

priestly—descent. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Esarhaddon in 670 B.C., and again in 668-667 B.C. On the latter occasion the Assyrian King died on the march, but his troops pressed on, and, according to one account, advanced as far as Thebes.

666 B.C.—Tanuatamanu, called Tandamanu by Assurbanipal. He was a son of Shabaku and a stepson of Taharqa, who had married Shabaku's widow. In the fourth year of his reign took place the sack of Thebes (No-amon) by the Assyrians, as described in the Annals of Assurbanipal. It is to this that the prophet Nahum refers (chap. iii. 8-10) in his solemn warning to the ruthless conqueror. Egypt shook off the Assyrian yoke *circa* 650 B.C. Nahum's prophecy was fulfilled in the fall of Nineveh, *circa* 606 B.C.

NOTE 2.—On the Order of the Three Prophecies in Isaiah (chaps. xviii., xix., and xx.).

The first of these prophecies in chap. xviii. belongs apparently to the time of the invasion of Sennacherib, and was uttered probably in the year of its fulfilment—*i.e.*, in 701 B.C. See verses 5, 6.

The prophecy against Egypt in chap. xix. speaks of a time of civil war in that country, to be followed by the rule of a “cruel lord” and a “fierce king.” This description of the conqueror “suggests,” as Cheyne observes, “a complete stranger to the culture of Egypt—*i.e.*, an Assyrian rather than an Ethiopian conqueror.” It therefore points forward to the Assyrian conquest of Egypt, begun by Esarhaddon in 670 B.C., and completed by Assurbanipal in 662 B.C. How long it was uttered before its fulfilment we cannot tell, but the glorious evangelic close (vers. 23-25) is suggestive of the old age of the prophet. Isaiah can hardly have lived to witness its fulfilment, not only on the score of age, but because of the fact disclosed by the monuments that Manasseh was on the throne of Judah during the latter part of the reign of Esarhaddon.

The prophecy of Isaiah, chap. xx., belonging to the year 711 B.C., is the earliest of the three; but it is placed last because of its close chronological connection with what follows. Chap. xxi. 1-10 is virtually an answer to the question at the close of chap. xx., “And we, how shall we escape?” Read in the light of history, it shows, as a matter of fact, how it came about that they *did* escape.

ART. II.—HISTORICAL METHODS AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS.

AMONG the great and lasting achievements of the nineteenth century has been the acquisition of that faculty, or fact, which may be described, in one aspect of it, as the sense of historical perspective. It is a faculty of the highest value, because it puts into our hands a new weapon of precision. It is a fact, so far as it influences, and even dominates, not only the wide realm of history, but the wider and more various fields of literature, as well as every branch of learning which is dependent on those two great subjects. In other words, this new faculty of ours throws a fresh and

more searching light upon everything which mankind has done and thought. So great a change in our point of view has affected necessarily the position and tenure of every ecclesiastical organization, as well as our attitude towards them. The causes of this change are easily explained, and its effects should not require a demonstration. It may be pointed out, however, that a more exacting and rigorous scholarship, a wider and more detailed knowledge, and scientific methods of applying them, are among the primary causes which have brought about this change. For instance, we are no longer satisfied in these days, as the leaders of the Oxford Movement appear to have been, if we are assured that certain old writers have said such and such a thing, or have recorded this and that belief or practice. Before we can accept such evidence as authoritative and final, we think it necessary to examine its weight and worth. We reconstruct, so far as we are able, the times in which those authors lived. We inquire very carefully into the contemporary meaning of the words they used. We do all that is possible to discover, and if necessary to restore, their original or their most authentic text. Their characters and their practicable bias are scrutinized, too, as minutely as their writings. We test all these results by external evidence, whenever it is available; for we know that one author may be corrected or tested by another, and no single author, without the most convincing reasons, should be relied upon if his statements are not borne out by the general opinion and practice of his time. We realize, too, that indirect evidence, such as legislation, acts of councils, inscriptions, coins, archæological remains, are often more important than any other evidence, both for establishing facts and for estimating character. All these methods and processes have combined to give us that new weapon of precision which I have described as the faculty of historical perspective. Neither the modernity nor the precision of this faculty can be denied by anyone who thinks. In the Middle Ages, for example, it did not exist at all. Their literature proves to us that they saw no difference between history and legend; neither had they any discrimination between one age and another, so far as its thoughts, its institutions, or even its costumes and habits, are concerned. Mediæval and even Renaissance paintings, delightful and admirable as they are, bring us to a similar conclusion. The heroes of Greece and Rome, the characters of the Old and New Testaments, all wore the clothes, spoke the language, and were judged, solely by the standard of the Middle Ages. They were not only made to use mediæval terms, but mediæval meanings were attached to their genuine words and thoughts. History, philosophy,

