

RUSSIA, ENGLAND, AND M. JOSEPH PRUDHOMME

SOME inquirers go to the Paris papers for their impressions of French public opinion, which are queerly mixed in consequence; others go to the Quai d'Orsay, where they are received with exquisite urbanity. But the real authority to consult is Monsieur Joseph Prudhomme. He is not dead; he never was more alive than now, since he was created by Henry Monnier, and, having been enrolled in the National Guard, and having girt his sabre about him, uttered those memorable words: "This sabre is the proudest day of my existence, and I will wield it at the peril of my life to defend the Constitution of my country, or, if needful, to overthrow it." There is now no National Guard, and the very word "Constitution" in French has an early nineteenth-century flavour about it. But M. Joseph Prudhomme still possesses an admirable genius for summing up in gems of rhetoric the voices of his countrymen. Every true son of French soil is in moments first cousin to M. Joseph Prudhomme. If we record how M. Joseph Prudhomme's views towards England and Russia have altered in the last two years, the birth and growth of the *Entente Cordiale*, and the weakening hold of the Franco-Russian Alliance on popular French feeling will be explained.

There are three landmarks in the recent tide of events, as M. Joseph Prudhomme would say: King Edward's visit to Paris at the end of April 1902; the outbreak of the Russo-

Japanese War in February 1904; and the Hull outrage last October. In the eighteen months interval between the first and last events, M. Joseph Prudhomme has entirely reconstructed his philosophy of the *haute politique*. It is as all-embracing and final as ever, but the solutions of every problem in European politics which it propounds could not have been suggested in 1902 without stirring it to that patriotic emotion which transposes a serene philosophy into a generous fury. The portentous dogmatisms with which the air of political Paris cafés is thick to-day are utterly different to the dogmatisms which permeated the atmosphere of two years ago. That is the great change which has come over French public opinion. We experience similar transformations in England, though our "man in the street" talks less large, using fewer Latin derivatives. In France, where everybody talks as a leader-writer writes, there has been not more significant metamorphosis of opinion for a quarter of a century than within these last nineteen months. Every Englishman who was in Paris before King Edward's visit wonders, when he recalls the *haute politique* of those days. We never told you in England the actual state of affairs, as it was better to keep a cheerful face, and to hope. Now we can hardly believe our own recollections. Were we really hooted in the streets? Was a well-known Frenchman who happens to have taken in personal appearance after his English mother derided for an "Angliche" until he turned on his pursuers and slanged them in choice faubourien dialect? Were stones really shied at Englishwomen in the streets of Paris? It seems so far off, now that we are *gratissimi* millionaires, as we, of course, all are abroad. The street urchin then was only supporting by practical gesture the political philosophy of M. Joseph Prudhomme. When King Edward's visit was announced, there is no harm now—on the contrary—in saying that the first feeling of Englishmen in Paris was funk. It seemed such a risky thing to try. What would happen? One feared the worst, and never dreamt of hoping for the best, which actually did occur. It was to the eleventh hour a touch

and go with the attitude of the French people. When Paris does "descend into the streets," it generally is for the purpose of suiting the action with stones, and occasionally firearms (though they never go off nowadays), to the words of M. Joseph Prudhomme's *haute politique*. The Parisian workman, though remaining the *gamin* grown up, usually has a solid element of the Joseph Prudhomme in his composition. With all his mercurial vivacity, he rests his ideas of life on a solemn Idea with a capital "I." About this he suffers no joking, and believes he would die for it, as it is quite possible he might. That is what we were all afraid of before the King's visit. "Mort aux Anglais!" summed up the *haute politique* of those days. The Joseph Prudhommes, over three glasses of beer in four hours, showed why it was the patriotic battle-cry of their country. It was the *delenda et Carthago* of every political café where the problems of European politics are settled nightly. Up to the very morning of the King's arrival there was no sign that the Parisian workman would not go forth and die for the Idea—that is to say, throw an egg, or otherwise "manifest," and be locked up. No wonder English residents feared. The merest hitch during the King's visit might have had even worse consequences than to postpone indefinitely the *Entente Cordiale*. That some hitch would occur then seemed a probability, as every Englishman who was in Paris at the time will agree.

The King arrived at the station of the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne early on a sunny afternoon, drove down the Champs Elysées glittering with troops and moving with swarms of sightseers in springtide clothes, and heard only cheers and saw only waving hats and handkerchiefs. We could hardly believe our eyes and ears. That evening [something must be brewing. The *haute politique* must put a stone into some idealist's fist, or, at least, a whistle (which in France expresses derision) to some street-boy's lips. English correspondents were nervously ubiquitous. Wherever they chanced not to be, something surely would happen. Whenever the King drove out, some

patriot might demonstrate. The King passed, and it was "Vive Edouard!" all the way. One walked home, and everybody out for the night was asking everybody else, "As-tu vu Edouard?" Then we knew that the peace of Europe was safe and the *Entente Cordiale* cemented.

When the Russo-Japanese War broke out, M. Joseph Prudhomme began by discovering that the Japanese are Asiatics. The Yellow Peril was brought down from a musty shelf, and the most Prudhommesque of modern rulers pointed to as a prophet for having first denounced it in oracular word and obvious picture. Russia championed the Whites against the Yellows, and it was a new crusade. A portion of the Paris Press still echoes this early voice of the French people in February last, but M. Joseph Prudhomme has forgotten that he ever heard it or joined in. The second change in his *haute politique* did not come in a day, but it came in a few weeks. It was a steady but swift progress of disenchantment, and the crumbling of a superstition, hitherto carefully propped up by politicians and the Press in the name of patriotism, generally for party purposes. During the first week of the war, Russia, unaccountably, failed on sea. But wait till her mighty fist is brought down on land, said M. Joseph Prudhomme, for he believed in her. The French headquarters staff knew for a fact that before the outbreak of the war the Russian Army in Manchuria numbered 300,000 men, and this knowledge filtered down to political cafés, where officers are good customers. The Japanese landed and the Russians retired, to "lure them on," said M. Joseph Prudhomme. The Yalu was reached by the invaders, and it was impossible to blink the fact that there they beat their opponents. Silence reigned in political cafés for a time. The Bourse, on the other hand, had begun already to resound with loud opinions which had only been whispered previously. It was not long before business men could be heard during lunch and after Bourse hours cursing Russia deeply. They cursed with the more energy because they could do nothing else, being compelled to

bolster up the enormous mass of Russian scrip held by French investors for fear of calamities far worse to the stockbroker than another—even an allied—nation's war. Meanwhile the period of silence and brooding for M. Joseph Prudhomme was passing. Before Liao Yang he had emerged from it with a totally transformed *haute politique*. When Liao Yang came, he said that he had told you so, and that the Russians might have known it. The Sha Ho only confirmed what he had been saying all along. Kuropatkin's proclamation, or the proclamation telegraphed to him from St. Petersburg, at first slightly shook the brand-new convictions of the Frenchman in the street. What if Kuropatkin were actually to do what he said he would do? The lamentable failure followed close on the boast, and the Russians fell lower in the estimation of the majority of the French people than in the days when Poles were the fashion in Paris and the polonaise gown was invented. Actually quite as much praise, and as sympathetic, of the defenders of Port Arthur has been heard in London as in Paris.

At the present time, in a portion of the French Press which is more self-important than representative; among a fair percentage of aristocratic society; perhaps in the majority of the large class which lives on small private means and has little to do with itself; and in a considerable part of the peasantry whose brains and habits move slowly, and who, having grown used to "Vive la Russie!" and Russian Imperial flags from the penny bazaar, continue to shout the former on fête-days and to hang the latter up in their wine-shops: in these sections of French public opinion Russia is still Europe fighting Asia, and it is still a case of "Whites *versus* Yellows crusade." But it would be difficult to find anywhere in the country a man who would not candidly confess that there is every probability of the Whites continuing to get the worst of it. The daily occupation of army officers who people provincial cafés is demonstrating on a marble table with dominoes, before and after the game, how it was, on the most recent occasion, that the

Russians were beaten, and how entirely impossible it was under the circumstances that they should not have been beaten. Kuropatkin's great plan is no longer a popular topic of conversation. Staff-officers have lapsed into resolute silence on the subject of the war. The Rue St. Dominique was very badly let in by St. Petersburg regarding the military situation in Manchuria at the outbreak of the war. How is it to give greater credence to former boasts of military preparedness in Europe? Or rather, how can it avoid the too plain conclusion that this too was bluff, which Paris papers go on repeating is a Japanese invention? So much for Russophile France.

The proportion of the people which no longer pretends to be Russophile, and which may be estimated to have been multiplied by at least ten since February, is very tired of Russia and of Russian methods. The very small section of public opinion which was opposed from the outset to the alliance with Russia need merely be mentioned. The very great majority of the people welcomed the friendship of Russia with perfectly genuine, often gushing, but, after all, quite justifiable enthusiasm, as every one knows. That the Liberal Republican regretted the necessity for his country of accepting the alliance of such an autocracy as a means to an end is undoubted, but at the same time very few, even of the most uncompromising Socialists, were prepared to deny that the means was an effectual one, or to contest the commonsense proposition that the Franco-Russian alliance has helped France to regain her proper place in the councils of Europe. Now they have changed all that. French public opinion has been accused since the war of disloyalty towards an ally in a fix. What degree of loyalty had the ally shown to France before? For several years past the centre of intrigues against the Republican Government has been St. Petersburg. Official Russian society was a great deal more actively royalist than the Duc d'Orléans, and especially more Bonapartist than Prince Victor, whose one dread in life is that he will be harried away from his homely fireside in Belgium and bullied into

being a conspirator *malgré lui*. The former French Ambassador in St. Petersburg openly led the agitation, and the former Russian Ambassador in Paris, or, to be more accurate, his *entourage*, responded by making it a daily business to deride M. Loubet in public a few years ago, to say nothing, of course, of mere Prime Ministers since. At one time, in fact, the Russian Embassy in Paris was bringing in General Louis Bonaparte from the Russian army to put him on the throne of France, but it never came off. Now, M. Joseph Prudhomme may, or may not, desire to shoot M. Combes, or other Frenchmen in power, but he naturally objects in any case to outsiders taking aim first. To the anti-Republicanism of St. Petersburg he soon found the commonsense repartee: "If we are not good enough for you, why condescend to borrow from us?"

