter, not exhausted by one effort, but going on unto this very hour. When God said, "Let light come into being," He did not at once make sun and moon. The light of the first day was, as far as we can understand, elementary, such as one sees now in the zodiacal light, or in a nebula—a luminousness caused by the friction and attraction of the particles of matter. But God, when He spake those pregnant words, gave the whole law of light, and therefore of electricity, of those wonderful vibrations which bring the light with such vast rapidity to us, and even of the eye so constructed as to use and enjoy the light. The laws of the second day still govern the atmosphere and the water, while that of the third day is the law of vegetation. The pause of the fourth day leads to the thought that vegetation had a long development before animal life came into being; but it does not at all follow that it had advanced beyond those wonderful sigillarias and other endogens, with whose forms we are made conversant by the illustrations of books upon geology.

I have used the word development, and gladly draw attention to what both Mr. Gladstone and Principal Dawson have said on this point. They both complain of the jugglery and even wilful confusion of this with evolution. Development we grant. It is the procession from cause to effect, and a writer,

commonly called "St. Isaac of Antioch," calls God "the Cause of all Causes;" and development is simply the producing by each cause of its proper result. But this very verse shows that causation and development are limited, for God makes not merely each of the three classes of vegetation distinct, but the higher plants bear seed each after its kind. No amount of development will change a palm into an oak, or an ash into an elm. But evolution is used to suggest to us a world not made by God, but which grew of itself. If we accept it, then our solar system arose spontaneously out of some mist of nebulous matter, without any guiding intelligence or directing power. Until man was "evolved," there was no thought or reason present, and the wise laws which govern all things are self-generated out of senseless matter. It is in direct opposition to such a view that the Bible opens with the majestic words, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."

We readily, then, grant development, but simply as the orderly progress of each law given by God towards the result intended by Him. And the fourth day seems to have been a grand era of vegetation, when upon the silent surface of the earth, enlivened as yet by no joyous cry of bird or animal, nor by the humming even of insect life, wonderful forests of ferns and palms and calamites luxuriated in an atmosphere richer probably in carbon than our own. But in the account of this day we find the same reference to man, as yet uncreated, which is so strongly marked throughout. We have sun, moon, and stars, but absolutely no astronomy. Without the sun this earth would be a dark and frozen waste; and yet the writer's interest in the great luminaries goes no farther than as they perform a very humble function for man. They are his time-keepers, giving him change of seasons, the alternation of day and night, and guidance without which he could know neither when to sow his fields, nor how to regulate his daily work, nor whither to steer his bark. They give him light and warmth, but are mere machines, and the very word used in the Hebrew signifies a utensil only, a candelabrum, or light-stand, which the great Artificer has made. And the stars are treated in a similar way. There is no question as to how or when they were made; the words *He made* are not in the Hebrew: their very insertion shows how keenly we look for astronomical knowledge, and how gladly we should welcome it. To Moses the stars have no such interest; they only perform the very humble office of aiding the moon as time-keepers when her light is obscured, and are absolutely destitute of all influence upon human fortunes.

Compare with this all the astrological nonsense believed in by most Oriental nations, the place assigned to the planets in

most ancient systems of idolatry, the belief even now in astral influences, and in the ascendancy or occultation of some one's star, and we see that we have to do with a writer absolutely free from errors almost universally prevalent in bygone days, and not altogether exploded now.

The era of vegetable life is followed on the fifth day by a great outburst of animal life. But first, we are not to suppose that vegetation upon this new creative day did not go forward on its destined route of orderly progress, exactly as it did on day four. Animal life is added, but the laws of vegetation settled on day three continue to be its laws on days four and five, and will continue to be its laws as long as the world lasts. And, secondly, the animal life of the fifth day is of an inferior form, yet even so the significant word *created* is applied to it. A great gulf separates animate from inanimate life. The Bible notes this carefully, and teaches just the same grand truth as that which scientific men cautiously acknowledge in the present day, that life is a mystery, the origin of which lies outside the realm of science. But, as regards this fifth day's work, the Authorised Version speaks of whales: "God created great whales;" and the Revised Version makes bad into worse by rendering, "God created great sea-monsters." Now, the cetacea are mammals, none of which came into existence on the fifth day. What "sea-monsters" may be I do not know. But I know what the Hebrew says, namely, that "God created the great reptiles:" the word having especial reference to the crocodile, and being in fact the same as that translated *serpent* in the Authorised Version, but really signifying *crocodile* in the account of the miracle in Exod. vii. 9, 10, 12, which was to be the proof of the mission of Moses to Pharaoh. In the margin of the Revised Version in Exod. vii. 9, attention is called to the fact that the word signifies a large reptile; but the absurd translation here of "sea-monsters" not only obscures the sense, but deprives the English-reading student of something of special interest: For this reference to the crocodile suggests to us, and even makes it probable, that Moses was the writer.

And just as the mention of the stars was a warning against the worship of the planets, so the mention of the crocodile was a warning against the worship of that reptile as practised before the eyes of Moses in Egypt, and against the worship of animals generally. And surely this is remarkable. All sorts of geologic and astronomic and cosmogonic theories have been interpolated into this divine narrative of the preparation of the earth for man's abode; but no one has tried to read into it Agnosticism or Pantheism or astrology, or the worship of the heavenly bodies or of animals or plants. It is a clear and unmistakable protest against them all.

And so gradually the sixth day is reached, and again there is creation. The mammalia came into existence on this day, but no act of creation is recorded as regards them. The law of animate life as given on the fifth day included the higher as well as the lower fauna. Had there been any new creation I suppose that new types of life would have been introduced. I can speak upon such a subject with no authority, but I imagine that even man's body follows the old type, and that there was no creation there. At all events, I find in verse 26 the simple phrase: "And God said, Let us make man." It is spoken in a very solemn manner, but as far as the words go, man might have been nothing more than an improved monkey. Improved, must I say? No; rather a monkey that had retrograded in the scale of creation, and which, having once had four hands, has now got only two. What an advantage it would be to man if he had four hands! Cricket is a manly game now; but fancy cricket with bowlers who could throw the ball with the hind as well as the fore hand; and how magnificent the fielding would be with four-handed men! Physically we must grant that the monkey has the entire advantage.

But the Mosaic account goes on to speak of man as a creation: "So God created man in His image." The words tell us where the gulf is which required the creative power of God. Not in the body. There was no new departure there. The skeleton of a man and of a monkey may, for all I know, be similar, barring the obvious advantage of the latter in the matter of hands. His larynx may be as well fitted for talking as ours, and his brain may have as intricate convolutions as those of a professor. I have no idea whether he has a brain formed as ours, nor do I care. In such matters God's law of creation in animate life would work continuously, as does His law about light, or that about vegetation. What I notice is that Moses only uses the word *creation* when a wide gulf is crossed separating things different in kind, and not of the progress from the lower to the higher, when it is a difference only of degree. No special act of creation separates the oak from the moss, or the elephant from the beetle. But a special act of creation does separate man from the mammalia. What, then, was it which required this mighty energy? Where stands this barrier which God alone could enable man to cross? It consists in all that is signified by man being in the Divine image; in his being capable of holding relations to God; in his being a religious animal, and therefore a moral animal, with the power of distinguishing right and wrong; capable, therefore, of reasoning and choosing; capable of prayer; and therefore of speech; capable of serving God and of attaining

to a nearness unto Him, and with the earnest, therefore, of immortality.

We hear much silly talk about God being a mere force, and, therefore, of the non-existence of the supernatural; and about science having disproved miracles, and about the antecedent improbability of revelation, and of the Incarnation of the Godhead, and of the impossibility of the Resurrection. We ask these vain talkers to account for the existence of man with his distinctly supernatural qualities. The first chapter of Genesis solves for us the enigma. Scientific men deride it because they pass by unregarded its deep spiritual significance. But this wonderful history tells us that there were but four stages of creation, all leading up to and finding their crowning glory in man. The first was the creation of matter; the second the creation of vegetable life; the third the creation of animal life; the fourth the creation of man in God's image, of man's spiritual, and not of his physical nature. "So God created man in His image." In this relation to God thus clearly but simply stated, lies the rationale of miracle and revelation, of the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Atonement. Scientific men themselves acknowledge that in creation all things have their use and all needs their supply. The first chapter of the Bible tells us of a religious animal, and calls his formation a creative act. We still find man a religious animal. The fact agrees with the old record, and we have only to think it over and understand its vast significance, and all the difficulties so ably marshalled by the students of material science pass away into a thin mist. For mark, these men who speak in the name of science are the exponents of material science. They have studied with singular success the laws of the universe, and there they can speak with authority, but only there. Each science has its day of special prominence, and then falls back into its proper place. Material science is the glory of our age, and is doing theologians a world of good; and happily theologians are not above being taught. But with all that noble sphere of thought and action and belief which belongs to man as a religious and spiritual being material science has nothing to do. Yet how strange that in this vilified and derided first chapter of Genesis there should be the remedy for Agnosticism, for Pantheism, for Materialism, as well as for the gross forms of Polytheism which existed in old time, and a firm foundation laid for all the marvels of God's redeeming love. Wonderful is this agreement of the Bible with itself. As it begins so it proceeds. It begins with God preparing a place for man, creating him in His image, and caring for him as the one being on this earth holding a definite relation to Himself. It next describes the entrance

of evil, and tells us of the great struggle of which man is the centre. The rest reveals to us a higher and more marvellous preparation for a nobler and more enduring sphere of existence, where man will be no longer a natural being, but one in whom the spiritual will be triumphant, and whose eternal home will be in the immediate nearness of God. And for all this we have the fitting introduction in those significant words: "And God said, Let us make man in our image after our likeness. . . So God created man in His image, in the image of God created He him."

R. PAYNE SMITH.

ART. II.—EURIPIDES.

(The References are to Nauck's Edition, Leipzig, 1866.)

THE enormous popularity of Euripides is sufficiently attested by the large number of his extant plays—nineteen, besides a quantity of fragments equal in bulk to three or four more. The most salient and impressive feature of ancient Greece, its prolific exuberance, is virtually lost upon us moderns by our unconsciously measuring the poet only by the scale of his extant remains. Æschylus is credited with seventy plays; Sophokles, when all the spurious or suspected ones have been deducted, with one hundred and thirteen, of each of which totals seven alone survive: and Euripides with eighty, of which nineteen survive; besides which, each of them was more or less conspicuous in lyric or elegiac effusions, even if they had not won the foremost place with the buskin and the mask. If, however, Euripides was so popular, it is because he was so human. He took tragedy off its stilts, and was the most ready, versatile and copious interpreter of our emotions, occupying thus the opposite pole to Æschylus, who, as we have seen,¹ dealt by preference with the superhuman, the sublime, and the unfathomable. Sophokles, alike in period and in genius, occupies a mean-point between the two, as in statuary the heroic scale between the colossal and the life-size. The three were in Greek anecdote severally connected with the immortal memory of the victory of Salamis, in which Æschylus was a combatant; Sophokles, then a stripling lad, chosen for his personal beauty to lead the youthful chorus of the celebrants; while Euripides was born on the day.² There are, of course, different accounts, some placing the birth of the

¹ THE CHURCHMAN, vol. xiii., p. 367, 371-2.

² The *Corp. Inscript.* 6,051 gives: *Εὐρειπίδης Μνησαρχίδου Σαλαμίνιος πραγματὸς ποιητής*. Salamis is known to have been a deme of Attica. This description is no doubt therefore official and technical, and we may

last-named five years earlier; but the above triune memorial, on the whole, holds possession, nor is any sceptical criticism likely to succeed in displacing it. Euripides, taken thus as born 480 B.C., is believed to have reached the mellow age of seventy-four, dying, therefore, 406 B.C., but not on Attic soil. He had, either under the shock of public calamity—although he survived not to hear of the crowning disaster of Ægospotami in 405 B.C.—or to avoid the attacks of his many enemies; or again, as some suppose, owing to unhappy domestic circumstances, retired to the Macedonian Court of King Archelaüs. There, in the upland glades, which lie among the spurs of the Pangæan range, he is believed to have composed the “Bacchæ,” probably among his latest works. The wild surroundings of mountain and forest ministered to his Muse, and the drama seems set in the scenery which lay before the poet’s eye. His father was a Mnesarchus or Mnesarchides, his mother a Kleitô. The only blot on his birth was that she at one time sold garden produce; for had his birth been assailable at any other point, we should surely have heard of it from Aristophanes. The fact was no doubt due to some temporary impoverishment during his early years. And, indeed, the Persian occupation of Attica and Salamis must have been the temporary ruin of many families locally connected with the soil. A work of Philochorus (circ. 250 B.C.) is cited by Suidas and others, defending the poet from the aspersions of enemies, and giving various interesting details of his life. He asserted the poet’s family to have been no mean one. Theophrastus also, the philosopher, friend, and successor of Aristotle, who flourished half a century earlier, is cited by Athenæus, as stating that the poet was, when a boy, chosen as cupbearer on a festive occasion, for which even noble blood was socially requisite. He was, in early youth, an athlete, and a fragment of his “Autolyceus” has left on record his detestation of the professionals of the palæstra. The Olympian story referred to

take it that the poet belonged to the island. This makes it not unlikely that he was born either there or on the shore close by, in hurried removal from the immediate scene of action, and thus within earshot of the crash and roar of combat, described so powerfully by Æschylus in the “Persæ,” v. 353 foll. Other accounts make him belong to the deme of Phlya or to that of Phylé.