theology, the Holy Scriptures themselves, all wore a mediæval dress, and were regarded from a mediæval point of view. The result of all this upon mediæval notions of Scripture, of Church history and government, of Christian antiquity, of theology and worship, is self-evident to those who know the Middle Ages. The unfortunate results of all these misconceptions upon the following ages, even to within half a century of our own time, have not been so manifest, except to those who have realized what the historical spirit and scientific methods have accomplished. Men like Scaliger, Casaubon, Ussher, with their exhaustive erudition of all that was then known of Grecian, Roman, or Hebrew antiquity, were deprived of that illuminating and illustrative knowledge which has revolutionized our own conception of these studies, through the influence of philology, archæology, and the sciences of comparative religions and the growth of institutions. Those great scholars had no understanding of the truths and principles which the French describe shortly as *les origines*. In other words, they had much less archæology than we have; they had very little scientific method in their history, and no historical perspective. Gibbon himself, though more than a century later, was almost in the same case: the theories of Niebuhr about the Roman kings, or the vindication of the Cæsars and their administration by Mommsen, supported as it is by the most solid evidence, would have enlarged his views of the Roman Empire, and have modified his use of Suetonius and the Augustan histories.

To come a great deal nearer to our own times, that romantic and unreal vision of the past, which is to be found in some of the Waverley Novels, pervaded the whole domain of classical and mediæval history. It also affected the notions of ecclesiastical history which were current in those days, as well as the prevailing notions about the Middle Ages. It is true that we have had access to many documents which were inaccessible then. Our knowledge of facts is, therefore, wider and more accurate; but the alteration in our attitude is due less to these causes than to the difference in our point of view. The Middle Ages exist for us now very much as they were presented by Bishop Stubbs, or as they are being interpreted by Professor Maitland; and there is a whole world of difference between the presentation given us by these writers and the picture drawn by Sir Walter Scott. Putting out of account the essential differences between history and fiction, it still remains true that the older presentation of history was romantic, and that the current presentation is more scientific. I have only taken the Waverley Novels as an illustration of those notions of history which were fashionable in that time; but I go on to

draw the conclusion that the notions of ecclesiastical history and of patristic literature which prevailed at the initiation of the Oxford Movement were quite as unscientific, were perhaps more romantic, and are as untenable now as are the historical conceptions and positions of those fascinating works. In romance and literature these novels may be immortal, but, as contributions to history, those of them which aimed at presenting the Middle Ages are fallen dead. Surely the same thing is true of other histories, and for similar reasons. From Hume downwards, many English historians have become useless and misleading. Church historians have not escaped the same fate; and the results in their case may be more serious from our point of view, because theological systems and ecclesiastical organizations depend so largely upon Church history. These historians should therefore, beyond all others, realize the conditions and requirements of modern scholarship; they should acquire the historical spirit, and apply in the most rigorous way our present scientific methods. As a means to these ends, they should understand what is meant in history by a spirit of detachment, by that scientific aloofness and impersonality without which no abiding or profitable work is done in history and criticism. Now, there is no quality more valuable to historians than a spirit of detachment. Without this as a foundation, any higher qualities are likely to be misused, and true scholarship or criticism is impossible. True scholarship yearns to see things as they really are, to come to them without any prepossessions, to handle them temperately and impersonally, to hand them on without any prejudice. It wishes to serve no party, to work in the interests of no sect, nor even of any race or country. It aims at being detached from everything but the facts themselves, so far as they can be ascertained. Its ultimate object is to discuss and set them in the dry light of reason. True scholarship will assert nothing which it may suspect of being untrue, or even dubious. It neither suppresses, nor denies, nor colours anything which may affect the evidence. It should be parsimonious in its use of adjectives, and it should have more respect for the comparative degree and the subjunctive mood than is usual among recent English authors. Above all, it must be ready to accept logical conclusions, and to follow them loyally at any cost whithersoever they may lead. Such would be the aims and methods of the perfect historian. So rare, however, is this quality of detachment or true criticism, especially among British authors, that Renan says Hengist and Horsa forgot to put it on board among their outfit when they embarked from Scandinavia. The quality of detachment is not easy to attain, and is more difficult to observe, even when

history is written on the largest scale, and the writer can guard or explain himself at every point. In short histories, in summaries, and still more in biography, the quality of detachment is, for obvious reasons, even more difficult to acquire and practise.