In the latest operetta, the ingenuous M. de la Palice is compelled, by a combination of circumstances, to impersonate an Ambassador Extraordinary of France to Spain, and to carry through, on behalf of the real ambassador, a diplomatic mission with the nature of which he has not had time to acquaint himself. In Spain he is beset by cadgers. "I wonder why they are all at my purse," he murmurs; then the explanation flashes upon him. "Why, I represent France, of course." The house applauds with patriotic—the new sort of patriotic—enthusiasm. Business France has at last had enough of being "tapped" for loans by her ally. The enormous quantity of scrip held by French investors is kept up at present quotations, as every boursier will tell you frankly, only by the untiring efforts of the great French banks like the *Crédit Lyonnais*, acting on the direct counsel and entreaty of the French Government. If this bolstering policy were ever to be withdrawn, the consequences would be disastrous for the small French holder, who at the height of the Russophile enthusiasm was easily induced to place all his tiny capital at the service of the allied nation. All these accumulated capitals drawn from the "woollen

stocking of France" are now being spent in carrying on unsuccessfully a war which, even if ever pursued to a victorious finish, can be of no earthly interest to France, and the immediate result of which, so far, has been to show up the weakness of the Colossus on whose strength she had relied. Is it a wonder that her loyalty to her ally has been badly shaken? Business men, moreover, have estimated the percentage of Russian expenditure on armaments by which French workshops have benefited, and have found that Russia is one of France's worst customers. This was, of course, perfectly well known before, at the very time when enraptured mothers held up their babies to be kissed by Admiral Avellan driving through the streets of Paris. But the true signs of the times are that French business men pretend to have only just discovered the fact, and that the great middle-class opinion, incarnated by M. Joseph Prudhomme, has taken up the revelation as a stock argument in its reconstructed *haute politique*, just as M. Joseph Prudhomme solemnly announces nowadays the startlingly new proposition that Great Britain is France's best all-round customer. It is true that the Baltic Fleet has been sent with the utmost expedition to the Far East by the Russian Admiralty, acting in concert with a ring of Franco-Russian financiers, for the express purpose of affording the Japanese the earliest possible opportunity, which they will not miss, of blowing it to pieces, so that profitable orders, bringing in fat commissions, may be placed as soon as can be with French naval dockyards. But this story (which originates from presumably serious business men, not from men on the boulevards) reflects, if believed, little credit on the ally, and, moreover, M. Joseph Prudhomme is now losing taste for the romantic and the Machiavellian, which is one of the secret explanations of the *Entente Cordiale*. "Give me common sense and plain fact!" he now cries. He never had a use for anything else, of course, in his private affairs, which no one can teach him how to manage; but now he wants common sense in his politics also, which is almost revolutionary. Who

buys our butter, our eggs, our wine, our fruit, and bought our sugar until lately at half the price we paid for it ourselves? Who fills our most expensive hotels and keeps the Riviera flowing in prosperity? The Englishman, of course. M. Joseph Prudhomme now tells you this as his grand new discovery.

Political common sense? The war has shown him what it is not, on one side. The failure of autocracy in efficiency undoubtedly came as a revelation to him. It had seemed so simple an aphorism to lay it down that government by one man must make for unity of direction, expeditiousness in the discharge of public business, and prompt obedience of each muscle in the great organism to the single controlling brain. Such simple solutions must appeal *primâ facie* to the average French mind in the consideration of every problem. The brain commanded, or was supposed to command, and, of course, the muscles would not, or could not, obey. The whole machine controlled in theory by one mind broke down in practice, as it always has done. One can watch it daily breaking down in its own country in the smallest matters of public business. French opinion was vividly impressed by the obvious collapse of the beautifully simple theory of autocratic government. The war has had, at any rate, one entertaining result: the discovery by the man on the boulevards of the benefits of free institutions. He has enjoyed them on and off for a century or so, but since the vogue of the Franco-Russian Alliance it had been the fashion to say that they are doubtful blessings. Of course the French nation is quite incapable of submitting for a week to an autocratic regimen, but the café politician before last February nightly regretted for his country the lack of a master's strong hand and iron will. "Oh for a sword to lead us straight, a whip to purge our petty passions, a rod to inspire us again with our lost virtues of old!" were the Prudhommeries of a year ago. Every one who has met M. Joseph Prudhomme will recognise them. A public Press which carries its misuse of liberty to a thorough enjoyment of licence clamoured for the gagging of papers of different opinions. Citizens alternately agitated to

obtain the right of free public speech, not yet inscribed among the Frenchman's liberties, and called upon a Dictator, who never came, to appear and restrict suffrage, muzzle politicians, suppress discussion, and shut up the Chamber, and perhaps the Senate also—and all in the name of efficiency. France was frittering away her energies in idle argumentativeness, discipline was destroyed by trades-unionism in her navy and by politics in her army, and in all her affairs, at home and in foreign politics, the curse of Parliamentarism paralysed her. "Look at Russia," said M. Joseph Prudhomme. "An invincible army and a mighty navy, a colossal colonial policy, the stupendous scheme of the Trans-Siberian, an administration which Witte has taught to think in hemispheres: what better proofs that autocracy makes for efficiency?" Before February last, to cite the example of Great Britain as an argument on the other side was to court derision, for Anglo-Saxondom was a decaying organism. If South Africa were not England's grave, India would be, for India was on the eve of rebellion, to be followed by Russian conquest. The politician of the wine-shop had, a year ago, long since settled how the partition of British colonies was to be effected among Russia, France, and Germany, and it had been decided that Great Britain was to be isolated as a neutral State like Belgium, under the control of Europe. Those who propounded this satisfactory solution of the chief problems of the *haute politique* in all probability believed a great part of what they said.

Where is that *haute politique* now? Ask not M. Joseph Prudhomme, he has forgotten all about it. He is busy demonstrating that what he had been clamouring for all along was a good, businesslike understanding with the one community in the world which has learnt to conduct its public affairs on sensible businesslike methods, and has been uniformly successful in consequence. A nation of shopkeepers, forsooth! Why not? Would that we were, he prays, and were cured of our incorrigible idealism!

The new disposition of French public opinion very soon

had an opportunity of showing itself. The Russo-Japanese War—because of the modern Frenchman's determined love of peace—has cemented the *Entente Cordiale*, founded by King Edward's visit. As lately as in the first weeks of the war the significant attitude observed by the French people in the affair of the Hull outrage would have been unthinkable in a similar case. Even M. Henri Rochefort cannot (if he ever can) take himself seriously when he throws out the suggestion that the supposed herrings on the Dogger Bank were really torpedoes in disguise. The most ardent Russophile has gone no farther than to maintain that the Russian story deserves at least a hearing. Hardly one Frenchman has really taken it for granted that the British version is untrue, as the majority would have done a year ago. As for M. Joseph Prudhomme, he eloquently improved the occasion by castigating the vices of a despotic Government, under which favouritism rules, discipline goes overboard, and the officer of the watch is intoxicated. He had always maintained that Russian administration is rotten. The Hull outrage proved it. If the Baltic Fleet, he asked, mistook trawlers for torpedo-boats, what will they mistake Japanese battleships for when they see them? Perhaps the Russians sank one of their own torpedo-boats which was coming up unexpectedly and showed the wrong signals. This hypothesis is believed, as a matter of fact, to have originated in Paris. Having been very badly disappointed by the Russians, French public opinion is beginning to wonder whether there is any blunder which they are incapable of committing. Normandy and Brittany fishermen were content to express the view, and act on it, that it was wiser to keep in port while Russian warships with champagne on board were about. The Hull outrage, however, created no scare in France, simply because not a man in the nation would have tolerated for an instant the idea of going to war to support the allied Russian Empire against Great Britain in such a cause, or, for that matter, in any other. A nation has rarely been so united in any feeling as is the French in its determination not to be

dragged into war by the Russian alliance. England's swift and effective demonstration of her naval strength did not, as it would have done a year ago, impress France disagreeably. On the contrary, M. Joseph Prudhomme pointed out that it merely proved what he had said before about the greater efficiency of an empire ruled by free institutions. Above all, he felt proud of the part played by France in averting an armed conflict between Russia and England. It was very soon said in Paris that the Quai d'Orsay was plying St. Petersburg with advice, clearer than hints, to back, as gracefully as might be, but quickly, out of an impossible situation, or otherwise not to count on the assistance of France. French public opinion has, to tell the truth, been a little surprised by the suddenness with which the indignation of the Englishman in the street has cooled down; but that, it is agreed, is the latter's business. France has been unfeignedly proud to act as invisible arbiter in the late crisis, and feels pleasantly towards England because her good offices were accepted, perhaps even sought. M. Joseph Prudhomme says that France has been restored to her natural place as the mentor of nations. Of course, the Chamber, before ratifying the Anglo-French agreement by a very large majority, felt compelled to show its sagacity by seeing through the possible wiles of British diplomacy. But that is a compliment which the polite nation will ever pay to our Governments, however rudely we treat them ourselves. *Entente Cordiale* or not, the deep astuteness of British diplomacy must remain an article of faith with the café politician. M. Joseph Prudhomme would say that, while sincerely gratified to embrace John Bull on both cheeks, still, for patriotic reasons, he keeps at the same time an eye on the thoughts at the back of his dear new friend's head.

LAURENCE JERROLD.