¹ The precise time of his birth, however, must be allowed doubtful. It is said, indeed, to have been doubted in his own lifetime, and that he was rejected from a competition at the Olympic games because what we should call his “birth-register” was not forthcoming. This, however, is a very natural circumstance, if, as has been suggested above, he was born amid the *Sturm und Drang* of the greatest naval fight in Grecian history, and close to the scene of struggle. There is also a tradition that he used a cavern in Salamis facing the sea as a favourite retreat for study, far from the *profanum vulgus*, like Horace at his Sabine Farm.

in Note 3 confirms this. He is also said to have studied painting; and as Polygnotus, greatest of the early school of art, was his contemporary, the current standard would have been by no means low. But philosophy early absorbed him, Anaxagoras, friend and tutor of Perikles, taught him, as did also Prodikus and Protagoras, greatest and most famous of the "Sophists." Thus the leaders of the early Attic school of thought formed his intellectual and moral character; while with Sokrates his intimacy was such that the story was current, how that sage (or Arch-Sophist, as Aristophanes would have it) helped him in the composition of his tragedies. We may compare him, in regard of philosophic basis and the discipline of thought, with Goethe among the moderns. The two, moreover, stand similarly related to the current orthodoxy of their respective periods in Hellas and in Germany. The theosophic sentiments in the scene where Gretchen expresses her abhorrence of Mephistopheles may even be nearly paralleled by several Euripidean specimens. Nor would it be difficult to trace analogies between some of the governing ideas in the "Walpurgis-nacht" and those of the "Bacchæ." The scenes in which Goethe deliberately classicizes are designedly dropped from our comparison, as having a foregone bias in favour of our parallel. But it would be easy to show that in these Goethe moves rather in an Euripidean than in a Sophoklean or Æschylean orbit. We return, however, to the scanty biographical materials at our disposal.

The poet is believed to have been twice married, but not happily, and at least once divorced; but scandal has been so busy alike with his living and posthumous fame, that it is not easy to say more than this. He had, at least, three sons, one of whom, as well as a nephew (each named Euripides) was a play-wright; and the son exhibited successfully, after his father's death, three of the latter's plays—the "Bacchæ," the "Alcæon," and the "Iphigeneia at Aulis." The remorseless espionage of scandal pursued him into private life. Every public man at Athens lived "in a glass house," and the popularity of our poet made him, too, a public property. He was moreover gifted with a sensibility which gave him an insight into the complex phenomena of human emotion. This one may infer from his dramas, which abound with all the traits of tender feeling. Every pressure of circumstance acts on him like pressure on the key of an organ, and rouses a responsive note of expression, whether simply sensitive, or reflective. Thus he sways his audience through a wider gamut of the moral sympathies than any of the poets of antiquity. The pathos of childhood, of childlessness, of bereavement, of old age, of exile, of desertion, of ingratitude, of treachery, of slavery,

of hapless self-devotion, of sanguine hopefulness, of sudden despair, are all his. We may reasonably infer that he was in personal temperament over-weighted with sensitiveness to correspond—that he felt keenly the fickleness of the popular voice, the favour shown to unworthy rivals, the influence of political prejudice upon literary judgments, and was one of those who, as Shelley says, “learn in suffering what they teach in song.” The utter abandonment of license conceded to the comic caricaturist was the crying vice of the greatest period of the drama. Euripides was likely to feel more vividly than most its wholesale exaggerations, its coarse scurrility, and its foul or flippant distortions of the harmless incidents of private life. Unhappy domestic circumstances were sure to be fly-blown by the numerous insects which swarmed in the atmosphere of Athenian gossip. Aristophanes himself too grossly stoops his genius to pamper this depravity of taste. The gigantic “dung-beetle” of his “Peace” is no unfit type of that which, above all in his attacks on Euripides, he himself condescended to become. But how long has modern society been free from the same pest, that we should venture to pillory the Comic Muse of olden Hellas? Look at the foul stream of English lampoon literature from Martin Marprelate to L’Estrange, from L’Estrange to Swift, from Swift to John Wilkes; see the atrocities which were talked and written, even by Cobbett, within the memory of men yet alive; and let us be humbly thankful that—save, perhaps, at the time of a general election—the understrappers of public life have ceased to fill the air with rival falsehoods.

The standard of society in Attica tended to degrade women, and thus generate far-reaching depravity. The ideal of woman which Perikles holds up in his famous oration (Thucyd., ii., 45), “to have as little as possible said about them, for good or for evil,” shows that to repress their energies and ignore their influence was the tendency of the social system there. Thus Attic women lay under continual provocation to assert themselves out of their proper sphere, being condemned to seclusion and repression within it. The stimulus thus given was the more fatal from the absence of any definitely fixed moral standard, and most fatal of all when the currents of thought became more and more guided by the influence of the “Sophists,” as in Euripides’ own time. Old traditions of reverence were giving way before the solvent of popular scepticism, and found nothing to replace them. Home hardly existed for the Athenian housewife. It was for the male sex a “Liberty-Hall;” for the female, little else than a prison-house. Thus, while there was nothing adequate to draw out the nobler energies of womanhood, which crave for their due development, the

elements of Faith and Love; there was much to draw out its baser energies towards gossip, scandal, contumacy and intrigue. In such a state of society a poet, with powers of abstract thought and imagination dominant within him, would not easily make a good choice of a helpmate, amidst the existing fatal facilities for a bad one.

We may remember the somewhat parallel case of Milton, whose poems certainly show that he was more familiar with Euripides than with any other Greek writer—a preference, perhaps, founded on deeper sympathy than that of the textual study merely. Euripides seems, from the anecdotes preserved, to have been grave, self-restrained, and a profound student; losing early whatever playful gush of character he may have possessed. If bad wives were, under the social circumstances of the age, more easy to come by than good ones, such a temperament as his was likely to make bad worse.¹

The versatility of the poet's creed, in respect of great regulative principles which for his predecessors are fixed, is his leading mental characteristic. Counter-currents of belief seem to play through him. His principles, so to speak, exist for the immediate purpose of his plot, vary with the demands of dramatic interest, and seem to shift with the scene. They sit, as did Byron's, loosely upon him, and do not govern but serve. We shall see further on, how one play overthrows the conclusion and contradicts the characters of another, and how readily the "damp sponge" of the artist "effaces the lines" of plot traced in a kindred previous drama.² But I am speaking now of cardinal points of ethics and religion, which for Æschylus and Sophokles were absolute; although, as we saw, in the former sometimes pushed to antagonism. Euripides assumes or dispenses with them, led, it should seem, by poetic sympathy with the spirit of the work in hand. Thus, as regards the recognition of the gods, a fragment of his "Bellerophon" runs, "Does anyone venture now to assert that there are gods in heaven? There are not! There are not!" Another fragment doubts whether it is chance or Providence (*δαίμων*) that sways the affairs of mortals. And such passages were turned to account by Aristophanes, who roundly says, "In his tragedies he has brought men over to the belief that there are no gods." Yet, on the other hand, in the "Bacchæ" we read, "yet though dwelling aloof in the sky the celestials survey the affairs of mortals;" and so yet another fragment, "Behold!

¹ It should be remembered that we know Euripides almost wholly from his enemies' report; and chiefly from that enemy's who most flattered his own sense of power by vivisectioning the character and domestic relations of his victim.

² Cf. Βολαῖς ὑγράσων σπύγγος ἔλεσεν γραφήν.—Æsch., "Agam.," 1329.

all ye who deem that there is no god—nay, there is! there is!" Elsewhere, again; he seems to deify Æther as a source or creator of all life. Thus in the "Danaë," "This it is which bids things flourish and fade, live and perish;" and again, "O maid, Æther begat thee, the Zeus whom men so call." Here again Aristophanes is close upon him, where, when called upon to "address his prayer to the gods of his own cult," he invokes "Æther, my source of sustenance (*βίσκεημοι*)!" This Æther, with its rotating current or whirl of air (*δῆρος*), the elemental forces and astronomical objects, were borrowed from the physical speculations of Anaxagoras, as is also the doctrine that Mind (*νοῦς*) is that which gives brute matter its orderly arrangement and motion—*mens agitat molem*. Similar in its source is the language applied in the "Orestes" to the sun, as a metallic mass heated to incandescence (*μυδρος*). And in the "Ion" one expression seems to challenge modern thought by its anticipation of a quite recent discovery, the "photosphere" of the sun.¹ We thus find the poet atheistic, pantheistic, and piously orthodox by turns. He probably had "an open mind" upon these deep subjects. Unable to shake off the notion of a Supreme Being, he yet sees the incredibility of the popular creed; and sometimes denounces its absurdity, more often leaves his audience to apply for themselves the *reductio ad absurdum* which his incidents of plot suggest. The wide views of natural philosophy opened by Anaxagoras had shaken in his mind all the strata of traditional beliefs. He lets those views have free range, personifies physical principles, and then clothes them poetically with attributes which seem to compete with divinity. But again, these centrifugal forces are balanced by others in the moral order which have a centripetal tendency. He cannot shake off a moral government of the world, nor dissociate Providence from Omnipotence. Again, as regards his social maxims, most of those which startle us are suited to the character; as when one of the rival brothers acquits injustice when committed for a throne, or the other commends servile dependency where advantage is to be gained. "Allow me," so we read in a fragment, "to be denounced as base, so long as I win by it;" which is doubtless to be understood as in Shakespeare the hireling murderer's discovery, that his "conscience" is "in the Duke of Gloucester's purse." Similarly the famous line for which he was arraigned, which we may render, "The tongue took an oath, but the mind was unsworn,"² is to be construed as a defence against the binding power of an oath extorted under false pretences, not as a wholesale plea for perjury.

¹ ἀρ' ἐν φαιναῖς ἡλίου περιπτουχὰς ἔνεστι, κ. τ. λ.—"Ion.," 1516.

² ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμῶμοχ' ἢ δὲ φρήν ἀνάμωτος.—"Hippol.," 612.

With regard to his famous misogynism, there are passages which blaze with it, and characters which seem constructed to feed the flame, as those of Medeia, the nurse in "Hippolytus," and Hecuba in the latter part of the play which bears her name. Yet there are other characters moulded on directly opposite lines: Andromache, the blameless wife and tender mother; Alkestis, the model of conjugal devotion, Elektra of sisterly, Makaria of patriotic. For such the poet breathes and feels unmingled reverence. He could appreciate, even in Athens, feminine nobleness, sweetness, and moral beauty, and fathom all the uncalculating depth of self-surrender of which woman's nature is capable. Yet, on the whole, the note of "bitterness against them" which St. Paul forbids must be allowed in him to prevail; and probably one of the "roots" of that "bitterness" lay in his own domestic experience. The Divorce Court is a bad school for the study of female character, and Euripides, as we hinted above, is supposed to have gone through it or some analogous process. But if there was a pound of looseness or fickleness in one or both of his wives, there was probably a grain of incompatibility in himself. His character seems to lack the "outwardness" which makes and keeps a contented spouse; even as we read of another with whom he is compared above, "Master John Milton was a sour-tempered gentleman." In weighing, however, the utterances of Euripides on the subject of woman, we must not forget that Hesiod, Simonides, and Archilochus had said as bad of her before. Even the mild and gracious Sophokles, although his Deianeira is a winning impersonation of the tender and anxious wife just on the verge of jealousy, yet says in a fragment, "If there be a pest to mortals, there is not and never will be one worse than a woman."¹ Nay, Aristotle, the prince of philosophers, is the prince of misogynists, and classes together women and slaves. (Is Aristotle much read at Girton and Newnham?) He says there *is* such a thing as goodness in either; which he then qualifies as follows: "Although perhaps the fact is that women are rather bad than good, and slaves wholly worthless."² Ancient society disrated woman, made her a *quantité négligeable*, save for nursery and domestic purposes, and then complained that woman justified its contempt by depravity or worthlessness. It was Christianity alone which set her free to love in purity. Can we be surprised that ancient poets reflect ancient society on the whole?

¹ κάκιον ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ἔσται ποτε

γυναικὸς, εἴ τι πῆμα γίγνεται βροτοῖς.—Soph., "Fragm., 195."

² καὶ γὰρ γυνὴ ἔστιν χρηστὴ καὶ δοῦλος καίτοι γε ἴσως τὸ μὲν χεῖρον, τὸ δὲ δλωσ φαῦλόν ἐστι.—Aristot., "Poët.," xv.

Most remarkable is the mannerism which the teaching of the sophists with its daily application in the popular law-courts stamped on the poet's mind. Save in his lyrical passages he is seldom uninfluenced by it. The opposition pleadings are nicely balanced, as in speeches of counsel. Every topic is duly marshalled, rival examples are adduced, rival commonplaces urged, rival conclusions established. Where Sophokles is ethical, Euripides is rhetorical. In the former the sentiments, in the latter the arguments, form the outline of character. Every personage, from hero to slave, is in Euripides ready with some choice morsel of gnomie wisdom. The poet runs over with the utterances of the lecture-room; and can no more refrain from giving "Socratic" sageness to a chorus of damsels than Sheridan could from besparkling with dicacious brilliancy the "heavy fathers" of the stage. The first are ready to die of wisdom, as the latter of wit, misplaced.