There are some periods, too, in which it is unusually difficult for historians to be impersonal and scientifically detached from the matters which they treat. Such periods in our own history are the reigns of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns. Theological prepossessions too commonly bias writers who are dealing with the sixteenth century; and political prejudice may even colour modern presentations of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, or of the Revolution which deposed and exiled James II. The reign of Henry VIII. is, perhaps, more contentious than any other in our history, partly because the controversies of his time were theological, and also because the theological problems themselves are too seldom faced rigorously on their own merits, or examined broadly in the light of patriotism or of the economical, social, and intellectual conditions of that age. For example, the first divorce of Henry VIII. is discussed by too many so-called historians solely in its personal aspect. They regard it so exclusively in its relation to Queen Katharine that they exclude from their reasoning those essential factors on which the real controversy depends. They ignore the pertinent fact that Henry was married for political reasons to his deceased brother's widow; that the Papal authority to dispense in such cases was denied altogether by many canonists; that even Julius II. only dispensed on the presumption that the previous marriage had not been consummated, and that the more serious and tangible evidence is against the credibility of that condition upon which alone the validity of the dispensation rested. As a rule, they omit to lay any stress on the Emperor's relationship to Katharine, or to acknowledge the political dependence of Clement VII. on the Emperor, both with respect to the Papal States and the dynastic interests of his family. They ignore, too, the succession to the English Crown, and all the hazards to which the country was liable from a disputed title. In other words, they do not present the question to the reader as it presented itself to responsible statesmen and contemporary actors.

Again, the dissolution of the religious houses is too commonly discussed solely from a theological or a sentimental point of view. The social, financial, and political problems which underlie the whole matter are usually eliminated by Church historians. There is an obscure summary of the Tudor reigns which Matthew Arnold has

made classical: "The religious persecution of Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s time abated a little in the reign of Mary, to break out again with new fury in the reign of Elizabeth." This was the Abbé Migne's way of correcting a "popular error," for Roman Catholic purposes; and history is still composed too often by the recipes of the Abbé Migne. Another historian, Miss J. M. Stone, after boasting that the Papal partisans executed under Henry and Elizabeth were genuine martyrs, goes on to say that the Protestants under Mary were only "inflamed" by what "they were pleased to consider suffering for conscience' sake." To say they were "pleased" is adding insult to injury, and a good many of them were "inflamed" in a more horrid way, even when every allowance has been made for Protestant exaggeration. That exaggeration would reverse the picture of the Tudor Sovereigns and of those who suffered under them. It paints every English Romanist as dishonest or disloyal. It fails to distinguish between the Roman Court, with its political agents and its aggressive methods, and that majority of English Roman Catholics who were loyal, so far as it was possible, both to their Sovereign and the Papacy. Such writers make no allowance for the traditions, habits, beliefs, and sentiment of nearly a thousand years. Both extremes are equally destructive to history and honesty; both are equally repugnant to truth and scholarship.

Moreover, the whims or prejudices of historians are not confined to theology and politics. They affect individuals, too, and taint biography; and so disputes and misunderstandings about this period are multiplied indefinitely. Yet all these conflicting judgments about individuals need not, and should not of themselves, affect our general estimate of the period in which they lived. We may agree about the character of an age, though we may differ about the characters who lived in it; for biography and history aim at different ends, work on a different scale, proceed by different roads; and it is fatal to confuse them or to argue from the special conclusions of one to the general conclusions of the other. A fact may be of great importance to a biographer, and of little or no importance to an historian. Through the want of this obvious distinction grave misunderstandings have been caused and idle controversies have raged, especially among historians of the Reformation, in which the controversialists have only been talking at cross-purposes. For instance, the general state of society, or of a country, or of a profession may have been good or bad in some particular age. The evidence for this may be overwhelming and indisputable, or it may be indirect and complex, or it may be various in degree and quantity;