THE DECLINE OF PARLIAMENT

WE are nowadays constantly within hearing of elections and electioneering; and side by side with the clamour of this machinery complaints are as constantly heard of the unsatisfactory character of the results accomplished. Parliamentary institutions may be said to be past being on their trial. The newer age condemns them. If these complaints had been confined to the experience of Parliament in some European countries, we might be content with the old explanation that the mischances arose from a foolish attempt to apply the principles of Parliamentary government to races and communities not prepared for their reception. Why complain if a Slav Sobranje breaks down, or even if an Austrian Reichsrath proves unworkable? Unfortunately, the complaints are perhaps more frequently heard from Anglo-Saxon communities, where the genius of the people has been supposed pre-eminently fitted for the successful management of Parliaments, and where long-standing use has made the forms and methods of Parliamentary procedure familiar to every citizen. Mr. Bryce has told us of the curious length to which popular feeling in respect of their Legislatures has run in some of the Western States. They are debarred from meeting more than a strictly limited number of days in the year, or perhaps from meeting oftener than every other year. A more recent form of restraint, which has, I believe, become established in one or two instances, would require that no Act of the Legislature

should have the force of law until it has been submitted to and approved by a popular vote. The principle of a Referendum, familiar enough in Swiss politics, has not yet been seriously discussed among ourselves, but it was acted upon in Australia, where the Constitution of the Commonwealth was submitted to popular votes after having been approved by the Legislatures of the constituent States. Opinions will doubtless differ as to what would have been the result had some recent Acts of Parliament—for example, the Licensing Act or the Education Act—been submitted to a *plébiscite* of the nation, as a condition precedent of their becoming law; but the suggestion of such a procedure may not be unprofitable to consider, and the fact that it can be made illustrates an abiding uncertainty as to whether Parliament can always be trusted as an expression of the national will.

We must approach the subject in a different manner if we would form a correct estimate of the decline of Parliamentary authority among ourselves. It would be well in the first place to recall how that authority stood in its highest manifestation, say during the fifty years which followed 1832. What were the distinguishing characteristics of Parliamentary action during that half-century? As Mr. Bagehot pointed out, Parliament evolved a Committee called the Cabinet, to which was entrusted the administration of the several political departments and the preparation of the principal new projects of law. The expression of the will of the majority of the Legislature, and presumptively of the nation, was thus secured, but the service of Parliament went much beyond this. Within its Sessions the conduct of the Administration was continuously criticised, and the House of Commons justified its claim to be the Grand Inquest of the nation by the discussion of the grievances of all classes of the people. The majority ruled through the Ministry. Minorities were heard with growing success through the representatives of discontented sections and the advocates of progressive change. One set of men pressed for economy of expenditure, and materially helped to

secure it. Another set exposed the wants and the sufferings of the day-labourers, whether in the field, mine or factory, or on shipboard. Another set directed attention to the criminal law and its punishments, especially that of transportation, and, in connection with this last, our colonial relations necessarily came under review. Irish representatives could not fail to press upon their fellow-members the grievances only too plentifully supplied through the bad laws and bad administration of the sister island. Yet another illustration, which the reader may have earlier expected, is found in the battle against the evil legislation which throttled industry and commerce, and imposed unjust taxes on the food of the poorest of the people. Such activities were the glory of Parliamentary history, and whilst they severally ended in success, more or less complete when the majority and the Ministers representing the majority found themselves carrying through the measures of reform so long agitated, it must ever be remembered that it was through minorities, and private members representing minorities, that the work of conversion was begun and conducted up to the last stage of victory. There was work outside as well as within Parliament. The platform and the Press aided in the labour. But the highest education which animated the platform and instructed the Press was achieved in Parliament, where advocacy and criticism met, and the inertia of Conservative opinion was overcome by the energy of reason.

It would be a pitiful contrast to go step by step through a comparison of the Parliament of the mid-nineteenth century and Parliament as it appears at the opening of the twentieth century. We cannot get rid of Ireland, and as long as money is voted for the service of Irish departments the defects of Irish government will continue to be brought under review. But apart from this, how complete is the change! The old combination of the energy of private members and the activity of Ministers has disappeared. The time allotted to the former has been curtailed, and new obstacles have arisen to prevent them from effectively using the hours still left at their com-

mand. Forms of procedure have been developed or abused, so as to take away in the House of Commons the power of bringing under discussion subjects which most urgently require it. The transformation is admitted, and is not unfrequently justified. It is claimed that the work of Parliament is to pass laws, and laws can be passed only when introduced by a Government commanding the confidence of the Legislature. Private members are reduced to impotence, but they deserve no better fate. They accomplish at best an idle intrusion into the arena and a waste of time that could be usefully employed. If the records of the last century are appealed to, the answer is that all the great work then required to be done has been done, and there is nothing left now to parallel the exigencies of the past. This line is taken by those who voice the majority which desires no change. I have no doubt a similar opinion was cherished, if not expressed, by faithful supporters of Ministers fifty years ago. It betrays a singular lack of imagination, not to say a dull unintelligence, as to the capabilities of the future. The politician must be strangely constituted who thinks that our land laws are beyond the discussion of change, and that no Parliamentary time could be well spent in canvassing proposals for their improvement. What shall we say of the condition of the people which in respect of household tenure and beneficent municipal activity depends so much upon these laws? Are the problems of education and of ecclesiastical organisation completely solved? The question of colonial relations deserves a better fate than that of being brought forward at the fag-end of platform declamations in favour of Protection. In our better times the statesman interested in it would have addressed his most careful argument to his fellows in the House of Commons. Who again can fail to see how much work might be done through Parliament in the development of international friendship and the reduction of armaments? No failure of subjects can excuse the limitation of private members' opportunities in the House of Commons. Nor can any defence of it be found in the plea that newspapers now do

the work which was done by such men as Hume, Cobden, Lord Ashley, Molesworth and their compeers. Newspapers chronicle and pursue the work of others. The editor of a daily newspaper can hardly afford to look beyond his nose. When debates originate in Parliament, newspapers perforce report them and offer some comment upon them. The flip-flap opinions thus expressed, backing and filling with wind, may not be of much value; but they draw attention to what is going on, the real, motive power lying in that force to which they simply testify.

The energy of Parliament has declined, Parliamentary authority declines with it, and the nation has suffered thereby. There is no want of subjects requiring discussion, and no substitute for Parliamentary discussion has been found. There remains, however, the parlous plea that the men of past generations are wanting. The eager reforming spirits of the past are not in the House of Commons. If they were, they would soon assert themselves and make the necessary channels for their activity. Here, I think, we touch the real source of decay. And yet it is difficult to believe that nature is not as prolific to-day as yesterday in men ardently eager to work for the public good. The sources of reforming energy have not dried up. Has there been any change in the organisation of public life limiting or denying the facility of entrance into the House of Commons of the power that once found its way there?

The change in our electoral machinery, under the operation of which members are returned by single-member constituencies, has quietly effected a radical change in the character of the House itself. Local influences formerly produced irregularly enough a great variety in the composition of the House of Commons. When a man was patron of his own borough or lord of his own district he was independent enough, and if self-will often produced nothing but wilful eccentricity it sometimes expressed a rough invaluable commonsense. When again there were two members to be returned for a constituency, it was common

and almost necessary to run, as candidates, representatives of two wings of a party, thus producing in the House of Commons different grades of political opinion. And again, it was not an accident that, with the redivision of the country, there sprang into existence federal party organisations, highly centralised, which have become more and more actively engaged in the formation of programmes, the introduction of candidates, and, most of all, in the direct management of elections. A General Election may happen so hurriedly as not to find this wide-spreading machinery fully prepared for its work; but there is generally sufficient forewarning, and in bye-elections the machinery is constantly exhibited in full operation. The result is seen in a decline in the quality of candidates and in the growing poverty of Parliamentary life. Any one who would wish to study the process in detail may be recommended to read Ostrogorski's book, "Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties," a monument of years of careful and acute industry devoted to a patient study of political developments here and in the United States. The elaboration of the "machine" has not reached the degree of perfection among ourselves that it has across the Atlantic, but the process is of the same character. The force of individuality declines. Large views and the advocacy of great ideas are discredited. The men who are in request are those who will fall into their places according to pattern, and there is such a standardisation of items that no difficulty can be found in replacing any link that accidentally drops out. I repeat that this is not realised among ourselves everywhere and at once—"dark horses" will creep in provided they can keep their qualities in obscurity at first, which is a bad preparation for subsequent independence—but it is sufficiently realised to deaden enthusiasm for causes among the electorate and to produce that lack of energy in the House of Commons which lies at the bottom of the decay of Parliamentary life and of Parliamentary authority.

Generations do, without doubt, differ from one another in

vitality; and it may be that we are passing through a somewhat listless period. But we may as well make as good use as we can of the materials we have. The nation is still rich enough in public-spirited thinkers and workers, and Parliament might be rich too, if we cleared away the obstructions which make narrow and difficult the ways into it. A comparatively simple change holds the promise of a complete transformation. If, instead of single-member constituencies, we had constituencies of half-a-dozen members, and provisions enabling different groups of electors within each constituency to get a representative for themselves if they were of adequate size to justify the claim, we should at once emancipate electors and candidates. We should give the first the strongest of motives for securing a direct representation of themselves in the Legislature, and we should give the elected a secure standing-place on which he could rely as long as he was true to himself and held the faith which animated his followers. Under such a scheme each large provincial town would be one constituency, and the elements of political life within it would be in living connection with the House of Commons. Difficulties such as those connected with the claims of labour to representation would disappear, and the Conservative member would not be in imminent peril, though he remained an obstinate Free-Feeder. Parliament would have all the variety and vigour of life. I do not enter into an exposition of the machinery of election, by which this real representation is effected. It has been proved over and over again to be very easily worked, and the experiment could be tried any winter evening by any set of men or women that liked to put it to the test. If we cross the narrow seas to Belgium we should find a system of proportional representation working there to the great satisfaction of all parties, who have found in it a solution of difficulties which at one time threatened the nation with anarchical convulsions.