Aristotle with his "woman and slave" theory finds support from Euripides for the first half only. In no poet of the Old World but Homer¹ and Euripides does the slave find a champion. "A good slave is none the worse for being called a slave, and many of them are better than free men," and "on many slaves their name is a slur; but their spirit is more free than those who are not slaves." Not that their evil points escape his notice—affectedness of a knowing air, gluttony, covetousness, untrustworthiness, and their aping the vices of their masters.² We have noticed his aversion to the athletic fraternity, and his denunciation of the swagger and greed, in spite of which they were "idols of society."³ He had other *bêtes noires* in soothsayers and heralds. The former stood on the same ground as the augurs of Rome, but did not, as there, form a single *collegium*, and therefore had not the same trial to resist laughing in one another's faces. Euripides hardly makes any detailed charges against them, but evidently shares the view of their venality and untrustworthiness which *Œdipus* in his anger expresses in the scene with Teiresias.⁴ Sophokles in the "*Œdipus Tyrannus*" evidently points part of his awful moral against the impiety of doubting such revelations from the god. In Euripides we breathe an atmosphere of free scepticism on such pretensions. He says these revealers "are seldom right and often wrong in their shots at truth;" and reckons it "a simpleton's belief that birds can so benefit men."⁵

¹ Homer allows that slavery takes half the good out of a man. But his single character of Eumæus justifies what is here said.

² "Fragm.," 514, 515, 533; 49, 50, 52, 86.

³ *πῶλεως ἀγάλατα φοιτῶσ'*.—"Fragm.," 284, 10.

⁴ "*Œd. Rex.*," 337-9. ⁵ "*Iph. in Aul.*," 957; "*Helen.*," 747.

As regards heralds, they are babblers who intrude advice unsought, fawn upon fortune and power, are arrogant and exaggerating.¹ The sacredness attached to their office—one chiefly of ceremonial function—would naturally tend to inflate their pretensions, and make them regard themselves as a religious necessity.

One should notice in his treatment of his heroic themes that he never seems tied to any one version of their incidents, and cares not that those of one play conflict with those of another. The old epic matter, in whatever form it reached him, was so much mere protoplasm for his dramatic imagination to work upon. But he, further, seems to forget or ignore his own creations with the same license which he claims in respect to our Homer or the Cyclics. The power of novel situations and combinations to develop character or give powerful stage effect seems to master his remembrance at the moment, and he cancels at once the relations which he had previously created between the very same characters. It is as if Shakespeare had given us Falstaff married to Mrs. Ford in one play and to Mrs. Quickly in another, without the fat knight being either a widower or a bigamist; or had killed him first at Shrewsbury and then at Agincourt. To notice that Euripides makes Elektra married nominally to a virtuous rustic, and doing housewifely drudgery in a rural homestead, is only to take a sample of the way in which he sought his moral effects in the violent contrast of fortunes which such a situation of a heroine suggests. To compel a detested daughter to a degraded alliance was probably a resource within the current experience of family quarrels at the day, and would strike a responsive note in Athenian domestic feeling, whether of aversion or politic approval. To heighten the effect still further, he makes the heroine to have been first intended for Castor, the demi-god (as mythology mostly views him); and, to complicate relationships still further, makes Klytæmnestra to have borne children to Ægisthus. Each of these incidents is, I believe, equally *de suo*. We do not know what made Euripides alter the legend of Iphigeneia's sacrifice into a theurgic rescue. Perhaps some local legend from Tauri, reaching Attica, supplied his motive. Æschylus and Sophokles give her sacrifice as consummated, and make it the cardinal point of their plot. But after all, the greatest inconsistencies are to be found in Euripides as compared with himself. Thus Orestes and Elektra are brother and sister, and each gives the title to a drama, carrying on the fortunes of the great house of Atreus. Here, if anywhere, one would expect the poet to

¹ "Suppl.," 426; "Orest.," 895; "Troiad.," 425-6; "Heracl.," 292-4.

hold fast one consistent thread of plot.—Not in the least! The finale of one exactly upsets that of the other. The finales of Euripides, in fact, have no more “finality” than the successive Irish measures of a well-known statesman. The poet treats his creations as a child does his houses of cards. *Diruit, œdificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.*¹

As regards purely literary questions, it seems to me that the “Rhesus” must be Euripides’ genuine work. It was probably a very early effort of the poet’s, who is supposed to have begun writing plays at eighteen. It is taken apparently direct from our “Iliad,” x. It has no female character save the goddesses. In its direct *rapport* with Homer, and as regards the absence of female parts, it, with the “Cyclops,” stands curiously alone from all the rest of the extant plays of Euripides.² As experience led him to rely more on himself, his margin of complication would tend to widen, and the “Rhesus,” therefore, probably marks a minimum of such secondary resources. From this point he expands in boldness, until the plots of one play, as we have seen, contradict those of another—things of yesterday—*hiers je plaidais!* There are, however, some of the lost plays on Homeric subjects of which we know approximately the plot’s outline. Such is the “Philoktetes.” And here we have the further advantage of comparing not only the extant tragedy of Sophokles on the same theme, but a similarly lost one of Æschylus, known also in outline from similar literary sources. The latter poet, as might be expected, sticks close to the simple form of epos, which he diversifies only by hints taken from other parts of the “Iliad,” of which, as it were, it forms an interlude. Odysseus alone is the envoy here, and the time is *before* the wrath of Achilles was appeased by the death of Hektor. In Sophokles, as is well known, a *pair* of envoys—Odysseus and Neoptolemus—at a period, therefore, *subsequent* to Achilles’ death and Neoptolemus’ arrival at Troy, undertake the errand. In the latter generous and chivalrous comrade, the poet finds the ethical counterpoise which he seems to have affected to the wily and unscrupulous Odysseus. It is like coupling Sir Galahad and Sir Modred in the same enterprise. Now compare Euripides’ plot. There, as in the “Rhesus” and “Iliad,” Diomedes is the comrade of Odysseus, who is transformed unrecognizably by Pallas’ aid as in the Odyssey, and by the aid of native Lemnians (the Chorus) steals the famous bow from Philoktetes while in a paroxysm of pain.

¹ For the evidence in detail of this inconstancy of Euripides in his plots, see preface to “Odyssey,” vol. iii., pp. 55 to 60, and the references there given in the footnotes.

² Some, however, of the lost plays certainly lacked the interest of female parts; *e.g.*, the “Philoktetes,” of which more below.

But the poet could no more do without his weapon of dialectic than Philoktetes without his bow. He must complicate with an opening for an argumentative contest. Even in Lemnos Euripides is forensic or nothing. He therefore brings in a Trojan embassy, who seek to win Philoktetes' aid by playing on his enmity to the Greek princes. Odysseus is, of course, victorious in the war of words, and the Trojan overtures fail. Diomedes then persuades Philoktetes to join the Greeks on condition that Odysseus, against whom alone his enmity appears implacable, is excluded for the future from their host and council. This condition accepted, Odysseus suddenly reveals his real identity, and gains a further rhetorical triumph, the details of which are lost, by even now persuading Philoktetes to return with the condition rescinded. Here we see situations showing much dramatic smartness, and a *περιπέτεια*, as Aristotle calls it, of first-rate stage effect. And here we get a glimpse of that talent as a play-wright which enabled our poet to enhance interest and outshine rivals by striking incident and sudden change. If the material he wrought in was of inferior grain, yet his dove-tailing was exact, his polish consummate, and every hinge of the work well oiled.¹

A few words on the "Hippolytus" may here find place. I think my friend Professor Paley, to whose edition (and especially its preface, which has been before me as I write) I acknowledge special obligation, is correct in his moral estimate of this drama on the whole, perhaps with one reservation. Let us hear his words:

The character of Phædra is admirably conceived. The jeers of Aristophanes will never prevail with those who can sympathize with human feelings and infirmities, and who rightly judge Phædra to be neither a profligate nor an immodest woman. She makes no advances to Hippolytus; but, on the contrary, is fully conscious that the mere conception of love for him is criminal; and she strives to control and suppress it by every means in her power, but in vain. Finally, she prefers even death to shame. Her fault, doubtless, is the false charge which she leaves against Hippolytus; and it is not clear whether her object was to screen herself or to be avenged on him for his proud indifference. The former cause is alleged at v. 1310, the latter at v. 729. We must remember, in estimating her actions, that the Greeks thought suicide glorious, and deceit rather clever than wrong. In short, we may regard this false allegation against Hippolytus as an excuse for her suicide, and caused by her desire to assign a motive for it which would bring credit to herself, though to the discredit of another.—Introductory note to "Hippolytus," vol. i., p. 165.

I have only to add to the above one comment. I suppose that Juvenal expresses the traditional moral judgment of the

¹ Another very curious diversification on a simple Homeric theme was his "Phoenix." That hero tells his story in our "Iliad" ix.

ancients when he gives so far greater weight to the second of the above motives as to lose sight of the other, and make Phædra an example of the maxim, which indeed I see Mr. Paley has cited in his note on v. 730:

Mulier sævissima tunc est

Quum stimulos odio pudor admovet,¹

which we may reinforce by his further maxim :

Vindicta

Nemo magis gaudet quam femina.²

The ancients judged more nearly from the Euripidean standpoint than we can, and may be presumed to represent the poet's own judgments. Phædra, then, in revenge is clearly reckless. She knows that her revenge can only take effect by sowing strife between a father and a son, that father being *her own husband*, and making him in some way his own son's executioner; somewhat as Medeia for vengeance on Jason takes her children's lives with her own hands. In each case the closest ties, the tenderest natural affections, are sacrificed to the passion of revenge. After this I need add, surely, nothing more on the ethics of the piece.

The obvious lesson which lies on the surface in this play and the "Bacchæ" is the danger of despising this or that deity of the Pantheon. Olympus is a court jealous of the prerogatives of all its members; and for "contempt of court," shown even to the least eminent of them, heavy damages are sure to follow. There is, as Artemis explains to Theseus in this play,³ a joint interest among the immortals; and none will, even to rescue a favourite mortal, balk the vengeance of another. It is not unlike the principle of the proscription lists of the Triumvirs in Roman story. The notion is as old as Homer, and even those who deny antiquity to the "Iliad," must concede it to the tale of Meleagros in the ninth book. Thus, then, the "Hippolytus" and the "Bacchæ" both support in close detail a jealous polytheism. Is this what Euripides designed to teach?

I think that there is often a double purpose in genius, so that it conveys by the same vibrations of the same chord, one lesson obvious at the moment to the superficial thinker, and another, which may be opposed to the first, to the more ripened judgment. Whether both these are equally within the consciousness of the genius himself, is a question difficult to answer. Let us, however, take the direct moral of the poet's fable first. Hippolytus despises Aphrodite. He calmly remarks, when remonstrated with, that men have their favourite deities, as deities their favourite men, and that Artemis is *his*

¹ "Juv. Sat.," x. 328.

² *Ibid.*, xiii. 191.

³ "Hippol.," 1328 foll.

choice, coupled with a sexual asceticism of which, I think, we have no other instance in ancient Greek legends.¹ He is at once placed in a great strait of temptation. He recoils, but boils over with tempestuous indignation, and speaks the bitterest passage against women in all Euripides' remains. Then Theseus returns to find Phædra dead, with the fatal codicil of accusation in her hand, and Aphrodite's vengeance follows. As soon as that is over, too late to save, Artemis, his patroness, appears to explain and console. But the lesson of *læsa maiestas*, on the rival deity's part, is driven home.

In the "Bacchæ," Pentheus is slain, his mother and grandfather depart into exile, the vengeance of the god is complete. Great is Dionysus! as in the "Hippolytus" great was Aphrodite! So would the average Athenian spectator say, and, we may presume, would with renewed zeal frequent the rites of both.

But when a generation or two has passed in debating ethical problems, a knot of men here and there, led by Sokrates' and Plato's teaching, would put questions reaching behind these obvious lessons—as, What sort of gods must these be who directly stimulate to the unnatural access of a natural passion, and work through falsehood their way to wreck a whole household of innocent persons upon unnatural crimes suborned by these gods themselves? And how, if reason be the divine element in man, and passion the animal, can those be divine who in the struggle between them throw all their weight on the animal side? And how can she have died well whose last wish in dying was to be another's bane? Thus the greater the atrocity in which either tragedy deals, the greater would be the eventual recoil from mythological beliefs in the imprescriptible rights of the Olympians; the more intense the feeling that they represent but bloated passions, and goad to excesses which the sound mind of man abhors. Thus the lessons of accepting popular beliefs, and not being proudly wiser than the general public, which are inculcated in the letter, must be viewed either as an irony of the poet, or as a mere accommodation to the vulgar mind—a medium on which to float the more permanent lesson which lies below the surface for reflection to fetch up. Thus, taking the earlier and obvious lesson as that expressed in Virgil's line,

Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere Divos,

the lesson as presented by reflection would be, "The more we learn of justice, the more we must learn to despise *such* gods."

¹ It may be compared, of course, but distantly, with the relation of the peasant husband to Elektra. Both were, no doubt, of the poet's own device, and presumably had a root in his character—perhaps influencing his own conjugal relations.

Indeed, when we turn to the "Ion," we find some such lesson expressly formulated.

The language of Euripides is copious but chaste. He discarded, at least after his "Rhesus," nearly all traces of the somewhat bombastic style in which Æschylus delighted. The terse and vigorous Attic in which his dialogue proceeds leaves nothing of finish to be desired. The most stormy passion, the most delicate sentiment, the profoundest pathos, the most covert *innuendo*, all alike find their expression adequate. He was the most admired as a model of character-drawing by the great comic poets of the middle and later periods. He was the one whom Roman imitators in tragedy most readily followed. He has supplied the French stage of the golden classic period with a large amount of ready-made material. His love for the polished rapier of dialectic was his special weakness; but throughout the period of Attic independence that taste carried the relish of his countrymen with it. Nor were the constant apothegms and moral maxims in which all his characters indulge such a drug on the stage then as they would be now, or would have been in many an intervening age. Philosophy was then hardly fledged. Its results were curious novelties in the province of morals and in their application to conduct, as elsewhere. Remarks which are now staled by a thousand treatises embodying them or kindred topics had not become trite and threadbare of interest then.