but, in any case, it cannot be altered merely by proving or disproving some detail in the biography of a prominent character belonging to that age. As Matthew Arnold points out: "Eminent examples of vice and virtue in individuals prove little as to the state of societies." And, with regard to such biographical facts themselves, how seldom they can be proved or disproved completely; how often they are doubtful, and must remain so. A statement is not necessarily false because the sole authority for it may be suspected, or even convicted, in other instances. Foxe, the martyrologist, is not to be rejected in all his details because a few of them may be inaccurate or questionable. After making the fullest allowance for such defects, enough unquestioned matter remains in him, established by unimpeachable and external evidence, to influence our general impression of his age; and every historian who aims at being complete is bound to reproduce that impression, or his work would be deceptive and deficient, though it were accurate in every recorded fact.

An historian has not merely to deal with isolated facts. They are indispensable, of course, as ingredients or crude material; but a true historian must convey to us, through and beyond his facts, the thoughts, habits, feelings, desires, aims, of the people he describes, and of the whole people, of every class, and rank, and party, and creed, among them. It is here, much more than in facts, that the lesser kind of historians are sectarian and partial. A Roman Catholic or a Protestant might be unimpeachable in all his facts, and yet might fail, with regard to his opponents, in this larger part of history. The extent of his failure would be the gauge of his incompleteness. He might be precise enough, but he would be precisely wrong. A Radical or a Conservative historian might fail in like manner through a similar defect. Neither politics nor religion should be taken into history; at least, not by the historian, only by his characters. The more perfect his work, the less will any reader know his opinions as a private man. Macaulay's work, for instance, is spoiled and weakened by his own political opinions and position. He has not written an history of the English nation, but of the Whig party. So perfectly has he done this, however, so large and dominant was the Whig majority, that Macaulay's presentation of that period must always be considered, and the accuracy of his facts is almost unassailable. It is in his conclusions and generalizations that he is open to attack. Another sort of historian might fail grievously in his facts, and yet not be so very wrong in his conclusions, in his general presentation of the age and people he delineates.

It may prove in the end to be somehow thus with Mr. Froude's "History of England," in spite of the current opinion about it, even among professional historians. For biographers of that period, Mr. Froude would certainly be a misleading guide. For those who seek minute and accurate details, he is too often unreliable. In some paragraphs he may have almost as many mistakes as words, and an obliquity or malignity far worse than his mistakes. He may deceive the unlearned and irritate scholars perpetually in every chapter. Yet he does give us the thoughts, habits, feelings, desires, aims, of Englishmen, and those not the least important, in the sixteenth century; just as Macaulay has recorded them for the seventeenth century. It is impossible to lay down his volumes without feeling that we have got near to the English of that stormy period, with all their prejudice and passion. These, assuredly, lose nothing in the hands of Mr. Froude. His pages are alive and throbbing with prejudice and passion; but, then, the age itself was labouring with a similar disease, the prelude to a renewed health. It may be, therefore, that in consequence of these very defects the characters in Mr. Froude's "History" not only have more life and interest, but are even more true to nature, than the portraits of colder, more accurate, and calmer historians. Surely the statesmen and soldiers of the Commonwealth have lost something in the cautious hands of Mr. Gardiner. We should hardly realize them as living and human beings unless we knew them outside the calm sentences of that recorder. Mr. Froude's power is often attributed to his style. I attribute it even more to his temperament, his temper. These, which would be ruinous to the historian of a different period, work most effectually for Mr. Froude, since they enable him to represent an age of revolt and passion. His style may be described as brilliant and hard, seldom sympathetic, as never winning or pliable. There are too few pieces in him like those moving sentences near the beginning of his "History," in which he describes the enlargement of human intellect and of the material universe, the passing of the Middle Ages, the pathos of mediæval tombs and the sound of bells. He inspires less affection for his heroes and their causes than hatred or contempt for their opponents. He works always by prejudice or passion, never by persuasion; and here again he is equipped as the historian of a revolutionary time. His great skill is in the arrangement of his material, in which he displays a genius for tactics; and his chief strength is in a remarkable dramatic power, as in his execution of Mary Stuart, and in every passage when he can deal with life and movement. But the defect or penalty of