Why do we not adopt some similar method here? The real objection is found in use and want and the aversion of

those who are "in" to entertain any suggestion of changes in the ways which they have found sufficient for themselves. But there are two pleas which are advanced in front of, and by way of covering, this real obstacle. The first is that members so independently elected are bound to be troublesome, unmanageable fellows. Experience does not support this apprehension. In our best days the strongest advocates of particular ideas were found to be thoroughly practical members of the House of Commons, and the forces of self-adjustment may be trusted to maintain a well-developed organism out of such elements. Parliamentary life has become smoother in Belgium, where Liberals and Socialists, once in mortal enmity, are able to co-operate together in common causes, and even members of the left wing of the Clerical party fine off in the way of amity towards men of other parties. The second plea is that the two-party system would be destroyed. The necessity of the two-party system is a postulate politicians are fond of assuming. I have noticed that Mr. Balfour often refers to it—not, indeed, as a thing proved, but as something which it is convenient to take for granted. He is a very clever man, and I am persuaded he has no settled conviction on the subject. If questioned he would give it the go-by, and he would probably evade discussion because in his moments of speculation he has seen how short of proof is the case for its necessity. The Tadpoles and Tapers who have not probed things to the same depth doubtless feel a genuine apprehension of any danger that can touch the two-party system. They may be comforted with the assurance that it is not easily destructible. It has its roots in human nature, and the real question of public policy is whether it might not be to our advantage that the strictness of its discipline should be abated. Who can pretend that the process of dividing politicians into two camps and of drilling the men in each to think alike and speak alike over against the men of the other tends to the development of sincerity or assists in the apprehension of truth? The late Lord Carnarvon confessed one day that he had discovered with

pain that the Conservative party was an organised hypocrisy. A cynic would remark that the discovery erred only in its limitation ; and there is truth enough in the sneer to justify us in bidding the timid to be of good heart, even though the two-party system be broken down at its edges. After all, there is something in the large generalisation that the way of freedom is the way of safety and not of peril. A reform which liberates the development of thought and of counsel among the citizens of a nation carries a recommendation in advance of itself.

LEONARD COURTNEY.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES

GREAT BRITAIN

The whole military system as it stood at that date was tested by the war in South Africa. . . . The condition of things with regard to stores and material is described by Lord Lansdowne in his Minute of May 21, 1900, as "full of peril to the Empire," inasmuch as we were not sufficiently prepared even for the equipment of the comparatively small force which we have always contemplated may be employed beyond the limits of this country in the initial stages of a campaign.—*Royal Commission on the War in South Africa, 1903.*

AUSTRALIA

The serious condition of the stores and equipment was brought to the notice of the Government in the Minute on Defence, dated 7th April 1902. The unsatisfactory condition of affairs was further commented upon at length in the annual report, dated May 1, 1903. It is with feelings of the gravest apprehension that I again invite attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the warlike stores. . . . It may be as well to state at once that a force of the requisite strength, organised and capable of taking the field, does not at present exist in Australia, and that there are at present no local means of equipping such a force. The organisation is incomplete; the departments necessary for a mobile army have yet to be created; and there are neither sufficient guns, arms, equipment nor ammunition. . . . It is impossible to view the military situation in Australia, in face of the momentous changes taking place in the balance of power in the East, without grave misgivings.—*Annual Report of Australian Defence, 1904.* Major-General Sir EDWARD HUTTON, General Officer commanding the Australian Forces.

The late Minister for Defence, Sir John Forrest, G.C.M.G., recently

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declared in Parliament that if he had not rifles enough for the forces he would "arm them with pickaxes or something," and the present Minister states that, should England become involved in the Eastern War, he intends to raise the number of rifle-club members from 26,000 to 50,000, though well knowing there are not rifles available for even the existing regiments if extended to their war establishment.—Extract from article by Senator Lieut.-Colonel J. C. NEILD, of the Commonwealth Parliament, published in the May number of the *Navy League Journal*.

VIEWED broadly, the British Empire, at the present stage of its development, affords a most remarkable study of forces unorganised, and hence largely wasted. For where forces are in action without unity of design they must necessarily often be mutually destructive; there is great loss of efficiency in the machine owing to excessive friction. Thus we have forces chaotically at work in education, in national and imperial defence, in our industrial methods, in foreign policy, in our consular system, in our dealings with the physique of the people, in our treatment of the question of public health. Everywhere ill-directed effort and overlapping energies; of system, properly understood, very little trace. This at home.

The outlook across the expanse of the British Dominions mirrors these conditions on a larger scale. We speak of the Empire, and it is a convenient term to describe the territories under British rule. But as yet there is no British Empire. An empire does not consist of so many millions of square miles held by so many millions of people of the same blood. It implies unity of design, solidarity of purpose, co-operation and organisation for its attainment, a loyal spirit of give and take between those who dwell far apart, a glad alacrity of common sacrifice for national ends. Do these conditions exist? We know that they do not. There is so much amiable and wishy-washy talk about the strength of the delicate bonds of blood and kinship which unite the different parts of the Empire that a little plain speaking is needed. Each part of the Empire, except the Mother Country, is pursuing its own

business as if it were an independent State. Each is self-centred and non-regardant of Imperial ends—of the *common weal*.

Canada contributes not a farthing to naval expenditure,¹ and her arrangements for self-defence are exemplified by the fact that last year the militia was described by a Canadian Commanding Officer as “the shadow of a skeleton,” while “the physique of the troops is deplorable, and they are mostly composed of old men and babes”; at the same time we are informed by the highest authority that the Dominion has not enough rifles to arm even the peace strength of her militia!

Australia's contribution to the Navy, on which her commerce and independent existence depend, is paltry in comparison to her stake in the Empire, while her internal defences are such that, to quote the leading Sydney paper, “if the emergency of self-defence should arise under present circumstances, the Commonwealth would apparently have to face it unequipped, imperfectly, and therefore unready.”

If, turning from arms to commerce, we look for some sign of the unity of organisation which Empire implies, what do we find? So far from the Empire being self-supporting, we have tariff walls built up by one part against the other; as it were against the foreigner. And not only tariff walls against dead imports, but barriers against live Britons. So that the British working man who, in pardonable error, should seek wider scope for his energies and healthier conditions in Australia, finds himself flung back, like any Kanaka, by the laws of those

¹ While correcting the proofs of this article, I have seen in the *Times* of September 7 a letter from a Canadian, protesting against “certain unwise and intemperate expressions uttered from time to time by some English public men and journals on the subject of the failure of Canada to contribute to the Imperial Navy.” I do not know whether the above mere statement of fact would fall under the condemnation of this writer; I hope not. At the same time it is interesting to note that, while styling himself “A Canadian Imperialist,” he says, “Any Imperialistic proposal, whether it be that of contribution to the Navy or any other, must reckon with the fact that the Canadian people are, and always will be, a *separate and independent nation*.”

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whose forebears made their home in those wide regions under the shadow of the British flag. While Great Britain makes an alliance with Japan, Australians forbid our allies to set foot on their shores; and a Canadian Prime Minister proclaims the right of the Dominion to remain neutral in any British quarrel where her own local interests are not immediately concerned. This, though at the least whisper of danger, at the slightest cry of distress from either, the British Army and Navy, paid for by the British taxpayer and recruited almost wholly in Great Britain, would hasten to their defence.

The real fact is, of course, that the self-governing Colonies are so many sister States, allied with the Mother Country and defended by the British Navy and British Army, but contributing next to nothing for the maintenance and recruitment of these forces, and independent not only in their internal laws and economic policy, but even, to a considerable extent, in their relations with foreign Powers.

These are not altogether pleasing considerations. But they are the truth, and it were better that we should thoroughly realise the truth, instead of deluding ourselves with attractive visions of the Empire as a magnificent whole, a gleaming edifice of rock-hewn granite, inspired by one mind and cemented by the common sacrifice of the race. That vision can—I am profoundly convinced that it *will*—be realised; but only on the condition that we cease to be “given to strong delusion, wholly believing a lie.” Recognition of the truth gives the key to the remedy.

Let it be admitted at once that the conditions I have described are the natural outcome of the process of our development. The Roman Empire was the result of conscious design, understood by its rulers and steadily pursued. The German Empire has been built up in the same way; and the determination to be strong on the seas is the natural outcome of the policy of the creators of German unity. The aims of Peter the Great are still the *Leitmotiv* of the great Power whose expansion has brought her into calamitous contact with the

new Eastern Power which has sprung into the arena of world-struggle. And the idea of building up the strength and prosperity of an Empire by conscious and well-directed effort along clearly defined lines has never been more strikingly indicated than in the case of Japan.

In our case Empire-building has taken quite a different form. Our geographical situation, throwing us upon the sea as the high road for our goods and the means of communication with the whole world, early taught us the meaning of sea-power and the need and value of naval strength. This, with the discovery of coal and iron, enabled us to become the market of the world and its carriers. But it was essentially as the outcome, and the guarantee, of our commerce that our naval power was felt to be valuable, not—until quite recently—as the sword to carve, the cement to hold, an Empire. Speaking generally, the process of expansion and conquest has not taken place as part of a great design, but has rather been forced upon us by our desire to find markets for our goods and an outlet for the peaceful energies of our people. It is in this sense that Seeley speaks of our having “conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind.” There was no absence of mind as far as the immediate purpose, the pursuit of commerce and industry, was concerned; quite otherwise. But the men who set out to sell goods which they had honestly and strongly made found that, in doing so, they had set up an Empire.

So fortunately were we placed, too, that the British people were not, on the whole, brought into close contact with the idea of personal sacrifice for national ends. In all the Continental wars our great wealth enabled us to subsidise the armies of our allies, so that, as Clode points out, the vast majority of the fighting on land was done by non-British troops in British pay, while our glorious victories at sea were won without any direct contribution from the mass of the people. All this, the splendid boon bestowed by sea-power, left us free to pile up wealth and occupy the fair places of the earth with comparative ease.

Very different was it with other nations. The very ease with which we built up our Empire was—it is important we should realise this truth—largely due to the fact that while the process was going on most of these nations were struggling for their very existence, and had little time and no energy to give to commerce, industry, or Empire-building. Only by tremendous sacrifice of blood and treasure, only by stern and devoted work on the part of all, have the chief modern nations—France, Germany, Italy, Japan—maintained themselves and built up their unity and strength. But the strenuous efforts for a common cause, the participation of all in the national work, the agony of defeat and the stern joy of victory, these things have entered into the soul of these people, so that they are one, in a sense in which the British Empire is far indeed from having attained the unity we desire to see.