These moral remarks and religious apothegms were so numerous that *spicilegia* of them were formed by various collectors. I will take a few as specimens, chiefly from the "Fragments":

399. But when wealth ebbs a match is weak-to-hold ;
Nobility's a thing men praise indeed,
But with the well-to-do they rather wed.
367. Regarding shame I can't quite see my way ;
One cannot do without it, yet 'tis mischief.
564. But different men are pleased with different tastes
[Or *chacun à son goût*.]
404. O mortal matters ! and O women's wits !
How great a plague in Venus' wiles we find !
409. A well-born wife, though beauty there be none,
Is prized by many for their children's sake,
And high position more than property.
- "Elekt." 551. For many, though born noble, yet are base.
- "Fragm." 355. None from an unjust warfare comes home safe.
357. Your big ship's better than your little boat.
670. Love that leads on to wisdom and to worth
Is all men's envy : may such love be mine.
548. Of all things worst to combat is a woman
1116. Nay, but what house, what frame of workmen's hands
Can hedge the god within its folded walls ?
[A striking parallel to the revealed truth : "The Most
High dwelleth not in temples made with hands."]

- "Suppl." 312. 'Tis this upholdeth human polities,
This their one safeguard—to hold fast the laws.
- "Fragm." 970. For silence is an answer for the wise.
The parents' failures on the children's heads
The gods bring back.
[Compare the Second Commandment.]
842 Virtue, best prize of all within men's power.

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

ART. III.—MR. OLIPHANT'S "LIFE IN MODERN PALESTINE."

Haifa, or Life in Modern Palestine. By LAURENCE OLIPHANT. Blackwood and Sons.

MR. OLIPHANT'S new work is a reprint of a series of letters which were originally contributed by him to the *New York Sun*. The author being the owner of a property on Mount Carmel, upon which he resides, has had opportunities seldom enjoyed by an English gentleman of observing the customs and character of the people, of investigating antiquities, and exploring ancient sites, and of forming opinions on many social, religious, and economical questions of great importance in connection with the prosperity of the Holy Land. His book is full of information, not always new, but always given in an agreeable and attractive style. It is likely to find many readers.

The last thirty years have witnessed many changes in the condition of Palestine. Increased facilities of communication with the Western world, and greater security for the lives and property of travellers, have caused a great influx of pilgrims and tourists, all of whom leave money behind them. The religious interest which attaches to the country has induced Christians as well as Jews to turn thither, in the hope of establishing themselves as settlers, and more than one great Christian power fosters the foundation of important enterprises, the aim of which is to extend the influence of the Greek and Latin Churches, and through them of the nations by which they are protected. Around Jerusalem alone a dozen places can be counted in which new convents, hospices, and schools have been erected under French or Russian protection during the present generation, and the consular representatives of those countries are accustomed to attend in great state the Easter and Christmas ceremonies of their respective Churches. Official France ignores religion at home, but makes use of the religious zeal and enthusiasm of its people to further its political aims abroad. "These French consuls," writes Mr.

Oliphant, "are all very pious men in Syria. The French Government, which has been ejecting monks and nuns, and closing religious establishments, and making laws against religious instruction in France, is very particular about the religious principles of their representatives in Syria." The activity of French Roman Catholics in that country, and the enormous sums which they expend in building, are a hindrance to the humbler and more spiritual work of Protestant missionaries, and at the same time a principal cause of the tendency of certain of the Oriental Churches to seek alliance with the Church of England. It is a subject which in our own country has not yet received the attention it deserves.

Mr. Oliphant writes :

Within the last two years it has occurred to the Franciscans to make excavations (at Sefurieh) with the view of restoring the ancient cathedral and of renewing its fame as a holy place. . . . An influx of pilgrims to this point will have a threefold effect. It will bring money to the Franciscan treasury ; it will probably be the means of converting the resident local population, who have been fanatic Moslems, but who, I was assured by my ecclesiastical informant, had benefited so much by the money already spent that they were only deterred by fear, and by its not being quite enough, from declaring their conversion to Christianity to-morrow ; and, thirdly, it would give the French Government another holy place to protect. For it is by the manufacture and protection of holy places that Republican France extends and consolidates her influence in these parts.

Of the colonies established during the last years by Jews from Russia and Roumania, Mr. Oliphant speaks hopefully. "So far as energy, industry, and aptitude for agricultural pursuits are concerned," he says, "the absence of which has always been alleged as the reason why no Jewish colony could succeed, the experience of more than two years has proved that such apprehensions are groundless, and that with a fair chance, Jews make very good colonists." There are already eight or nine Jewish colonies in various parts of the country, and the agricultural college near Jaffa, established some fifteen years ago by the Israelite Alliance, educates young Jews for agricultural pursuits. But it is difficult to find openings for the pupils on the completion of their training, and many "on leaving college engage in some more profitable and congenial pursuit than tilling the land. As a rule, middle-aged men, with a limited education and large families, make better agriculturists than ambitious and well-educated youths." "The best material for farmers," we read, "is to be found among those Jews who have been bred and born in the country, who are already Turkish subjects, who speak the language, and are familiar with all the local conditions."

A good deal has been written of late against "proselytizing" among the native Christians of Palestine. Mr. Oliphant's

account of the feast of St. Elias on Mount Carmel, and "Easter among the Melchites" at Haifa, goes far to show how much need of religious enlightenment there is in the Christian communities. "Devotions which consist chiefly in dancing and drinking, with an occasional free fight, all through the small hours of the morning," can hardly be said to indicate a satisfactory state of things. "As I passed through the outskirts of the town," he says, "I came upon the male Melchite population indulging in their circular dance and their discordant chants. They continued on the following day, stimulated by a plentiful indulgence in intoxicating liquors, thus to glorify God, and to celebrate the resurrection of the Saviour among men."

The chapter on the Druses will be read with interest. It tells us little that is new about this strange race, but narrates some remarkable incidents illustrative of their character and customs. "They are a sober, fairly honest, and industrious people, and have their own notions of morality, to which they rigidly adhere." It is a curious fact that there are no Moslems on Carmel proper. There are five or six Moslem villages on its base, but the population of the mountain itself "consists of two Druse villages, numbering together about eight hundred souls, and about fifty Christians, besides the twenty-five monks who inhabit the monastery."

A great part of the house property in the town of Haifa is owned by the monks of Mount Carmel, who consider the whole of Carmel, from the monastery at the western extremity of the mountain to their chapel at the place of Elijah's sacrifice at the other end, as a sort of private reserve, and push their religious pretensions to such an extreme that they look with the utmost jealousy upon any foreigner who attempts to buy land in the mountain, and oppose any such proceeding with all their energy.

The policy of the Turkish Government, also, is to prevent foreigners buying land there, or in any part of Palestine, although they are entitled to do so by treaty; and it is this more than anything else that renders the improvement of the land by European enterprise so slow. Every legal device is taken advantage of to raise difficulties. At the Jewish colony of Zimmarin, we read, "they refused permission to build houses, on the plea that the colonists had no right to the land. This claim was based on the allegation that the proprietor of the property, who was an Austrian Jew, in whose name it was bought for the colonists, had died childless, and, according to Turkish law, landed property reverts to the Turkish Government under these circumstances."

The chief reason of this reluctance of the Sultan's Government to facilitate the formation of colonies is the fear that each colony held and inhabited by subjects of a foreign power will become a source of legal difficulties and disputes, and be

made an excuse for the interference of foreign consuls. Nor should the Turks be judged too harshly in this matter. They are quite ready to welcome Jews, and even Christians, who desire to settle in Ottoman territories, provided they are willing to renounce their old nationality and become Ottoman subjects. The settlement of Bosnian Slavs among the ruins of ancient Cæsarea is an interesting episode of modern history. They are Moslems, and when their country was handed over to Austria they preferred migrating into the dominions of the Sultan, where they would be under Mohammedan rule. They are building houses for themselves out of the remains of the old city, and, unfortunately for travellers in that region, have not quite given up their old predatory propensities. The Circassians also, who have settled of late years in the neighbourhood of Mount Hermon, are a lawless and thieving set, and some stirring instances of encounters between them and the German colonists of Haifa are narrated.

Mr. Oliphant's archaeological researches took him to some seldom-visited localities, and rewarded him with many interesting discoveries. Near the plain of Buteha, which is an alluvial expanse about two miles in length by one in breadth, in the country north of the Sea of Tiberias, where a battle was fought by Josephus against the Romans under Sylla, he discovered the ruins of a synagogue and indications that a very large city had once existed there. The natives of these regions are very suspicious of strangers, especially such as measure and sketch. "See," they cried, "our country is being taken from us." His request for old coins only frightened them the more. "They vehemently protested that not one had been found, an assertion which, under the circumstances, I felt sure was untrue; nor did the most gentle and reassuring language, with tenders of backshish—which was nevertheless accepted—tend to allay their fears."

The author has given much attention to the proposal to construct a railway from the Bay of Acre to Damascus, which would open up the great corn-growing plain of Esdraelon, the fertile country around Beisan and in the Jordan Valley, and the Hauran. For the present, the negotiations with the Sublime Porte for a concession seem to have been broken off. But there is some reason to hope that the scheme may before long be carried out, especially as the Sultan himself is the owner of much land in that district, and would be a personal gainer. The general impression conveyed by this book is that there is still much land to be possessed in Palestine which would yield rich returns to capitalists, and many ancient sites still need exploration which only need excavation to afford valuable results to investigators qualified for the task. The industry

and learning of the officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund have furnished an immense amount of information, but there are still isolated spots whose hidden archæological treasures are still waiting to be unearthed.

It is disappointing to find no allusion made in the book to the beneficial effects of evangelical missions: the schools and colleges, preachings and Bible distribution, hospitals and orphanages of Germans, Americans, and English, which are exercising an important influence all over the country.

THOMAS CHAPLIN, M.D.



ART. IV.—THE CHURCH AND THE JUBILEE.

BEFORE another number of *THE CHURCHMAN* appears the Jubilee Festival of our loved and honoured Queen will have been celebrated, and we shall be once more settling down to the routine work of life. It is not an inopportune moment to ask with what thoughts and dispositions it becomes an English Churchman to regard the event and the rejoicings. The past half-century has been one of considerable trial and many searchings of heart for the Church. It has been no time of rest and peace; our enemies have been always active and often confident; attacks from without have been supplemented by dissensions within; and even the brief period of respite from assault during the past few months has been signalized by an amount of distress among the rural clergy of which few except those in actual contact with it—and not all of them—have any idea. Nevertheless, our alarms have been greater than our dangers; want of faith has been more to blame for our fears than the strength of the foe; no weapon that has been formed against us has wounded us to our real hurt; the work of the Church is better done than it was; clergy and laity are more in earnest; we have taken seriously in hand to purge out the old abuses; our position in the country is a far higher one to-day than when the Liberation Society was formed forty-three years ago; and, I would ask confidently, who is there amongst us that would exchange our present strife with the world for the former torpor of acquiescence in the world? In looking back fifty years we, indeed, of all men, have good cause to be thankful for the blessings, open or disguised, bestowed upon the Church during the reign of our present gracious Queen. And for these special blessings it is desirable that clergy and laity should combine to provide some thank-offering—perhaps more than one—worthy of the occasion. This, however, is somewhat apart from

the object of the present paper, which is to regard the Jubilee celebration rather in its wider aspects, though always from the standpoint of Churchmen.

No one can have watched with any attention the growth of the idea of a Jubilee without seeing that the chief thing we are about to celebrate is really our own national and imperial greatness. What we are mainly called upon to contemplate is our marvellous empire, spread over all parts of the globe, and ruling members of every human race; extending its benevolent sway alike in the frozen North or the burning Tropics, and over civilized and savage, Asiatic and European, Negro and American Indian. The vision of these ample materials of a world-wide dominion is passed before our eyes; and the task of welding them together into an enduring union is presented to us as an undertaking worthy of the imperial race whose pioneers have ever led the van of progress, whose merchants are in every mart, and their ships in every sea. This was the moral of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of last year, and this is to be the pervading idea and purpose of the Imperial Institute, by which the present Jubilee is to be commemorated. Of course the Queen is the central figure. Her reign has been associated not less with an enormous territorial aggrandizement than with a wonderful development within the realm she inherited. On her accession Canada was for the most part an unpeopled waste, and it has already begun to be a power in the Western world. Australia was less known and far less cared for than Canada; but our colonists there are now first among the peoples south of the equator, and, after another generation at the same rate of progress, will have no rival in the Pacific or the South Asian Archipelago. India, though governed from England, was not yet an appanage of the Crown, and Burmah was still independent, while the greater part of our present African possessions was hardly even explored. So, too, at home, railways were hardly known, steam navigation was yet in its infancy, and there was scarcely even a promise of the vast expansion of trade and commerce that has since taken place. All this, and much more, affords abundant reason for associating the Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign very closely with the coincident prosperity and progress. And an additional justification for this may be found in the virtues and graces which the Queen has uniformly displayed. The dignity, prudence, and sagacity which we look for in a sovereign, have been no less conspicuous than the tact and consideration which mark a lady, or the tenderness, the outspoken sympathy, and the deepfeeling which designate her a true woman. Combined with all these, the Queen has ever shown a devotion to duty, in respect of which she may fairly claim to have been, so far as her station gave the opportunity, an active co-operator in furthering the

greatness of her kingdom. But whilst all this is true the fact remains that, while welcoming so noble a text for mutual congratulations as her reign affords, the nation has yet something more than an afterthought for its own share in the results achieved.