hardness, of a deficient sympathy, is dulness; and we find plenty of it both in Mr. Froude's ordinary narrative and when he has to treat of theories instead of presenting action. In such places we find a dulness of matter, dulness of perception, monotony of tone and treatment, a lamentable want of grace and flexibility. All these betray the radical weakness and limitations of a style, or rather of a temperament, like Mr. Froude's. He cannot illuminate and enliven his ordinary narrative as Gibbon does, nor relieve its monotony in the same inimitable way. There is hardly a stroke of wit or humour in all his dozen octavos; and there are scarcely any traces of our English classics, especially of those who adorn our great century of prose. From them he could have learned something of ease, of gaiety, of variety, and something more of their exquisite urbanity, which is almost a lost virtue. These lighter gifts were withheld by nature from Mr. Froude, and apparently he never condescended to acquire them by frequenting the best English masters of his art. But whatever his failures in detail or his defects in style, the general impression which he conveys cannot be explained away, notwithstanding all its faults in material and manner. The greater part of it must be accepted, and will probably endure, in spite of all its errors and exaggerations. And, after all, that part of Mr. Froude's "History" which formerly was most ridiculed and attacked has been vindicated amply by more recent and more scientific investigation.

Mr. Pollard is an historian who possesses all those modern qualities, and is a master in the use of those weapons which I described at the beginning of this article; and his Henry VIII. is a greater and better personage than the hero of Mr. Froude. Nevertheless, we may sum up by saying that the younger historian has reached his conclusions by scientific methods and rigorous accuracy of statement; while Mr. Froude arrived at his conclusions by methods which are too often demonstrably incorrect. The two conclusions, however, are substantially in agreement; and this will explain the reasons for my inference when I venture to foretell that Mr. Froude's general presentation of the sixteenth century may prove to be right, notwithstanding his erroneous detail and his fallacious arguments. His position may be impregnable, though many of his defences are ruinous. At any rate, Mr. Froude has a clear, and as I think a right, conception of the spiritual, social, and intellectual forces which were battling together in that Titanic age. He saw both the causes and the consequences of the struggle, as it affected the destinies of the modern world; and if Mr. Froude be wrong in his general presentation of those causes and consequences, then the

whole evolution of our race will also prove in the end to be disastrous. Moreover, if ever those "lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names, and impossible loyalties," should revive among us, and become a serious danger, the nation would find a rallying-point in Mr. Froude's "History," as our predecessors found one in Foxe's "Acts and Monuments."

I have taken Mr. Froude as an example, but also as a warning. Though I accept his position and his conclusions, I detest his methods as being the violation of all those principles which I desire to see established and accepted. I have dwelt on Mr. Froude at some length, because he fills so large a space in the history of the sixteenth century, and also because his position has been so blindly adopted or so fiercely assailed, with perhaps too little justice or discernment in either case. The whole truth is decidedly not with Mr. Froude, but neither is it with those who would accept or reject him wholesale. My particular instance may, of course, be challenged. My principle cannot be denied so easily, if it will apply to other instances. How many thousand errors there seem to be in Livy. Yet we learn more about the genius of the Roman people from his writings than from all his commentators. He conveys to us the thoughts, habits, feelings, desires, and aims, of the Roman people; but we must say of him, too, in the light of modern scholarship, as we might say of Mr. Froude, that his prejudice is only excelled by his talent for manipulation. Or take a greater than Livy; at least, a greater favourite of mine: a very great thinker and writer, though I believe a malignant and unreliable historian. How many exaggerations there are in Tacitus; how many verdicts and conclusions founded on nothing but spiteful inference and the flimsiest gossip; how many contradictions, even of himself, in his character of Tiberius. Everything we really know, outside the "Annals," and much that we are told indirectly by them, is favourable to the Emperor, and destructive to the laboured portrait of the historian. Mommson has proved conclusively that Tiberius was one of the greatest and best administrators of the Roman Empire. He gives us an explanation of the reign which can hardly be reconciled with the traditional portraits of the monarch. Yet, in spite of all that may be established by legislation and archaeology, we probably get closer to the personages and period of Tiberius in the great artist than in more accurate though less great authorities. A biographer of Tiberius would have to use Tacitus with the greatest caution, weighing him against himself, testing him by other evidence; but an historian of that age would be wrong and foolish if he ignored