But it is not so much the political unity and strength which these nations have achieved to which I desire to draw attention in this article; it is rather the unity and strength of purpose in the general national aims, and the wonderful organisation of national forces for national efficiency which springs from them, which I earnestly wish to bring before the people of England. The military and naval training of every young German and every young Japanese means the safety of the country against danger and the inculcation of a patriotism which puts the good of the native land before all else, and imbues an intensely practical people with a noble ideal. But it does not end there. Not only do the physical training, the discipline, the self-control, even the cleanliness and punctuality learnt by the citizen during his military service contribute directly to the efficiency of national industry, but the lesson of subordination of self to a common cause, the co-relation of many forces to one, gives that unity which must be the mainspring of efficient organisation: a centripetal tendency is given to particles which, of their nature, would be inclined to fly asunder in different directions.

With us, on the other hand, the centrifugal tendency¹ has

¹ By a curious coincidence Professor Gustav Schmoller, in the essay under

been stimulated and increased by the process of our development, a development natural to a people situated as we were, full of energy and devoted to the idea of absolute individual liberty. Splendid and useful as these qualities have been, it is easy to see that the process contained elements of danger, if unity was not to be lost sight of and organisation for common ends made difficult. Given a people with the intelligence, energy, and capacity for self-government of the Anglo-Saxon race, coupled with the power of territorial acquisition—in other words, elbow room—conferred by sea-power, and it was certain that much great work would be done and that the name of England would be written across the pages of history in strong and indelible characters. What was not so clear was whether the unifying principle of race and blood would suffice to counteract the different elements sturdily pursuing each its own path, especially as the compelling force of outward pressure and danger was seldom felt. The mere fact that the distances between the different parts of the Empire were so enormous was calculated to emphasise independence of thought and accentuate the tendency to lose sight of the whole in looking to local interests only. A wise and far-seeing policy would, from the first, have guarded against the undue development of forces tending towards disintegration. It would have ensured that our colonists, who could only exist in safety under the protection of England's right arm, should, while having complete liberty of self-development, be brought into close relation with national aims; it would have imbued them with the consciousness that they had duties to the Mother Country as well as rights to her protection; it would have made impossible the anomalous spectacle of the title of "The Future Commercial Policy of England—Chamberlain and Imperialism," which he has just published in the *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Volkswirtschaft*, says: "But again it is true that British territory is not a compact whole, like Russia or the United States. The centrifugal tendencies in Greater Britain are great. In the great self-governing Colonies, which have their own Parliamentary system and contain a considerable admixture of foreign blood, a race may grow up in a few generations whose sentiments are all on the side of independence."

Colonies neglecting the splendid opportunities offered by vast extent of territory and fertile soil, and raising fiscal barriers to enable them to crowd into cities and enter upon an industrial struggle with Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham. Not only was there no such policy, but the complete absence of the call for personal sacrifice for the common good, added to the intense love of personal liberty, has gradually produced a general apathy as regards national ends and national duty, which constitutes a grave danger to the nation and the Empire.

The average Englishman goes through life without anything to remind him of the duties which he owes to the State, and which, in the last resort, must be performed if the State is to maintain its existence. In the elementary schools, where the citizens of to-morrow are being formed in their millions, there is no instruction in civic duty such as the Swiss boy and girl or the youth of Japan receive from their earliest childhood. Dates are taught, and names of kings and battles, but nothing of the spirit of history which makes the humblest ragged urchin a co-heir of the glories of Shakespeare and Milton, of Drake and Frobisher, of Wolfe and Nelson. Thus the boy leaves school without the slightest idea that he is to be not merely a man, but a citizen, possessing not only rights—he knows all about *them*—but duties, and lacking the spirit of ready self-devotion which is eager to co-operate with his fellows for the common good of the nation of which he is an inheritor. Nor, to speak quite frankly, does the civic education of the young Englishman fare much better in the “public,” *i.e.*, private, schools, where the sons of the well-to-do are trained. True, a certain healthy spirit of manliness and honesty pervades the moral atmosphere. But so little does the idea of civic duty enter into the sphere of the public schools that, by the admission of some of the authorities themselves, even the love of knowledge and the habit of earnest work are positively discouraged. Were it not for the lesson of the football field, co-operation for an unselfish purpose is hardly learnt; and even here there is far too much

cultivation of a parochial outlook on life on the part of boys and masters alike, the school walls being regarded as the natural limits of real interest. Incidentally, too, the boy is encouraged in the idea that self-reliance and independence are the qualities to cultivate above all others, however unsatisfactory the "self" may be, however noble the ideal to which life's action might be subordinated.

Thus, unless perchance he joins the Volunteers, which not one in fifteen does, the young Briton will live his life entirely engrossed with his own business and pleasures. That, it may be urged, is no bad thing. If only each is occupied with his own business no harm can be done. Let the soldier and the sailor protect the man who pays them while he does the "productive" work which maintains the wealth and prosperity of the country. The idea contains an element of truth, and is only too easily accepted as the whole truth. But the fact is that the national industry and commerce, and, indeed, the national life in its widest sense, must, and do, in the end suffer from the lack of civic education in the workers, high and low. It is impossible that there should not be a difference in the quality of the work done by a nation where each unit performs it solely for his own ends, and that done by a people in which every worker has, in youth or early manhood, become imbued with the sense of duty in performing a work *not* done for oneself, but for the higher sake of country, and where the spirit is that expressed in the Swiss motto, "Each for all, and all for each."

The time has indeed come when the vast forces available, physical, moral and mental, must be organised for the national and Imperial good if the loosely-jointed fabric of our Empire is not to topple over at the first shock of battle with a first-class modern Power. If we are to go on piling up our wealth and commerce and adding to our responsibilities without making the sacrifice which is necessary to strengthen the edifice and set it up "four-square to all the winds that blow," we may come to illustrate to the world the satirist's tremendous picture :

“ . . . qui nimios posebat honores,
 Et nimios posebat opes, numerosa parabat
 Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset
 Casus et impulsæ præceps immane ruinae.”

But, it may be said, surely we have the necessary cement in the common allegiance to the Crown ; this is the golden circlet, stronger than bonds of steel, that binds the Empire together. Do not let us deceive ourselves by pretty phrases and allegorical allusions. Loyalty to the Crown exists indeed everywhere ; in some Colonies it is genuine and heartfelt. But by itself it is not enough to make any Colony place the interests of the Empire before its own ; while in some quarters the fact that allegiance implies, at least in theory, subjection to the Crown, is accepted only in the vaguest and most shadowy form. At any rate, it will be urged, the South African War showed the strength of patriotism and common sacrifice which inspires and binds together the scattered portions of the Empire. Here, again, there is much illusion, much conscious and unconscious self-deception. It is true that all self-governing colonies sent contingents to the war. Would it not have been amazing had they not done so ? But we must not blind ourselves to the fact that in many cases the services of the colonists had to be paid for by the British taxpayer at five times the rate received by the Volunteer and the Regulars from the Home Country ; and there were not wanting features which showed that the idea of the organisation of the forces of the Empire for war which Seeley dreamt of is still far from attainment, owing to the inability of the parts to understand that they are less than the whole. The South African War was a most valuable help to such organisation by showing how much might be done if it were achieved. But enough has happened since to show that in matters of Imperial defence the Colonies decline to let their forces take a definite place in a scheme of Imperial organisation. They will consider the matter on its merits when the need arises. As if the need were not there now !

Little wonder that a great Imperial statesman, looking out over the expanse of British territory, and longing for the unity which means strength, should have launched a policy of fiscal reform which apparently affords some means of welding together all the parts into a cohesive whole on an economic basis. It is too early to say what will be the result of his patriotic endeavours, and I have no intention here of entering upon the vexed question of fiscal reform. But of one thing I am profoundly convinced. Whether Mr. Chamberlain's proposals succeed or whether they fail, they will not, *in and by themselves*, give us Imperial union or strength. That can only be attained at the present stage of our existence if all Britons can be brought to realise that the strength and prosperity of the Empire means the strength and prosperity of each of its parts, and that they are not to be obtained unless each will bring to the common fund the tribute of his personal worth.

It is only by the adoption by the British people of personal military or naval training for the defence of the country that the heterogeneous interests which move each individual and each part of the Empire can be brought into relation with the one ideal. Here, too, lies the immediate road to the organisation of our national forces for commerce, industry, education, physique, and administration. Let us bring the qualities of the race, the manly strength, "the ancient and inbred integrity," the intelligence which comes of mixed descent, the energy that has made our Empire, the extraordinary qualities of heroism and endurance, which lie hidden like rich gold among the millions of our sordid cities; let us bring these into relation with the national life, and the electric spark of sacrifice shall give us such strength, wealth, efficiency, and plenitude of life as shall make our present state seem pale and weak in comparison. Then, too, England, Canada, Australia, and South Africa will be united in bonds that no power shall break—the bonds of common sacrifice, the bonds of a brotherhood in arms.

GEORGE F. SHEE.

THE MEDALS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

THE MEDICI COLLECTION

I

THE history of the Italian medals has during the last thirty years occupied the attention of German, French, and Italian writers, who have probably obtained most of the available information on the rise of a branch of Italian art which was consequent on the general revival of classics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Having made these medals a hobby in my youth, I propose in my later years to bring them to the notice of English readers, and to furnish them with some of the latest information published since the last edition of the Guide to the Exhibition of Italian Medals in the British Museum.¹

The visitor to the Bargello at Florence now finds a large collection of early and late mediæval art well arranged and located in the rooms of the old building intimately connected with the history of the city and of the Medici during its most flourishing period.²

Among these treasures perhaps the most unique is the collection of Italian and foreign medals dating from the beginning of the Italian Renaissance. I propose to give some account of these, and of those in my possession.

¹ British Museum. "A Guide to the Exhibition of Italian Medals." 1893.

² "Il Medagliere Mediceo." I. B. Supino. 1899.