It is, of course, natural enough, and altogether harmless, that we should all rejoice in realizing—most of us for the first time—how great are the achievements of the past, how unlimited the opportunities for the future. During all these years that we have been plodding along in the occupation of buying and selling, with little thought of the British inheritance beyond the seas, and with but poor appreciation of the new instruments of power that men of science were from day to day placing in our hands, our greatness has grown upon us almost without our knowledge, or at any rate without our sparing it more than a passing thought. But now an occasion arises that forces us to raise our eyes and steadily take in both the retrospect and the prospect. Surely, if ever rejoicing was justifiable it is at the moment when the mind first comprehends the true past, present, and future purport of such a vision as that which is before us. A man can hardly be an Englishman and deny it. But Christian people—at least if they believe in their own professions—are bound to have, not only very definite ideas as to the sources of national or imperial greatness, but also very clear notions as to the duty of acknowledging them by something more than mere tacit admission on great occasions like the present. It is in deference to this sense of propriety that the Queen will attend a solemn service of thanksgiving in Westminster Abbey, where, in obedience to the same thought, 'she was anointed and crowned forty-nine years ago. Constructively, all the subjects of her empire will be present on this latter occasion; but there the formality ends. Is a constructive participation in such a service a sufficient counterpoise to a feeling which it has been one of the objects of writers and speakers during the past few months to generate—the feeling of exultation which finds utterance in such words as, "Is not this great Babylon, which I have builded?" Nebuchadnezzar could boast that the walls which he commanded to rise were the work of thousands of slaves who lived but to execute his orders; but we claim that the very forces of nature are subject to our control. Steam, that generates the earthquake, either draws our chariot or twirls our spinning-wheel, as we desire; while the lightning carries our messages to the ends of the earth, or serves as candle in our banqueting-rooms. Nebuchadnezzar could never have vaunted himself in this strain. But it cannot be said that these phrases, and this vein of self-glorification, are not almost painfully familiar to us in these days, and especially in connection with our exhibitions, imperial or international. Is

not this our danger? Are we not in the habit of stopping short at these mere instruments of our prosperity, and failing to give the "glory to the Lord of Hosts from whom all glories are"? If so, the error is a very serious one; for assuredly such lessons as those of Nebuchadnezzar and of Herod are not intended to have a merely speculative value. They are revelations of the Divine method of punishing the spirit of national vainglory—the very spirit that is just now supremely active amongst us. It is, then, the plain duty of every Christian Englishman to check this tendency in himself, and, so far as he may, in his fellow-men. Happily, this task is not one involving mere trite exhortations, or the vain repetition of the commonplaces of religious truth. For, unless I have very much misread the teachings of history, they afford in our case a striking example of the growth of empire going hand in hand with the acceptance of its higher responsibilities.

There can be no better test of fitness to receive more, than the performance of our duty in respect of what we have; and, in this sense, nothing can be more righteous than the law that "to him that hath shall be given." The highest duty of a Christian nation in respect to a heathen world is that of spreading the knowledge of the Gospel. Britain, after emerging from European entanglements, and from the long contest with Spain for the supremacy of the ocean, was, in the seventeenth century, brought for the first time since the Saxon era into contact with a world practically heathen. Idolatry in its various forms was encountered all over the world, whilst, in the East, we were confronted with degenerate forms of some of the oldest and most spiritual of human beliefs. Strangely enough, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, England began to recognise her duty to the heathen by missions to the North American Indians. At that time, except in America, our colonial empire was no more than a handful of scattered settlements, and our acquisitions in India were yet in their infancy. Throughout the eighteenth century the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was doing good work. Our rule spread slowly, for the acquisition of Canada in 1759 was balanced by the loss of the United States twenty years later. But the great era of missionary awakening was the thirty years comprised between 1790 and 1820. In those years England had to confront the whole forces of revolution, and to combat the monstrous tyranny that threatened to follow in its wake. Then, if at any time, she might have been excused for adopting the prudential maxims which declare self-preservation to be the first law of nature, and exhort that charity should begin at home. But it was precisely at those supreme moments of political earthquake, when thrones were tottering and society seemed shaken to its centre, that England found time for con-

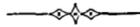
sidering the needs of the heathen and sending out workers into the Master's harvest-field. In these years were founded the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Wesleyan Methodist and the Baptist Societies, while the old Society of the S.P.G. renewed its youth. Now turn to the list of British possessions, and read the dates of their acquisition by settlement, cession, or capture. Turn also to the history of India, and find in what years our empire there first took definite shape, or see when Australia and New Zealand first began to be actively colonized. In all cases the answer is the same. They began with the beginning of missionary enterprise; they grew with its growth, and were perfected with its success and progress. No doubt the missionary work, if closely scrutinized, will be found to have often been marred by evil passions, by ignorance, by want of tact, and by worldly greed. But what human work ever did anything but fall woefully short of perfection? Did it not please God to bless far beyond its deserts such effort as is made in His name, we might well despair. What I contend is that the work was done by British instrumentality, and that the rapid growth of empire that accompanied its performance was no mere coincidence. Nor can I see anything to wonder at in the fact. "Them that honour Me I will honour," is God's promise. Unquestionably there was honour to God alike in the sudden outburst of missionary zeal at the close of the last century, and in the great evangelical revival at home at the same time. In these years, too, the tempest that wrecked all Europe left these islands unscathed, and while kingdoms were overturned the foundations of British rule were deepened and its domain widened.

And if this view be true, it follows not only that we hold our empire as the gift of God, but that it was conferred upon us, not through any merit of our own, but because it pleased Him to choose us as the instrument for spreading His glory among the nations. It was for this that, during the ages, His Providence moulded our composite race, and endowed with the characteristics of enterprise, love of commerce, national persistency, capacity for rule, and religious earnestness. For this, in the ages before man was, He fitted these islands by situation and products to take the lead in universal, as distinguished from European politics; and for this, too, when the time was come, He gave us the priceless boon of "the everlasting Gospel." Is not this a more ennobling source of gratification than mere gloating over our material prosperity or our advance in the manipulation of natural forces? Can any destiny be higher than to be the messengers of God's goodwill to the world, and to have the privilege—it has been partly done, is still doing, and is yet to do—of lifting the heavy curse from the necks of the sons of Ham?

But if these were our tasks while the sun of our empire was rising, are they to be abandoned now that it is approaching its meridian? Surely not; for the work is as yet very far indeed from its completion, and the conditions of our growth are also the conditions of our maintenance. It may be that the final accomplishment of our toil will be entrusted to other hands. Perhaps the full ingathering of the heathen is delayed till the veil shall be taken from the eyes of those in whom all the nations of the earth are to be blessed, and whose conversion is to be to the world as "life from the dead." Yet, even so, happy shall we be if we have prepared the way for such a consummation, and are found still labouring to bring it about. This, as it seems to me, should be our leading thought and purpose as Churchmen in connection with the Queen's Jubilee, and if so, our duty for the future seems clearly indicated by the above considerations. But there is one other matter, on which I may touch, that seems to reinforce our conclusion. From the earliest times the Church of England has been maintained by endowments. All the chief benefactions to the Church at home, even now, take the permanent form of providing at once for all time. I do not say that there is no need of supplementing our endowments by voluntary contributions, or that the progress of endowment keeps pace with the growth of population. But it is obvious that the chief burden of support falls upon the endowments; and it follows as a necessary corollary that, to that extent at any rate, the hands of the men of this generation are free. Free, for what? To spend their money for themselves, and thank the piety of their forefathers that left them nothing to do? Hardly so. Two obligations come at once to the front, and by them we are bound precisely to the extent that our fathers left us free. We have to grapple with the increase of population at home, and the evangelization of the heathen with whom our world-wide empire brings us into contact. These are not things which we may take credit for doing as works of supererogation; they are imposed upon us as duties by those who took out of our hands the work of providing for our own Church. Can anyone plead that this reasoning is unfair?—can anyone urge that it has been adequately taken to heart? Measured by the requirements here indicated, it is clear that our utmost efforts—thankful as we may be for having made them—fall a long way short of what we ought to have done. Measurements, however, in matters of this kind, are to be deprecated, unless for purposes of self-rebuke; for we are not to be commended for providing first for our own needs and then giving what we can spare. There never was a more exorbitant demand in this world's story than Elijah's "Make me thereof a little cake first;" and never did obedience bring a more signal blessing.

Here, then, we pause. If it be indeed true—as all revelation teaches, and as reason itself requires—that the course of this world is ordered by the Providence of God, it follows that the glory of our empire and its Sovereign have been part of the Divine purpose for the fulfilment of His Will. If we will discern what He would have us to do, and can second His purpose with heart and soul and strength, happy are we, and may go on and celebrate our Queen's Jubilee with all rejoicing. But if not—if we are blinded by prosperity, or rendered indolent by security—let us be sure that His purpose shall be accomplished without our aid, while we, as an instrument which has proved untrustworthy in His hands, shall either be passed through the tempering fires and waters of suffering, or, perchance, be thrown altogether aside as others have been before us.

GILBERT VENABLES.



ART. V.—JAMES FRASER, SECOND BISHOP OF
MANCHESTER.

James Fraser, Second Bishop of Manchester. A Memoir by THOS. HUGHES, Q.C. Macmillan and Co.

FEW men valued public applause less than Bishop Fraser, yet few men have obtained so large a measure of it. It was not unmixed with unfriendly criticism; but he seldom condescended to notice either the censure or the praise. His influence in Lancashire was a marvel to strangers. Mr. Thomas Hughes's biography will partly explain it. His wonderful activity and capacity for public duties, combined with his anxiety to help in every good work, involved him in engagements the fulfilment of which seemed incredible. His sympathy with his struggling clergy, his genial and cheery manner, bringing an atmosphere of brightness wherever he went, caused him to be so much sought after that the old Ignatian proverb, "Nothing without the Bishop," received a new rendering in his diocese. Nothing could be done well unless the Bishop did it, or helped to do it.

If life is to be measured by the work done, few have attained to the years of Bishop Fraser. If work is to be valued by its influence for good, we believe few Bishops in these latter times will have a brighter record on high.

Mr. Hughes has given us a charming biography of his friend, and an able vindication of his episcopate. Our only wish is that he had told us more. The work contains some trifling mistakes, likely to occur where the writer was not personally acquainted with the localities and circumstances. Bishop Lee

did not reside at so great—indeed, not half so great—a distance from the cathedral as Mr. Hughes supposes; and his successor bore willing testimony to the efficiency of his administration of the diocese. Moreover, the good Bishop would never have committed to print the hasty expression (see page 90) about the successful candidate for South Devon.

The Bishop's opinions of men and measures were freely expressed to his friends; but they were not intended in this form for the world at large. His political faith underwent considerable change during his episcopate. Starting as "a Radical Bishop," he was carried forward by the advancing tide of Lancashire Conservatism; and in his later years he was much more in sympathy with the majority of Lancashire Churchmen than when he first came among them. We strongly doubt whether his faith in Mr. Gladstone would have stood the test of that statesman's more recent developments.

We will not mar by anticipation the pleasure which our readers will find in the perusal of the "Memoir" itself. The main facts of Bishop Fraser's life are well-known, and many of us have heard them from his own lips. His father's death left him an orphan at an early age; but his mother, though in greatly reduced circumstances, managed to bestow on him and his brothers the best education which she could procure for them. All that he became he owed, and felt that he owed, to her; and he often spoke of her as an example to other mothers to deny themselves for the sake of their children. She had her reward not only in the success in life of her family, but in their deep and abundant gratitude. The Bishop's devotion to her was beautiful. It was indeed such a tribute as few mothers ever have received.

In college, as at school, young Fraser's success was marked. He speedily attained the highest honours and rewards. Many of his friends anticipated for him a distinguished following up of this career amid the learned labours of the University, and were surprised when he accepted a small parish and became a country parson. But he loved the country and its mute inhabitants: the cattle, the horses, and the dogs, as well as the people young and old. His ardour for improvement for a time found scope in finishing a new church, in building schools, in putting everything in order. With the society of his mother and aunt, who came to live with him, he was very happy. After twelve years of quiet work in this Wiltshire parish, he removed to Upton Nervet in Berkshire, which for the next ten years became his home. There he found more congenial neighbours; and having improved his house and settled to his work, he became so much attached to the place that he had no wish to leave it. Nor was this a transient feeling, for there, in the

beloved churchyard, his bones repose with those of his mother and his aunt in the grave which he prepared for them.

It was during his residence at Upton Nervet that the Education Question became a subject of pressing political interest. And Mr. Fraser, who had exerted himself so efficiently in his own parish schools, was selected as a Commissioner to report on Education in the United States and Canada. For this work he was specially adapted; and Mr. Hughes knows well how to appreciate such services. His report, also, on the employment of women and children in agriculture gave him an enlarged acquaintance with the wants of our working classes, and brought him still more under the notice of public men; so that, on the death of Bishop Lee, he was offered the vacant see of Manchester by the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone.