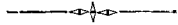
him because his estimate of the Emperor's life and character is inconsistent with other recorded evidence, or does not even tally with itself. So great is the historian's inconsistency that his own pages are a sufficient refutation of his thesis. As we become familiar with his words, as we ponder and compare his statements, we begin to suspect his impartiality and to mistrust his inferences. A new impression of Tiberius begins to steal in upon us, and a second and a third, until there grows imperceptibly within us a wholly different conception. Out of these dim and floating visions a clearer image is gradually formed, with lineaments and features; and at length a new Tiberius is created within our minds: just as we may have seen a portrait emerge under the artist's hand from the intricate and scattered lines upon his easel. That new Tiberius is really sketched in outline by Tacitus himself; but he is drawn firmly and fully by Mommsen, who confutes, or at any rate must qualify, the suspected witness of Suetonius and Tacitus.

It may be urged, however, that we can't in the nature of things have another Tacitus or Livy, but that we might have another English historian of the sixteenth century equal to, or greater than, Mr. Froude. That may be, and when such an historian has come the whole position will have to be reconsidered. In the meanwhile, Mr. Froude, like Gibbon, occupies his chosen field, and he must be reckoned with until his position be proved untenable. Then, but not until then, he can be dislodged. He stands at present as the Englishman of the keenest intellect and the greatest power who has devoted himself to history since Gibbon.

So far, then, for the traditional Protestant position, as it is presented by Mr. Froude, and as it should be modified by scientific methods and the historical spirit. Let us now turn to the other side, and see how the position of the rival hosts may be affected by modern processes. Putting all sectarian or party questions on one side as trivial, and almost irrelevant, those historical methods, principles, and positions which I have described must prove still more destructive both to the traditional Roman case and to the whole fabric of mediæval theology. They show us how Papalism and mediævalism were developed. We can explain the causes, and trace the growth, and give dates for the successive stages, until we find ourselves confronted by the matured system. However imposing that system may have been, it no longer imposes on competent historians. It cannot much longer impose upon educated theologians. Protestantism, too, has its problems and its difficulties, though this is not the occasion for dealing with them. We need only say that the sixteenth century

was not, as Romanists contend, the beginning of our reformed religion; nor was it, as some extremists appear to hold, the end of our development. All healthy organisms must grow, even ecclesiastical organizations. We cannot possibly, in this twentieth century, occupy precisely the positions of the sixteenth, any more than we can go back to the theology, the Church discipline, the social conditions, or the intellectual standpoint, of the thirteenth. It is with these truths before us that we must study Church history and theology, and apply historical methods both to ancient controversies and to our modern problems.

ARTHUR GALTON.



ART. III.—STUDIES ON ISAIAH.

3. *THE Return of the Exiles* (ver. 10 to end).—Two points may be noted here: First, the return of the remnant referred to in this passage is figurative, not literal. That is to say, it refers, not to the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, for they were not driven to the places named, neither are any known to have returned thence, but to *the return of exiled humanity in general to their God through His Anointed One* (cf. ver. 10, and chap. xlix. 22). And, next, a *second* return is spoken of. The first return was the return of the first fruits of the heathen in the days of the Apostles. Their work of evangelization was chiefly confined to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. The *second* is the era upon which we have lately entered, when the principles of Christianity are being increasingly acted upon by Christians, and increasingly accepted by heathen nations as the true principles on which men should act. The “root of Jesse” is to be the banner to which all men shall gather, and under which they shall combat (cf. vers. 10, 13). The obvious leavening of mankind by Christian civilization which is going on at present is the destined preparation for the proclamation of Him as King. The “spoiling” of Philistia, Moab, and Edom, the destruction of the “tongue of the Egyptian sea,” signify the victory of truth, moral and spiritual, over the superstitions and errors of heathendom; the “highway” signifies the “way of holiness” (chap. xxxv. 8),¹ which is

¹ There are some curious undesigned admissions of the homogeneity of the writings which go by Isaiah's name in the Cambridge Bible for Schools. Thus the “highway” (ver. 16) is stated to be “a frequent