The principal collector of this branch of antiquities in Italy was Lorenzo the Magnificent. Presents were made to him from the various collections which were then in the museum of the Estes of Ferrara, of the Gonzagas of Mantua, and of the Kings of Naples and Aragon. After the death of Lorenzo, the Signoria, during the political convulsions consequent upon it, took possession of his treasures, and among them 3000 medals of gold and silver; as P. de Comines narrates, "Il n'y avoit point autant de belles médailles en Italie."¹

When the Medici returned to power the Duke Cosmo again passionately took up the collection of medals, which he acquired from all parts of Italy and neighbouring countries. Francis I. continued the collection, and Cosmo III. acquired from private collectors a collection of medals, of which a large quantity were of silver, and in his time they were arranged, classified, and placed in the Tribune of the Uffizi.

Before dealing in detail with some of the principal medals it is necessary to trace back their origin and compare them with their predecessors in classical and mediæval times.

The art of commemorating distinguished persons and great events was not generally employed by the ancient Greeks and Romans, but we can trace the origin of medals from those early times.

The large pieces coined in Greece or the Greek colonies correspond to what has since been called medals, of which the large silver tetradrachm pieces, or pentecosta libra, equal to 50 lbs. of copper, the works of Evænetus and Kimon at Syracuse, are the representative. They are quite free from the stiffness and hardness of the archaic type of coins, and were in the style of the School of Polyclethus the Dorian rather than of Phidias.

The word "medal" is unknown to the ancients, and originated in the sixteenth century from the Italian "medaglia," equivalent to the low Latin word "medalia," a synonym of an obolus. Bonanni states that medals are called from the word

¹ "Il Medagliere Mediceo."

"methalias," the name given by the Arabs to Christian moneys, representing the portrait of some distinguished person, but the former derivation is the one accepted by Skeat,¹ who traces it back to the Greek for metal—μέταλλον.

The Romans called ancient pieces of money preserved in collections "nomismata," but they recorded any remarkable event in their ordinary coinage or struck a piece which was afterwards circulated as a coin. There were medallions of distinguished persons and Roman Emperors ending with that of Theodoric, recently found at Sinigaglia.

These so-called medallions began to be used in the time of Trajan; they were gold pieces of the fixed weight of three or four aurei (an aureus was the standard gold coin, weighing two silver denarii, and twenty-five times the value of the silver denarius). The gold medallions were intended as gifts to public officers, and those in silver were given by the Consuls when they were in office. Justinian laid down that the largesse in gold belonged to the Emperor alone, and in silver to the Consuls. The medallions in bronze were not in circulation, as they had not the words "S.C."—Senatus Consulto—inscribed on them, as in the case of copper money. They were struck under the control of the Senate, and on the arrival or departure of the Emperor, or on the New Year Calends.

Towards the end of the third century the towns of Asia Minor and Thrace, on the occasion of the periodical games, struck large medallions in bronze, with the head of the Emperor and celebrating the victors in chariot races, often illustrated with mythological subjects or recording the likeness of celebrated poets or philosophers. These seem to be the forerunners of the modern medals, as they were not in circulation as coins.

There were also the "contorniates," large copper pieces, which were struck as tickets in the time of Constantine, and were connected with the games in the Lower Empire. Subsequent to these were the ornamental gold medallions set in

¹ "Etymological Dictionary." W. Skeat.

pearls, given as marks of distinction by the Merovingian Kings, Dagobert I. (622-638), Louis (814-840); one of Henry I. (916-936), with a broad filigree border, was given as an order of merit to the principal nobles of his Court.

In the Middle Ages Frederic II. was the first to encourage the imitation of ancient art in the anonymous engravers of Amalfi, who designed the "augustals" of that monarch, and became the immediate forerunners of the great Italian medalists. They took as their pattern the busts of the antique coins in bold and simple relief, with the Imperial Eagle on the reverse. The fall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty retarded the progress of the art till the end of the fourteenth century.

The inventory of the Duc de Berry (1340-1416) disclosed many gold medals of Roman Emperors, mediæval imitations of the antique, but they differed in character from the Italian medals inasmuch as they, although influenced in some degree by ancient types, yet partook more of the Gothic character of the ornamental seals of the fourteenth century, but they transmitted to their successors in Italy the large inscriptions and representation of equestrian figures. They also differed from all previous ones, being cast and afterwards modelled.¹

In the early Renaissance the artist did not confine himself to one branch of art. He was painter, sculptor, gem engraver, or medallist as occasion required or his tastes prompted him.

In the first instance the reverses are suggested by classical art; these are often designed with rather obscure meaning, or were emblematical, but even from the first the artists were influenced in the selection of subjects rather by Pagan than by Christian art, though there are exceptions to the rule, especially at the time of Savonarola and in the Papal medals.

The artists were not confined to one state or town, but went where the patrons of their art called them. The great centres were, as we shall see, Florence and subsequently Rome, and I propose to deal with the principal medallists,

¹ "Cornelius von Fabriczy Medaillen," p. 6.

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connecting them, as far as possible, with the town in which they were born or lived in parallel chronological order.

It is at Padua that we find the first imitation of the heads of Roman Emperors, in the two medals of the Carrara Francesco I. and II. (1390-1400), the Lords of Padua; the reverses following the mediæval coins of the city, represented a four-wheeled chariot, the canting arms of the family, who thus celebrated their restoration to power. They took as their model heads of Vitellius and Commodus, but at the same time gave an individual character to the heads of father and son. They were probably the work of Marco Sesto, as we find at Venice he issued two medals, struck 1393 and 1407, in imitation of the antique, with the reverses respectively of Venetia and a mythological subject, the Rape of Proserpine.

But it is to the neighbouring city of Verona that the credit of reviving the art of the medallist in the Renaissance style belongs. It differed in many respects from the classical type, and was the spontaneous product of the revival of art.

A wonderful impulse was given to all branches of learning by the discovery of many of the classics and the revival of Greek literature, caused by the dispersion of the Greeks after the fall of the Byzantine Empire by the capture of Constantinople in 1453.

It was a little anterior to this that Vittore Pisano (Pisanello)—1380-1451 or 2— cast a medal of large size representing the Emperor John Palæologus when he visited Ferrara at the Council, under Pope Eugenius IV., which was afterwards closed at Florence, in 1438, to demand assistance from Italy against the Turks. The obverse has the inscription in Greek of his titles and name, the reverse is signed "Opus Pisani pictoris," and also in Greek. The Emperor is represented mounted, on his journey, armed with a bow, and arrows in his quiver, and is turning aside from his suite, and with folded hands slightly bending before a cross placed on a high column, to show his devotion to the faith. (See Fig. 1.)

This medal mostly struck in bronze or lead was also struck

in gold, and it is recorded that Andrew Fountaine,¹ one of the first of English collectors of Italian art, when he visited Florence in 1715 presented this gold medal to the Grand Duke Cosmo III. It is probable that a few of these were struck and given as presents by the Emperor Palæologus before he left Florence, where he and his brother were hospitably entertained.

Pisanello was a successful painter, and did not take up the casting of portrait medals till the last decade of his life. In the collection of drawings at the Louvre are some sketches by Pisanello of the reverses which he made use of in the memorial pieces of Alfonso of Naples. They were evidently inspired by the triumphal chariot drawn by four horses in the reverse of the medal of Heraclius,² and his earliest medal was in like manner modelled after the medal of Constantine both in its size, in the mixture of Latin and Greek inscriptions, and in the reverse representing an equestrian figure spearing a barbarian.

The medals of Pisanello and the School of Verona differed from those of Padua, which were struck and were always cast in either gold, bronze, silver, or lead. The best artists did not always require to touch up the casting, but in some cases the finishing touches were added when the cast, which had been modelled in wax, did not answer the expectation of the designer.

All the portraits of Pisanello have a strong individual character, which have probably never been surpassed. He depicts, in the heads of Sigismondo and Novello Malatesta, and in Lionello d'Este, the stern and haughty tyrants of the Renaissance. The main characteristic of the features is given without any superfluous detail, but idealised and ennobled. His figures are full of life and energy; his profiles are clean cut. We know of only one female head of Cecilia Gonzaga as she was at twenty-three, striking us by its simplicity and grace, with a

¹ "Antiqua Numismata quæ in regio Thesauro magni Ducis Etruriæ adservantur." Florence, 1740.

² "Fabriczy," p. 13.