It has often been remarked that a special Providence seems to preside over the selection of our Bishops. Of all the numerous appointments made by Mr. Gladstone, none was more happy than that of Manchester. Bishop Fraser was the very man for the position; and Manchester was the position above all others to develop the man. The place, too, was prepared for him. Bishop Lee had organized the diocese admirably. But, better than mere external organization, an extensive spiritual work had been carried on by Hugh Stowell and other faithful pastors in the Church in his day. When Hugh Stowell went to Manchester, the Church was at its lowest ebb. Before he passed away, the Church in a great measure had recovered its hold upon the masses. If to any one man could be attributed the revival of Church life and activity in Manchester, to Hugh Stowell would belong that honour. He was a born leader of men. Wise in council, irresistible on the platform, deeply spiritual in his exposition of Holy Scripture, his very appearance in the pulpit, where his face habitually beamed with happiness, "allured to brighter worlds, and led the way." His influence with the young, and especially with young men, was incalculable. Before his time infidelity and radicalism had been rife in Manchester; but evangelistic work soon began to tell, and after a time, so great was the change that in a period of fifteen months 90,000 copies of the Scriptures, many of which were bought by themselves, were circulated among the working classes. That was the turning-point of the spiritual life of Manchester. Ever since, in day and Sunday schools, in the mission-rooms, and in the churches, a good work has been carried on; and hence the wonderful success of Bishop Fraser was made possible. Hugh Stowell and his fellow-labourers sowed the seed; Bishop Fraser reaped the increase.

How the Bishop threw himself into this work, the "Memoir" abundantly testifies. Descending from the old traditional ideal

of a prelate ruling in princely fashion, performing at select seasons the necessary functions of his office, and at other times keeping himself aloof from the great body of his clergy, Bishop Fraser became the helper and the friend of every hard-worked curate and incumbent in his diocese. He answered all their letters with his own hand. He wished to be regarded by them not merely as a father in God, but as a brother in Christ. In the earlier days of his episcopate, he often said, "Don't make a fuss about me; remember that only the other day I was a parish priest like one of yourselves." The people, too, were anxious to see their new Bishop, and were much surprised to find him going about everywhere, and in a manner so unusual and unexpected, striding along the street with a blue bag in hand, or riding with them in an omnibus; and when, moreover, they read in almost every paper his speeches, or sermons, or addresses, and heard continually of some touching instance of his courageous bearing or his wide-reaching sympathy, they became very proud of him. They felt that they had got a "gradely Bishop" of their own; and they overlooked his radicalism for his manliness and his unwearied labours in the Master's service.

Of Bishop Fraser's work in the diocese, Mr. Hughes gives an interesting account. Consecrated in the old Collegiate Church, in the midst of his clergy and people, he found the diocese in good working order. Bishop Lee's failing health had for some time prevented him from appearing much in public; but he administered diocesan affairs with wisdom and impartiality. Some of the more ardent spirits, whom his firm hand had restrained from lawlessness, were not slow to take advantage of the greater liberty allowed by his successor. But Bishop Fraser soon found it necessary to lay down the lines within which he wished that all schools of Churchmen should work together. "Our Church," he said, "must show that in her wide and tolerant bosom every legitimate form of Protestant Christianity can find a home. We are a privileged class, secured as no other religious denominations are secured. But why? That we may do a great work for the whole nation" (see "Memoir," p. 181). This reveals the genuine spirit of the man. He was as far removed as possible from religious partizanship. When to a zealous vicar, whom he doubtless highly esteemed for his work's sake, he once said playfully, "A——, I do wish you were not so low and narrow," the vicar replied with equal frankness, "I wish, my lord, you were not so very broad." Broad he was in his sympathies; high in his devotion to the Church's interests and worship; and truly evangelical in his doctrine.

Nor was the breadth of his sympathies to be confined within the limits of the Established Church. Some of his friends were

shocked by his consenting to preside in a Wesleyan school-house at a presentation to a Wesleyan minister, whose ministry in Manchester had been active and successful. Less pleasing still was his taking the chair at the annual meeting of the Manchester City Mission, where, however, he defended his course in these words: "Since I consented to take the chair, I have had many representations that I should be in my wrong place as a Bishop, this being a 'sectarian institution.' If I believed that, I shouldn't be here. But this mission society seems to me, by what I have read of their publications and by the report, to be loyal to the principles we all profess. The feeling deepens in me every day that these principles of Christ's Gospel are few, simple, broad. Christians have been wrangling over their petty shibboleths, and have let the devil get an advantage over them, while they piled arms to discuss petty questions of theology, and, instead of presenting a serried front, turned their arms against each other, as the poor French are doing" ("Memoir," p. 188).

The principles thus announced were soon to be put to the test. On the Education Question the Bishop was at home, and was able to moderate the demands both of extreme Churchmen and of their Nonconformist opponents. The election of various School Boards proved the strength of Church feeling in Lancashire; and the friends of the Church, acting under the wise guidance of the Bishop, were able to secure a good Scriptural as well as secular education in the Board Schools. The strong common-sense brought to bear upon this subject, and the deeply religious, and at the same time liberal, sentiments of the Bishop are shown in a clear light by Mr. Hughes. The great bugbear, the religious difficulty, was dealt with in this way. "Practically," said the Bishop, "if you go about the world, and try to find a spot where the religious difficulty exists, it is so microscopic and of such tenuity, that I defy any man to put his finger on it, and say, 'Here it is in all its formidable dimensions'" ("Memoir," p. 184).

But other troubles soon appeared. Some of the clergy took occasion to introduce what they esteemed a higher ritual, and to teach so-called Catholic doctrines. It is, we think, worth observing that the complaints made against the services at St. John the Baptist's, Hulme, and against Canon Woodard's sermon in the cathedral, described by the churchwardens as "preaching the doctrine of the Mass," were not so easily set aside nor so unfruitful of results as Mr. Hughes imagines. The complainants may have been silenced, but they were not convinced; and their feelings of fear and dissatisfaction found expression in the annual vestries, and in the extinction of the project of a new cathedral, put forward by the Dean and Canon Woodard, and

warmly supported by the Bishop. That scheme at first seemed likely to succeed, and large sums were said to have been promised for it; but what we cannot avoid calling the injudiciousness of its advocates brought about its collapse.

The case of Miles Platting is better known, and need only be glanced at here. The Bishop's opinions on the points involved had frequently been given to the world. Preaching at St. James's (not the Parish) Church, Chorley, in November, 1878, he said that he had been reading some admirable remarks in an Evangelical review, in which were contrasted the thoughts which occupied men's minds in Puritan times with those of to-day. The five points of Calvinism were grand themes, which required a strong effort of mind to grasp them. "'But who,' said the Bishop, "'could get up an enthusiasm on the six points of Ritualism? How many in this congregation know even their names?" He would not say that these points involved any flagrant breach of Christian truth. . . . But to make these six points grounds for disturbing the peace of the Church . . . seemed to be the height of human folly" (see "Memoir," p. 241). "Men had no right to introduce things of their own private judgment. . . . Did the religion of Christ require these externals?" And then, after referring to "a grand function in a well-known church in the south of England," he asked, "What did it mean? He should say, Nothing but the pride of man raising itself up in the presence of God; and against it he thought every true member of the Church of England ought to protest with all the powers of his body and soul." The whole sermon, published at the time in the local papers, was a noble protest against the practices which were disturbing the peace of the Church, and hindering God's work in the diocese.

Mr. Hughes's allusions to the protest of Miles Platting parishioners are not very happy. The fact that it was written on coarse paper, and that a word was misspelt, seems to prove the source from which the document came, that it was from the people themselves, and not got up by persons outside. Had the Church Association originated the movement it would have been different. The results of that contest and of the subsequent suit are far-reaching and important. The Bishop vindicated not only the law of the Church but the authority of the Bishop. His refusal to institute a clergyman to a benefice who had been using illegal practices, and who would not pledge himself to abstain from them in future, was not only in accordance with common-sense, but with the ancient law of the Church implied in the office of a Bishop. Concerning the decision in this case the Bishop wrote to Canon Norris: "If the judgment has increased the Bishop's authority and made it real, it has also largely increased his responsibility."

Bishop Fraser's work has been tabulated in the Manchester Diocesan Calendar. We find that during the fifteen years of his episcopate he consecrated 105 new churches, providing 60,198 sittings, at a cost, exclusive of endowments and sites, of £725,629. In many cases there was a further outlay for towers, etc., after consecration. Besides these, 21 churches were rebuilt, providing 15,573 sittings, at a cost of £227,200; 117 new districts were formed, and supplied with clergymen. The number of the clergy in the diocese was increased from 670 to 838. Of this increase 114 were incumbents, and 71 curates; while there was a decrease in the number of clergymen connected with schools. During the same period 71,383 males and 116,809 females, in all 188,192 persons, were confirmed. It has been said that no Bishop since the Reformation has confirmed so many candidates in the same space of time. It is to be hoped that a selection from his admirable addresses to the confirmed will be given to the public in an easily accessible form. Such a memorial would be gladly welcomed, and most highly valued by those who have received confirmation at his hands.

It would be easy to enlarge on the efforts of the Bishop in connection with the temperance and other movements to improve the condition of the working classes; and on his work as an arbitrator to put an end to strikes, and to bring about a spirit of harmony between employers and employed. In Mr. Hughes these questions find an appreciative historian. But we must express our regret that one aspect of the Bishop's character, and that the most important of all, is so lightly touched. We mean the spiritual aspect: his humble walk with God, his living personal communion with his Saviour. It may be that the biographer shrank from these themes as from ground too holy to be trodden. But no view of the Bishop which does not take account of this can be regarded as complete.

The union of spirituality with manliness, and that in a degree as rare as it was beautiful, constituted the great charm of Bishop Fraser's life. He has left a bright example, teaching us what by God's grace an earnest man may do in these latter times. Long will he be remembered by those who had the privilege of knowing him, as genial, large-hearted, transparent, fearless, just, the most unconventional of Bishops, a most lovable chief pastor and friend.

F.



ART. VI.—THE OPIUM TRAFFIC.

THE present position of the opium-traffic is the result of the Ratification of the Chee Foo Convention on the 13th of September, 1885. I shall have to refer in detail, further on, to this Chee Foo Convention and its long-delayed ratification, delayed nine years. But in the meantime it will be necessary to go somewhat into the history of the traffic, if we are to understand the place which England occupies in this painful subject.

At home we class opium among poisons, and, as such, it is not allowed to be sold except by registered chemists and druggists, and always with a label declaring it to be "poison;" we also restrict its consumption as much as possible in our Indian dominions; and within recent years the British authorities have declined to permit its cultivation in Bombay, because of the necessary moral and physical evils which must follow. Certainly, to our shame be it said, we taught the natives of British Burmah its use; but, in consequence of the terrible ravages resulting, we are now doing what is possible to cure the evil. So much for our attitude at home and in our dependencies.

But what has been our policy on this matter in regard to China? It is not a question which concerns us to decide how long opium has been smoked in Western China: the evidence points to a comparatively recent period, a hundred to a hundred and fifty years back; but the extensive use is to a large extent contemporary with the use of this poison in Eastern China. The fact which we have to face is this, that England is directly responsible for whatever has happened in Eastern China, and that for well on to a century we have been forcing the drug into the country, for a long time smuggling it in, and since 1860 availing ourselves of treaty-powers extorted at the cannon's mouth, to supply it in immense quantities against the opposition of the Chinese Government and known wishes of the Chinese authorities.

We have, therefore, made ourselves responsible before God and man for whatever misery and sin have resulted from our policy.

A "Jubilee" lyric, which appeared the other day, and met with approval in the highest quarters, whether deservedly or not we need not trouble ourselves to say, speaks of our English colonies, which of course includes our dependencies, as "ruled in love for the world's gain," and of the wealth thence derived as "without a stain." Such language is beyond the wildest liberty of poetical license when you remember the opium-traffic. As long as that traffic lasts, we may no more boast of ruling

for the gain of the world, and without a stain, than we could when the British flag protected the slave-trade and the West Indies were cultivated by slaves. It is not too strong to describe that traffic, as it has been described in the House of Commons as "the foulest blot upon the escutcheon of England."

Baron Bunsen, in a letter to Mr. Gladstone in 1840, commending the course which that statesman had taken in regard to the first Chinese war, says, "You have enabled the friends of England abroad to maintain their ground against her numerous enemies—all Romanists, atheists, Jacobins, etc., who throw that question of the opium-traffic in our face as proving the humbug and hypocrisy of the English." Sir Herbert Edwardes believed that this traffic was one of the national sins which brought down on us the Indian Mutiny of 1857.¹ And Dr. Kay, formerly Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, fears that "within the lines of our fortifications there may be present a deadly enemy, the unexpiated guilt of the opium-traffic; if so, no military adamant can keep out Divine retribution."²

The smuggling of opium had long been a sore point in the intercourse between China and England; and in 1840 led directly to the first Chinese War. I am not concerned to demonstrate that the action taken by Commissioner Lin at that time was strictly within his international and treaty rights, although high English authorities hold that it was; but at all events the provocation was intense. We were victorious; but no efforts of our negotiators could obtain from the Chinese any terms for the admission of opium—they would not sacrifice the interests of their people. Of this war, Mr. Gladstone said at the time that "a war more unjust in its origin, or more calculated to cover the country with disgrace, he had never read of." And in almost equally strong terms he denounced the wars of 1857 and 1860. This opinion he has never modified. And many even of those who most respect Mr. Gladstone have often regretted that his policy in more recent times has not been so unquestionable as his language was formerly.³ But, indeed, both political parties have tolerated and accepted this iniquitous traffic.

As regards all three of our Chinese wars, it is not too much to say, that no one wishing to celebrate the glories of England would care to recall them—the least said about the wars the better: in the words of the old Scotch proverb, "He was scarce of news that told that his father was hanged."

The principle recognised by the Chinese Government is that it exists "for the physical and moral welfare of the people;"

¹ "Friend of China," 1886, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

³ "National Responsibility," p. 26.

and throughout this whole opium business the policy of China has been based on this principle; while England, for mere gain, has been endeavouring to force her from this position. Well might a Chinese diplomatist say, "We cannot meet you English on common ground on this question. We view it from a *moral* standpoint, England from a *fiscal*."¹

By the Treaty of 1842, five more Chinese ports were opened to English commerce, but no legalization of the opium trade was granted; and so the smuggling went on as before, over a wider area, and with the full cognizance, and it must be candidly acknowledged with the tacit approbation, of England, whose pecuniary interest was bound up with its continuance.²

A few words about the methods in which the manufacture and trade are conducted.

The Government of Bengal licenses the cultivation of the poppy, and does not permit its cultivation without a license; it advances the necessary funds to the farmer, or ryot, receives the whole of the crops, and prepares it for the market—which means almost entirely for the Chinese market; it is then packed in cases and sent to Calcutta, and there sold by auction at periodical sales, and by the purchasers exported to its destination. Opium is also produced in some of the independent Native States. At first, up to 1831, the East India Company had a monopoly of the trade within these States; but since that date they have indemnified themselves for the loss of this direct interest by laying a high duty on the opium as it crosses British territory on the way to the port of shipment. The responsibility for this portion of the supply is not so directly ours; but the smuggling of this opium into China up to 1860 was as much our responsibility as that of the opium grown and manufactured by the British authorities. Much the larger quantity of that which reaches China is British manufactured, the quality being superior; and in order to be able "to provide a constant and adequate supply for the China market," in recent years the Government has bought large quantities of Malwa or native-grown opium for sale in India, thus freeing a proportionate quantity of British manufacture for China.³

The Queen is owner of the largest drug manufactories in the world, and manager of the largest commercial concern under the sun. Alas that they should be such as they are! Could her Jubilee year be better celebrated than by the beginning of the end of the opium-traffic? This would indeed be a demonstration to the world that England "rules in love for the world's gain," and, though so long delayed, an assertion of the Christianity of

¹ "National Responsibility," p. 16.

² Moule, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the nation. The cost would be a good large sum, no doubt, but the money would be well spent in conferring an inestimable benefit on a friendly nation, and a real blessing also on India herself, while the moral gain would be simply incalculable.

A curious chapter in the history of the traffic would be that which should detail the increase and decrease of the quantity manufactured and poured into China, and the rises and falls in the price per chest; it would demonstrate one fact, that the only consideration kept in view by the British authorities in India is revenue, and that the interests or wishes of the Chinese authorities and people are absolutely left out of consideration. For example, when increased production was reducing profits by bringing down the price, the production was reduced to 48,000 chests; but in 1870, just at a time when convincing proofs of the hostility of the Chinese Government to the trade had been laid before the Viceroy by Sir Rutherford Alcock, the exigencies of the revenue seeming to demand it, the quantity was increased to 60,000 chests. As the *Spectator* has put it, the traffic "has been worked from year to year for the sake of increasing the revenue to a maximum."¹

For fourteen years after the treaty of 1842 the smuggling continued, without any attempt to check it on our part, and indeed, as we have already said, under our tacit approbation. There were five ports by which now to pour it into China, and naturally the Chinese Government were greatly irritated by what was going on; while the use of opium was spreading in all directions, and untold misery and mischief resulted. I need not dwell upon the effects of opium-smoking; the words of Sir Thomas Wade—a high authority—are worth quoting. He says: "It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than as a habit many times more pernicious, nationally speaking, than the gin and whisky drinking which we deplore in England." "I know no case of radical cure. It has ensured, in every case within my knowledge, the steady descent, moral and physical, of the smoker; and it is so far a greater mischief than drink, that it does not, by external evidence of its effect, expose its victims to the loss of repute which is the penalty of habitual drunkenness."²

As to the views of the Chinese authorities on the subject there has never been any question. There have no doubt been venal officials and corrupt Chinese who have shielded or co-operated in the introduction of the drug, but as a nation and through its representatives China has maintained one attitude of opposition. Under such circumstances the manufacture of the drug in India for China, and its export from Indian ports and illegal introduction into China—at least with the indirect

¹ "National Responsibility," p. 7.

² Moule, pp. 18, 19.

sanction of the British authorities there, while every effort of diplomacy and war has been used to obtain the legalization of the trade—is one of those episodes in international relations which it would be hard to match for baseness and dishonour. England had nothing to do with deciding whether opium was a desirable article for Chinese consumption, even if that were an open question; if the Chinese Government objected to it, that should have at once settled the matter.¹ It is simply impossible that such an attitude towards a friendly European nation, if fully realised, could have been condoned for a moment by Englishmen, or tolerated by the public opinion of Europe. It has been possible only because of the remoteness of India and China; because whenever public attention has been directed to the subject, it has been mixed up with other topics of a personal or national character, or because so few people feel any real concern in Indian or Chinese affairs; and it is so difficult to create any public interest in a matter of this sort. We have applied the Christian rule of “thinking no evil” to the deeds of our representatives and officials, and have used the contrary rule in judging the Chinese, whom we have despised, while it suited us to doubt the sincerity of their opposition to the trade.

In 1856 the lorch *Arrow* affair happened. I need not enter into the particulars of that question, except to say that our representatives made fatal mistakes in dealing with it; it led to the second Chinese War. A treaty—the Treaty of Tien-tsin—was drawn up on the cessation of hostilities in 1858, one clause of which legalized the opium-traffic; but the Chinese refused to ratify that treaty, because of the opium clause. War was resumed, and only after the capture of Peking and the burning of the Emperor's Summer Palace was the treaty signed with the Convention of Peking legalizing the opium-traffic attached: this was in 1860.

Of this war, and the resulting treaty, Sir Thomas Wade writes: “Nothing that was gained was received from the free-will of the Chinese. The concessions made to us have been from first to last extorted against the conscience of the nation.”² And Li Hung Chang, one of the Chinese Government, has recently said, “that war must be considered China's standing protest against the legalization of such a source of revenue” as opium.³

By the Convention and Treaty of Tien-tsin, opium was allowed to be imported on payment of an import duty; but China was at liberty to lay what inland tax she pleased. It was a concession won at the point of the bayonet, and against the national conscience; and Sir G. Campbell only expressed

¹ “National Responsibility,” p. 30. ² *Ibid.*, p. 18. ³ Moule, p. 13.

what all honourable men must feel when he said that "We are not justified in enforcing treaties for the admission of opium extorted in those wars."¹

This treaty was to be open to revision in ten years; and in 1869 Sir R. Alcock and the Chinese Government held lengthened negotiations for this purpose, in the course of which Prince Kung and the Chinese Foreign Office, both verbally and in writing, urged and entreated the abolition of their obligation to admit opium into their country. "What wonder," said the Prince, "if officials and people say England is wilfully working out China's ruin, and has no real friendly feeling for her?" Sir R. Alcock represented all this to the Viceroy of India and his Council, telling them that he had no reason to doubt the genuineness of the Chinese abhorrence of the traffic; and that he was persuaded that if England gave up the opium revenue and suppressed the cultivation, the Chinese Government would have no difficulty in suppressing it in China, and so, both in Western and Eastern China, the plague could be stayed; but all in vain. The response of the Indian Government to this appeal was that increase of the export of opium by 12,000 chests to which I have already alluded.

I should mention here that, previous to the Treaty of Tientsin, the law forbidding the cultivation of opium in China had been very generally enforced; but when the trade with India was legalized, such enforcement was found to be no longer possible; and from that period must be dated a large increase in the production of native-grown opium in China, and by consequence a large extension of the consumption and its consequent wretched results. In this way England has become indirectly responsible for whatever evils have proceeded from this increased production and consumption; so that while previously her responsibility for what went on in Western China was not so great, she has now on her shoulders the guilt of most of the Chinese opium misery.²

In 1876, things continuing in a most unsatisfactory state to the Chinese, the Convention of Chee Foo was drawn up. Its tendency was to check smuggling, and to enable the Chinese to impose higher "Li-kin" or inland duties. The results were regarded by the Indian and Home Governments as sure to interfere with their trade. As Lord Salisbury said, by such a convention "smuggling would be absolutely barred, and the tax upon opium might have been raised to any amount provincial governors pleased;" and he continues, "that would be a result which would practically neutralize the policy which

¹ Moule, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

hitherto has been pursued by this country in respect to that drug."¹ This was plain speaking, at all events.

For nine long years that convention remained unratified, although China was frequently pressing the question. At last, in an amended form, it was signed in September, 1885. The main point between the Governments was the amount of the inland tax, China wishing to be unfettered as to this, as England or any other country would wish to be, and as she would concede to any other country and to her own colonies. If this natural right of an independent Government could not be obtained, then China wished at all events to be able to lay a high tax. The result has been that a rate, named by China, of 80 taels of 5s. 6d. each, has been adopted, and so the convention is signed. Two circumstances probably produced the proposed and adopted rate: one the impossibility of getting anything higher out of England, and the other the bad state of the Chinese finances. That such a settlement is what China of her own accord desired, it is impossible to suppose, seeing that she had been pressing for independent powers as regards the Li-kin; and her policy in treaties with other nations has never varied. In recent treaties with the United States, Russia, and Brazil the trade in opium is prohibited, while in opening Corea to commerce the introduction of opium is expressly forbidden. In dealing with England, China has made the best of a bad job.

It is maintained that now that this convention is adopted there is no longer any coercion on our part, and China has been treated and has acted as an independent power. Technically it may be so, but in effect it seems to me that the most that can be said is that China has made the best terms she could; while if she had been free to carry out her own wishes, the opium-trade would have been prohibited in her treaty with England as in those with other Powers, or at least concessions on the part of China would have been conditional on concessions on our part with regard to the manufacture and traffic.

Some remarks of the Marquis Tseng, in a letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Traffic, are worth considering. He says that although "the Chee Foo Convention does not accomplish the desired result, it will prove, nevertheless, the first important step towards checking the use and abuse of opium," *i.e.*, because it prevents smuggling. The treaty is open to revision in five years, years which he hints should not be lost by the Society; and he trusts that the British Government will, in the meantime, see its way clear to place restrictions upon the cultivation of opium, in which case the Government of China will surely lose no time in following its

¹ "National Responsibility," p. 21.

example, and putting an effectual check upon the growth of opium in China. Clearly he sees that the question is more in the hands of England than of China, as in fact it has been all along. There is no reason why this terrible curse should not be removed from China, but the country whose guilty conduct introduced opium is alone able to adopt the policy by which the plague can be stayed.

With the signing of the Chee Foo Convention the labours of the opponents of the opium-traffic are by no means at an end. China has not accepted opium as a necessity from which there is no escape. What she has done is to bow to circumstances beyond her control, but not beyond ours. England is still the guilty party, and until the religious and moral sentiment of England expresses itself with decision and imperatively on this disgraceful phase of her Eastern policy, the sin will continue, and China's hands will be tied, and the tens of thousands of Chinese will be sacrificed to the supposed exigencies of the revenue of India.

There are political questions before which party considerations are simply out of court—one of these is this opium-traffic question; and among those with whom such questions should be paramount, of course the clergy stand first. Where justice and mercy to another nation are concerned, when it is a question of right or wrong, of promoting the welfare of peoples, or putting terrible stumbling-blocks in their way, no Christian, least of all no clergyman, may hesitate. No wonder that the Bishop of Victoria should have been stopped again and again while preaching, with the question, "Are you an Englishman? Is not that the country that opium comes from? Go back and stop it, and then we will talk about Christianity."¹

England has no right to dictate, directly or indirectly, to China as to what she shall or shall not receive into her dominions. Nor is she guilty of anything less than an offence against God and man, when she cultivates a drug for importation into a neighbour's territory which can never be anything but a curse. India must cease the cultivation and manufacture of opium, and to countenance in any way the demoralization of China.

We are facing a serious loss of revenue in British Burmah in our endeavours to reduce the consumption of opium. That country has been so terribly demoralized by the taste for opium which England fostered at first that the cultivation of the soil is being neglected, and those arts which constitute the well-being of society are in danger of dying out. The loss which is being incurred is estimated at £70,000 or £80,000 a year. We must

¹ Davies, "International Christianity," p. 12.

be prepared also to face the loss which the abandonment of the opium manufacture and traffic with China will involve; but it need not be a loss equal to the revenue derived from opium now—*i.e.*, four to five millions annually, which is an estimate much higher than many authorities give. There will be many items to put in the opposite scale, such as the moral and social elevation of the native slaves of the drug in the opium-growing districts, and the diversion of their labours and earnings into more healthy channels; the results of the use of the immense tracts of land wasted on growing the poppy for the production of cereal and other crops, etc.¹ Some financial authorities believe that the cessation of the opium-traffic would be at once followed by a great rise in the value of silver, its present depreciation causing a loss of some four millions sterling to the revenues of India.² And if the falling-off in revenue necessitated greater economy in the military and civil expenses of India, it would not be a matter of regret. At all events, the result of a moral and Christian policy would not be, even in the beginning, all loss to finance; in the long-run, probably, it would prove an immense gain.³

I have thought it necessary to allude to this aspect of the question, because the great argument of Government and official supporters of the traffic is that the revenue of India could not afford to lose its opium profits.

However, there stands this giant iniquity, and if England desires God's blessing, she must rid herself of it at any cost.