Fig. 1



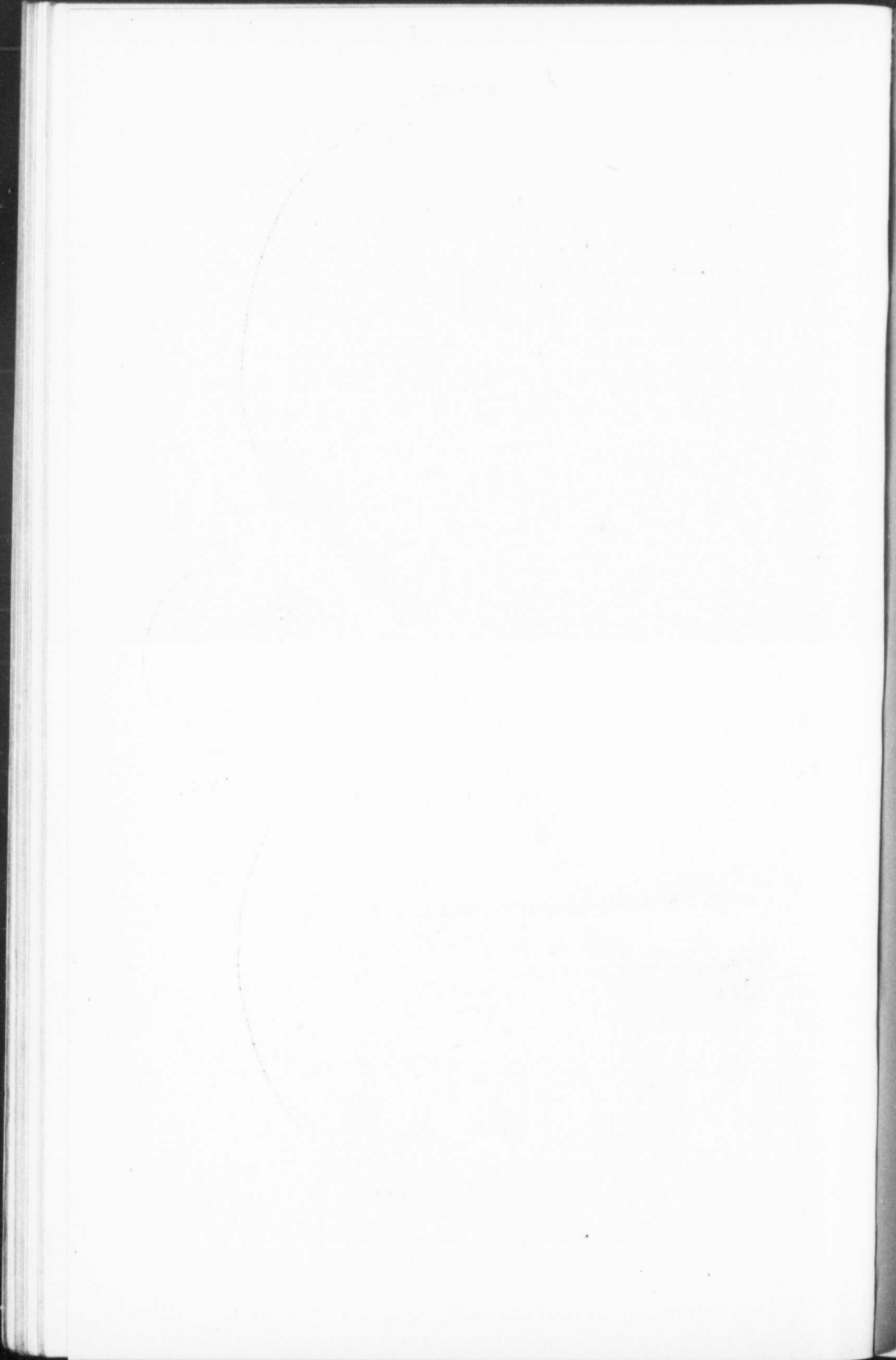
Fig. 2



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



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wealth of hair tied in an overhanging knot at the back of her head. The reverse is full of imagination and allegorical power, representing a lovely maiden scantily draped, who trusts her innocence to the protection of the symbolical unicorn lying by her side; a moonlight scene in a rocky wild desert; a solitary stone erected in the background bears the legend of his name and date, 1447.

The reigning Princes of the Courts of Padua, Mantua, Ferrara, Milan, Rimini, and Urbino, the Pope (Paul II.), and Alfonso of Naples encouraged the medallist; they made collections of the medals of their contemporaries, which were exchanged as gifts between each other, and of the remarkable men, whether as "condottieri" or famous in science or letters.

One of the earliest historical medals is of Pope Paul II. (Fig. 3) representing the Pope sitting in Council with six Cardinals on each side¹ and the legend: "Sacrum Publicum Apostolicum Consistorium Paulus Venetus P.P. II." This solemn Council was held in Rome in 1470, to confirm the sentence of deposition against George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, who had been condemned to lose his throne on account of his support of the Hussite heresy, 1466. Podiebrad refused to appear before the Pope, and in the presence of the Council, composed of all the learned divines in Rome and the representatives of the religious orders, the Pope, standing before the Altar in St. Peter's, solemnly absolved his subjects from their allegiance. The reverse, representing our Saviour in glory surrounded by Angels in the midst of the Apostles and fathers of the Church, with the Virgin and St. John in adoration and the Resurrection of the Dead below, is influenced by the designs of Fra Angelico and the painters of the early Italian school. It bears the legend: "Justus es Domine et Rectum Judicium tuum Miserere Nostri Do Miserere Nostri."²

¹ Bonanni only gives five Cardinals on each side, there not being room for six in the engraving.

² O Lord Thou art just, and right is Thy judgment. Pity us, O Lord, pity us.

It is, therefore, different in character from any of the other medals of that date, and contains a large number of figures in very low relief. It was cast at Rome, but the author is unknown.

In Verona, Matteo de Pasti, from 1444, has left us characteristic heads of Sigismondo Malatesta, the tyrant of Rimini, and his mistress and second wife, Isotta da Rimini (1446), with its reverse, the elephant, which her husband had taken for his device with the motto: "Elephas Indus culices non timet."¹

Mareoscotti of Ferrara has left us, between 1446 and 1462, seven medals, especially one of Bernardin of Siena, with the motto: "Coepit facere et postea docere,"² and the legend on reverse: "Manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus."³

Petrecini and Coradini give us portrait medals of Borso and Ercole d'Este, first and second Dukes of Ferrara. A contemporary medallist at Naples, Pietro da Milano, was in the service of Alfonso. Both he and Laurana, after the death of Alfonso (1458), followed René of Anjou to his Court in France, where the former executed the medallion of René and his wife (1461), and the latter that of Louis XI. of France, in which he portrays the cunning and determination of this despot, who deserted the traditions of the Middle Ages, though imbued with its superstition, and initiated modern ideas in the government of his country.

In Mantua, Pietro da Fano gives us the portrait of the Marquis Lodovico Gonzaga, the reverse with the figure of an infant cupid and the legend: "Noli me tangere."⁴ Did it allude to his marriage with Barbara of Brandenburg? Melioli and Talpa, the former a goldsmith and the latter a decorative artist, were employed by the Gonzaga family in their palace and villas, and Melioli also executed the medal of Christian IV. of Denmark, who passed through Mantua in 1474.

¹ The Indian elephant does not fear an insect's sting.

² He began to work and afterwards to teach.

³ I have shown thy name to mankind.

⁴ Do not touch me.

Cristoforo Romano (1465-1512), in Isabella Gonzaga, continued the series of the Gonzaga family, after which he went to Rome, and in 1506 executed the medal of Julius II. The reverse contains two figures of peace and confidence joining hands over the altar of peace, with the legend: "Justitiæ pacis fideiq̄ recuperator."¹ It breathes the spirit of classical antiquity, and combines with it that of the Renaissance as opposed to the realism in the medals of Pisano and the medallists of the fifteenth century.

By the same author is probably the medal of Alfonso d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia; the reverse contains the figure of a young Cupid, with his hands tied behind his back to a tree. This artist left his collection of thirty-six bronze and eighty-seven silver medals, together with other gems, to be sold to pay for the masses for his soul!

Marco Cavalli, the last of the Mantuan medallists, born 1450, was a goldsmith and engraver. He was employed in 1506 by Maximilian, at Hall in the Tyrol, to make the dies for the new gold coinage. In his medal of Maximilian I. and Bianca Maria Sforza, the two heads are in profile and are portraits; the reverse has the Madonna and the infant Christ; the heads are after the antique, the reverse is influenced by contemporary pictorial art.

In Padua, in the fifteenth century, there were only two medallists—B. Bellano (1430-1492) and Andrea Briosco dello Riccio. Bellano was a sculptor, pupil of Donatello while he lived at Padua, and worked under him at Florence on the pulpit at S. Lorenzo. He afterwards went to Rome and cast the bronze medal of Pope Paul II. He returned to Padua and was employed in bronze work for the church of St. Anthony. He was sent for to Constantinople by the Sultan Mahomet II. (1479-1480). Vasari also attributes to him the bronze medal of the lawyer Roselli, with the legend: "Monarcha sapientiæ."² Riccio was better known as the author of the bronze

¹ The restorer of justice, peace and faith.

² The monarch of wisdom.

candelabra in the cathedral of Padua. His portrait medal of Girolamo Donato has a fine classical reverse of a beautiful youth asleep, with two-winged *amorini* looking into a half-closed book.

The medallists of Venice, Bologna, and the neighbourhood may next be mentioned. Venetian nobles, from their close connection with the East, were among the first of the Italians to make collections of the coins and gems of ancient art. The Venetian Pope (Paul II.) was an enthusiastic collector of coins and gems. One of the earliest Venetian medals was of the ill-fated Doge Foscari, who died about 1457. The reverse has the seated figure of Venetia, following the traditions of the Paduan School, modelled after the antique. To this Pope belongs the remarkable medal mentioned already.

M. Guidizani was the author, about 1450-1460, of the medal of the great Captain Bartolomeo Colleoni, whose equestrian statue in Venice is so well known in front of S. Giovanni e Paolo.

Costanzo, in 1481, made the remarkable medal of Mahomet II., a vigorous and life-like head in the style of Pisanello. The reverse represents him on horseback, riding a high-stepping Arab cob.

Victor Gambello, a goldsmith, engraver, and medallist, worked from 1484 to 1523. He was Master of the Mint in Venice from 1484 to 1515. Two characteristic heads in the early severe style of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini are a contrast to his later ones, with more pictorial treatment in the reverse of his medals. Besides his medals which he cast, he adopted the method of stamping medals in higher relief than was customary in the coins which he struck for the Popes from 1515 to 1517.

A medal of the Doge Andreas Gritti, although not signed by him, is probably his work, as he is stated to have made a medal of this Doge in the year 1523. This (Fig. 4) is a very carefully finished portrait, and the reverse, a draped figure of Fortune seated with the Lion of Venice on each side, a crown

on her head, scales in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left, Venice in the background and a trophy of arms, with the legend at the base, "Venet," in large letters, is characteristic of the refined grace of the North Italian School.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century, Sperandio, during more than twenty years, beginning from 1450, worked in Mantua, Milan, Ferrara, and in Bologna from 1478 to 1495. This most fertile medallist of the fifteenth century has handed down to posterity no less than forty-five medals of the most distinguished men of those towns, among them Francisco Sforza; Federigo Montefeltre, Duke of Urbino; Jacopo Trotti; Niccolo da Corregio; Andrea Barbazza, a great Jurist. He was not always successful with the reverses of his medals, which are inferior in lively imagination and freshness to, though drawing some inspiration from, Pisanello. Returning to his native town he represented the Doge Agostino Barbarigo and the Marquis G. F. Gonzaga and Giovanni Bentivoglio II. in three of his best works.