It may be said that with the Chee Fou Convention signed, in which the Li-kin is that which China herself fixed, our only responsibility is for the manufacture and supply. Of course that means our responsibility for the present and for the future. It cannot include the accumulated guilt of well on to 100 years. But while we make and supply the drug, China is confessedly unable to stay its ravages either in the eastern or western districts. Our responsibility can never be other than immense and incalculable, and its limits impossible to fix; and there can be no question about our duty, namely, to cease the

¹ "Sir Arthur Cotton calculated that if sugar were grown instead of the poppy on the 800,000 acres now devoted to opium, the value of the crop of sugar would be six millions sterling more than the value of the opium crop."—"National Responsibility," p. 31.

² "Friend," pp. 83-86.

³ "A word about the effect of the opium traffic on our general traffic with China. It is a startling fact to be noted in these depressed times, that the four hundred millions of China are very poor customers for our English goods; and that this is 'not because of any unwillingness on the part of the Government or people of China to receive our manufactures, but the purchasing power of China seems to be paralysed by the opium trade.'"—"Friend of China," ii., p. 295.

manufacture, and to induce the Native States of India to cease the cultivation; and then, as far as England and India are concerned, China will be free to adopt such measures as she pleases for reducing to a minimum, or zero, the evil habit of opium-smoking, with all its sad and terrible consequences.

One compromise often suggested, that the British Indian authorities should cease the growth and manufacture, but allow it to pass into private hands, contenting itself with levying a heavy export duty, will not meet the case. It would only establish the trade on a firmer basis, and restrict the power of Government for any future action. There is nothing else for it except the withdrawal of all licenses for the growth of opium, and except within a very small area perhaps for medical purposes, absolutely forbidding the cultivation of the poppy. This prohibition is in force in all our territories in Bengal, except where licenses have been granted; it prevails universally in Madras and Bombay, and it could easily be made universal.

It should be known that there is a difficulty in regard to the Chee Foo Convention, in reference to Hong Kong, which port being a free port and British territory, is not affected by the treaty, and may easily become a centre of smuggling. This hitch is regarded by the Marquis Tseng "as a very serious one," and should be settled quickly. All that we are promised is that it shall be "inquired into as soon as possible."¹

I trust that there will be no hesitation on the part of any of my readers in endorsing the words of the late Archbishop of Canterbury: "I have, after very serious consideration, come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when we ought most distinctly to state our opinion that the course at present pursued by the Government in relation to this matter is one which ought to be abandoned at all costs."² "Better have unsullied poverty," says the Chinese proverb, "than turbid wealth."³ Even if the right course meant poverty, there should be no hesitation; but "righteousness exalteth a nation." And in the present case, as in most others, there can be little doubt that a proper policy would promote the temporal welfare of England and India, as well as of China.

C. S. COLLINGWOOD.

¹ "Friend," 1885, p. 158, and pp. 82, 86.

² Moule, preface, vi.

³ *Ibid.*, preface, vi.



Short Notices.

Persia: the Land of the Imams. By JAS. BASSETT. London: Blackie and Son. 1887.

AN interesting account of an interesting land. The author, an American Presbyterian Missionary, spent fourteen years in the country he describes, and thus fortified by an intimate acquaintance with his subject, he has compiled an instructive and very readable volume. He styles Persia the "Land of the Imams," considering their religious system the most prominent feature of the country. The masses of the people are of the sect of the "Twelve," and their power is supreme. Other religious races, the Fire-worshippers, Jews, Nestorians, and Armenians, are weak in numbers and in influence.

Mr. Bassett plans his book into an account of his travels pure and simple, and a general sketch of the whole region at large. He started on the journey from Trebizond, and completed it at Batoum. The first large town of which he gives a detailed account is Oroomiah, the reputed birth-place of Zoroaster. On his way thither he came across the Yezdees, that mysterious sect whose origin is unknown, and to determine the nature of whose religion has given so much trouble to the Turkish authorities. Mohammedans have greatly persecuted them, under the impression that they worshipped Satan: hence their brand of "Devil-worshippers." They retaliate by dooming Mohammedans to eternal punishment. Proselytes are not received, and circumcision is optional. Both monogamy and polygamy are permitted.

Oroomiah is the headquarters of the Nestorians, concerning whom Mr. Bassett remarks: "The Nestorians are known as a Christian sect, and not as a race of people. . . Doubt has been expressed as to their being of either Chaldean, Assyrian, or Syrian origin. Dr. Grant attempted to establish their identity with the lost tribes of Israel, but it is conceded that the argument fails, since it rests upon characteristics common to Orientals."

Afterwards were visited Tabriz (the Roman Tauris), Zengan, Tehran—as the author spells the more common Teheran—Mashhad, Ispahan, and other towns. An excellent map with the route plainly marked greatly assists the reader in comprehending the geographical details, which are very full and exact. The second portion will be to many the most entertaining part of the book. The religion, family life, government, public and social customs of each race, are treated in a very comprehensive way. Especially interesting is a brief account of the history and religion of the Armenians. The last chapter is devoted to missions, in which the American Presbyterians hold the field, the only European establishment being that of the C.M.S. at Julfah. Full statistics are given. Mr. Bassett writes in an easy and effortless style, occasionally marred by Americanisms, which, however much in their place in the States, seem somewhat slipshod to an English reader. But he is to be congratulated on having written a book well worth reading, and this is high praise in these times of word-spinning and book-making.

Victoria R. and I.: Her Life and Reign. By DR. MACAULAY: The Religious Tract Society. 1887.

Dr. Macaulay remarks that when the time comes for the history of Queen Victoria's reign to be written, it will be found that no equal epoch since the commencement of the Christian era—except, perhaps, that

which includes the discovery of America, the invention of printing, and the Reformation—has been so full of important events, affecting the condition and progress of the human race. In this most will concur. The author does not wish to forestall such a history; his is an account of the Queen's personal life. It deals with her rather as daughter, wife, and mother, than as Queen and Empress. Dr. Macaulay has given us, in fact, just what is needed—a plain, simple narrative of a Christian life, and to all it will appeal as an example of what can be done by those who live in high places. It is a staid and sober story, warmed by the honest glow of a devoted loyalty. The binding and illustrations are sumptuous; the type clearness itself. With a very large number of English-speaking people, this will be the Jubilee book of the year.

Pioneering in New Guinea. By JAMES CHALMERS, author of "Work and Adventures in New Guinea." With a map and illustrations engraved by E. Whymper from photographs taken by Lindt of Melbourne. Pp. 340. Religious Tract Society.

The author's previous book on New Guinea was reviewed in these pages as soon as it was issued; and, with all good wishes, we invite attention to the interesting and informing pages which he has seen printed during his visit to England, after twenty years' spell of work in Polynesia.

"The circumstances of the author's work have given him a unique position in the great Papuan Island. He is well known to many of the tribes, and he is the personal friend of many of the chiefs. He has travelled up and down in all its accessible districts for the last nine years, so that now both the villages and the inhabitants are more familiar to him than to any other white man." He speaks, therefore, with authority. He says: "The influence of the Gospel of peace is already so marked, that it is working rapid changes in the thoughts and habits of the natives. Hence, it is more than probable that no white man of this generation can possibly see New Guinea and her people under exactly the same conditions as the writer. Succeeding missionaries and observers can never see these people in the same stage of savagery as when he acquired their friendship; so that another reason for printing these rough sketches of the life and habits and beliefs of New Guinea is that they may be on record, and thus serve to measure the progress which is now being made in New Guinea, and will continue to be made in the upward growth towards Christianity and civilization. When, twenty or thirty years hence, the workers of that day give their descriptions of the great island, it may be both instructive and interesting to have on record an account of what she and her people were like in the decade when Christian work began upon her shores."

Introduction to the Catholic Epistles. By PATON J. GLOAG, D.D., Minister of Galashiels. Pp. 400. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Dr. Gloag is known as an able and very careful writer, judicious and truly reverent. His present work will be read with interest by theological students of many grades.

In his Preface, Dr. Gloag states that he has come to the conclusion that the *Didachè* is, with the possible exception of the Epistle of Clemens Romanus, the oldest of the post-Apostolic documents, and was written sometime between A.D. 80 and A.D. 100. "I have seldom referred to the 'Ignatian Epistles,'" he says, "as, notwithstanding all that has been written about them, I consider their authenticity still involved in uncertainty, and their value in Biblical criticism to be unimportant."

The argument on "The Spirits in Prison" is lucid and free from prejudice. He states the different expositions at sufficiently full length, and thus concludes: "The doctrine of a future state, especially that which relates

“to the intermediate state, is a profound mystery : eschatology relates to the darkest enigmas of revelation ; an impenetrable veil hangs over our condition after death, which it has not pleased God to remove. It doth not yet appear what we shall be. We dare not affirm anything positive concerning such a mysterious subject. We have few data to proceed upon. We cannot speak with confidence concerning an eternal hope with regard to those who have died impenitent, however anxious we may be to believe it, in the face of our Lord's strong declarations concerning the undying worm, the unquenchable fire, the impassable gulf fixed between the righteous and the wicked, and especially as the same term (*αιωνος*) is employed to denote the duration of the happiness of the righteous and the misery of the wicked. On the other hand, everlasting punishment is a subject too awful to contemplate, a full realization of which would convert this world, to every benevolent mind, into a scene of unparalleled woe. Here dogmatism is entirely out of place. We must leave the fate of the departed with the Judge of all the earth, Who must inevitably do right, and Whose name and nature is Love ; but whilst we fear His justice, we are still permitted to hope in His mercy.”

The Moors in Spain. By S. LANE-POOLE, with the collaboration of ARTHUR GILMAN. London : T. F. Unwin. 1887.

A very careful account of a romantic period in the melancholy history of Spain. The eight centuries of Mohammedan rule are presented in an attractive and accurate picture, and the author compares this Moorish invasion with that of the Turks, with a view to showing that Mohammedanism is not always on the side of culture and humanity, though it certainly was in the case of Spain.

There is a capital account of the battle of the Guadalete, which rang the knell of Spanish independence. Due prominence is also given to the exploits of the Cid, and to Ferdinand's capture of Granada, the Moors' last stronghold. The author views the Saracen occupation with a most favourable eye, and indeed he is justified by the facts. As a popular history the book deserves much praise. It possesses a map and numerous illustrations.

We have much pleasure in recommending a new Tale, *Our Little Lady ; or, Six Hundred Years Ago*, one of Miss Holt's charming and very useful series, “Tales of English Life in the Olden Time.” (John F. Shaw and Co.)

Pictures of the Past for Little People is a cheap and pleasing little “Memorial” of the Jubilee reign. It contains a facsimile water-colour drawing by Princess Victoria, June 9th, 1831. (Sunday School Union.)

We have received from the S.P.C.K. two coloured Jubilee portraits of the Queen, and a Jubilee box of attractive little stories. On every cottage wall should hang a copy of the cheaper picture ; very good indeed at the price.—*The Life of Queen Victoria* is an admirable piece of work ; far the best book of the kind we have seen. On almost every page appears an illustration. It is very cheap. The venerable Church Society has conferred a benefit on the masses.

“The Royal Jubilee number” of the *Art Journal* (J. S. Virtue and Co.) is very full and very attractive. The etching of “Her Majesty the Queen” is excellent. We are also much pleased with “The Round Tower, Windsor Castle.”

From the S.P.C.K. we have received *Dandelion Clocks*, *The Peace Egg*, and *A Story of a Birthday*, artistic, pleasing, and cheap.

THE MONTH.

IN Convocation resolutions have been passed in favour of the Tithe Rent-Charge Bill. The "5 per cent." clause will probably disappear.

The House of Laymen has approved of the Church Patronage Bill, as amended.

Small progress has been made with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in Committee. Several applications of the Closure were found necessary.

The Church Missionary Society held its annual meeting at Exeter Hall on May 2nd. A large company, including the Bishops of Exeter, Gloucester and Bristol, Liverpool, Rochester, and Sodor and Man shared in the proceedings, which the *Record* describes as "unquestionably one of the grandest in the long history of the Society." Sir J. Kennaway, the President, made an appropriate speech. Brief reference was made to the Jerusalem Bishopric question.¹

The British and Foreign Bible Society, Home and Colonial School Society, Colonial and Continental Church Society, Church Pastoral Aid Society, have held successful meetings, as have numerous other bodies.

¹ The *Record* (May 6th) says: "With the weather unpropitious, and with men's minds largely preoccupied with worldly things, the May Meetings of the week have been conspicuous for the largeness, the enthusiasm, and the patience of the audiences gathered. The memory of the oldest subscriber to the Church Missionary Society could recall no fuller room, nor any occasion upon which the interest was more fully sustained than on Tuesday morning last. Nor was it merely the charm of eloquence that did this. The two speakers who were most applauded were Canon Westcott, who apologised for being more accustomed to the lecture-room and the class than to an audience such as that before him; and Sir Monier Monier-Williams, who, in a remarkable speech, twice or thrice paused as though he had missed a sentence, or were feeling his way towards his next paragraph. It was apparent throughout that men and women had come together, not to be stirred for a moment by brilliant rhetoric or picturesque detail, but to stand face to face with solid facts, to learn from men of intellect, of experience, and of spiritual power in what way God's will may be most perfectly obeyed and the cause of Christ's kingdom advanced. If, too, we turn from that gathering of Tuesday morning to the evening meeting, or to the Bible Society's anniversary on Wednesday, we have the same evidence before us. For although there were not wanting at each the fire and glow of some perfect oratory, the majority of the addresses at both meetings were delivered in the quietest manner."

The Archdeacon of Dromore has sent to us a letter in reply to Dr. Plummer (May CHURCHMAN, p. 428). By an accident, we are sorry to say, the letter has reached us too late for insertion. In brief, the Archdeacon regrets if he has inadvertently misrepresented Dr. Plummer.