Francesco Raibolini (Francia)—1450-1517—the celebrated painter, also carried on the work at Bologna both as goldsmith and medallist, and trained a large number of pupils, whose names have not come down to us, but who perpetuated his art and delicate work. Cardinal Alidosi, Giovanni Bentivoglio II., and Pope Julius II., with the reverse of St. Paul on the way to Damascus, and legend, "Contra stimulum ne calcitres,"¹ are among his best portraits. It was under Francia that a change was made in the art of coining by stamps, and after the middle of the sixteenth century the art of casting, except in a few large medals, nearly died out.

Giovanni Zacchi of Volterra (1536-1538) executed a few medals, the most remarkable of which was that of Andreas Griti, Doge, when he was eighty-two. The reverse of this medal has a nude female figure, with cornucopia in her left hand and in the right a pole, with which she is directing a three-headed dragon on which she is standing.

¹ Do not kick against the pricks.

To return to Verona, the medallists of the beginning of the sixteenth century do not follow in the style of Pisanello, but show the influence of the prevailing ideas of the Renaissance.

Francis Carotto is known by one medal of the young Marquis of Montferat (1518); the youthful head is picturesquely shown, and the reverse bears traces of the style of Michael Angelo in the vigorous nude figure of Hercules chastising a woman.

Pomedello was an artist, engraver, and goldsmith. His fourteen medals between 1517 and 1527 included the medals of Maximilian, Charles V., and Francis I., which owed their origin to the peace of 1517, which raised the long siege of Verona. Later than these is the portrait of Isabella Sessa-Michieli, with the firmly modelled nude figure of Fortune in the Greek style.

Giulio della Torre was a lawyer and lecturer at the University of Padua, and though an amateur, yet he designed at least twenty medals of great finish and taste, representing likenesses of his own family, the statesmen, and leading men of his own university. In the reverse of that of B. Socino, he is represented in the chair lecturing to his pupils. These three close the list of those at Verona. In the latter half of the sixteenth century there are two more Venetian medallists. A. Spinelli (1535-1571), by whom is a fine head of Hieronymus Zani, a Senator of Venice, the reverse of which shows the influence of Albert Dürer in the representation of St. Jerome in the desert, signed 1540. There is also a small medal (Fig. 2) of the Doge Andreas Gritti; the reverse has a representation of the Church dedicated to St. Francis, and bears the date 1534, and the initials AN . SP . F. Alessandro Vittoria (1525-1608) was one of the most remarkable artists, as architect and sculptor of the Venetian "Cinquecento." The striking portraits of Pietro Aretino, the "Scourge of Princes," as he styles himself and his mistress, Maddalena Liomparda, are both artistic and true to life. He is now recognised as the author of the medal of the learned Dr. Tomaso Rangone, who died in 1577 at a great age. On the reverse is a nude



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 4



Fig. 3



female figure with an eagle taking a child from her breast, and a circlet of stars beneath the figure; in the foreground are three lilies and three birds. It is believed to depict the birth of Hebe.¹ (See Fig. 6.)

In the Romagna and the Marches a few medallists worked, such as Gian Francesco Enzola (1456-1475), whose medals of Francesco Sforza and Constanza Sforza are very lifelike, and carry on the traditions of the best artists of Ferrara. Clemens of Urbino has a good likeness of Federigo Montefeltre, the tyrant of Urbino (1468) which is more faithful, but not so artistic a likeness as that of Sperandio. Paolo da Ragusa has a portrait of the same Montefeltre, probably earlier, about 1450. He also executed a medal of Alfonso V. of Naples.

In the second half of the fifteenth century the art of the medallist was taken up by the Florentine School, and was developed there to a greater extent than in any part of Italy, the numbers reaching to 200 pieces. Many of them, however, were unsigned. The general character of the heads showed the same forcible representation of nature, but less pains were bestowed on the reverses, which were more of an historical than an allegorical character.

Antonio Averulino (1400-1460) has left a portrait of himself in an oval medallion. He was the designer of the bronze gates of St. Peter in Rome, and architect to Francesco Sforza at Milan.

Andrea Guazzalotti (1435-1495), as a Canon of the cathedral, designed and cast numerous medals in Prato, both of the Popes Nicholas V., Pius II., and Sixtus IV. The first-mentioned is the earliest of the contemporary Papal medals, and the only bronze casting is preserved in the library of St. Mark at Venice. It seems to be the finest work of the artist.

¹ In the catalogue of the Medici Museum it is under the head of the unknown artists. In "Fabriczy," pp. 39 and 40, it is attributed to Alessandro Vittoria, on the authority of the director of the Berlin Cabinet, A. von Sallet.

Bertoldo di Giovanni (1420-1491), a pupil of Donatello, and a worker in bronze, was Keeper of the Museum of Antiquities in the garden of San Marco. There is only one signed medal of his known, a fine portrait of Mohamet II., with a classical reverse representing a figure of Victory in a triumphal chariot drawn by two horses, dragging by a rope three chained female figures as captive nations. He was described by a contemporary as an excellent maker of medals for Lorenzo the Magnificent, and we may safely ascribe to him, and not to Antonio Pollaiuolo, the important medal of the conspiracy of the Pazzi (1478) representing a head of Lorenzo de Medici, with the legend of "Salus Publica" on one side, and on the other Giulio de Medici, who fell a victim to it, with a corresponding "Luctus Publicus," the "Common Weal," and the "Common Woe."¹ (Pollaiuolo was the recognised author of the medal of Innocent VIII., included in the Papal series.)

There are several good medals of Cosmo Medici, Pietro and Giovanni Medici, by anonymous masters; and some by Niccolo Fiorentino (1430-1514). He came from a family of hereditary goldsmiths, but did not execute any work till probably 1488, but the one of Lorenzo de Medici is before 1490. The reverse is Florence personified as a female with a lily in her hand and the legend, "Tutela Patriæ."² There are also medals of Giuliano Medici and Cardinal Giovanni Medici, with female figures on the reverse; the latter was probably one of his last works. Besides these he executed a number of portrait medals of distinguished Florentines: Lorenzo Tornabuoni; Giovanni Albizzi, with the Three Graces on the reverse after the antique; Pico della Mirandola, who died 1494 at the age of thirty-one; and Angelo Poliziano, the poet and accomplished scholar, and tutor of Lorenzo de Medici's sons.

About 1489 are found several anonymous authors of medals to which the French "connoisseurs" have given names

¹ "Fabriczy," p. 53.

² The guardian of her country.

from the characteristic features of the figures on the reverse of their medals. The reverses of the Florentine artists as yet unknown are of three types: a woman with clasped hands looks up to heaven in the act of devotion, this is called "Hope"; the second, an undraped woman standing on a dolphin, having in her right hand a full sail, called "Fortune"; the third, an eagle lighting on a tree, called "Eagle." Nonnina Strozzi is by the master called by the French "A l'Espérance," from a figure with the legend, "Spero in Deo." Alessandro Pagagnotti is by the same hand.

The head of Lorenzo Ciglia Mocchi is by the master called "A la Fortune," who has left eight medals with the reverse of a nude figure of Fortune, before described, and the date, 1495.

Filippo Strozzi, a very carefully designed head, is the work of the master called "A l'Aigle"; on the reverse is a flying eagle lighting upon a tree on which a floriated shield with a coat-of-arms is hung.

A medal of the remarkable Caterina Sforza-Riario in a widow's cap, after the death of her murdered husband in 1488, when she gallantly faced her enemies, has a figure of fame driving two winged horses on the reverse, with the legend: "Victoriam fama sequitur."¹ It is thought that the Florentine goldsmith, Domenico Cennini, who worked for her, is the author.

There is a large number of portrait medals of distinguished persons — Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and the Medici — by anonymous authors, the works of which are worthy of special mention: the head of the early printer, Aldus Manutius, with the reverse of the dolphin twisted round an anchor, the well-known device in his books; the distinguished Venetians, Pietro Grimani, who was the spokesman for Venice in Hungary against their common foe the Turk; Agostino Barbarigo, identified with the seizure of Cyprus; Catarina and Adria Sandella, a beautiful mother and daughter before her marriage in 1548; a head of Antonio Bossi, with the reverse a draped

¹ Fame follows victory.

figure of fame with a long trumpet and legend: "To be fulfilled by the event"—"Nunquam moriar."¹ The Doge Mario Grimani has on the reverse the winged lion of St. Mark in a spirited attitude.

To this period probably belong the three anonymous medals in my possession: Eugenius Sincritico, C.R., a charming youthful pair, a boy and girl, with "Celestis Imago" on the reverse (Fig. 7).

"Io Franc Martinio Mediolan Medicus." This is sixteenth-century work, struck to commemorate an ardent scholar, physician, and Philhellene at Milan. He was the editor of the "Aphorisms of Hippocrates." The reverse has the head of a bearded man, Hippocrates,² with inscription on his helmet: ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ ("The Friend of Greece"); and the legend: ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΣΩΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΔΩΡΟΝ.³ (Fig. 8).

Jean de Valette, of an ancient family of Toulouse, is taken in profile, with rich armour and the Cross of the Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on his breast, a likeness from which the engraving in Vertot's "Malta" is probably taken. He was Grand Master of the Knights of Malta (1557-1568), and defended it against the Turks, who besieged it with a fleet of 159 vessels and 30,000 troops. After a series of desperate attacks he eventually repulsed the Turks.

The reverse represents two knights landing from the platform of a ship bearing three Maltese crosses; an elephant meets them, with uplifted trunk, bearing a castle with a figure in it; there is a palm-tree behind; the castle of St. Elmo is in the distance; the legend above is "Habeo te."⁴ (Fig. 5). It probably describes the relief of the island after the fort of St. Elmo was taken, by a fleet sent by the Viceroy of Sicily. Armand attributes it to Marius⁵ (1560-70), and Furse⁶ to Federigo Coccicola.

¹ I shall never die.

² See note, "Armand," part ii. p. 160.

³ The gift of Greece saved.

⁴ I have you.

⁵ "Armand," vol. i. p. 220, and vol. iii. p. 102.

⁶ Furse, "Mémoires numismatiques de l'ordre souverain de Saint Jean de Jerusalem." Rome. 1885. Page 322.



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Fig. 7



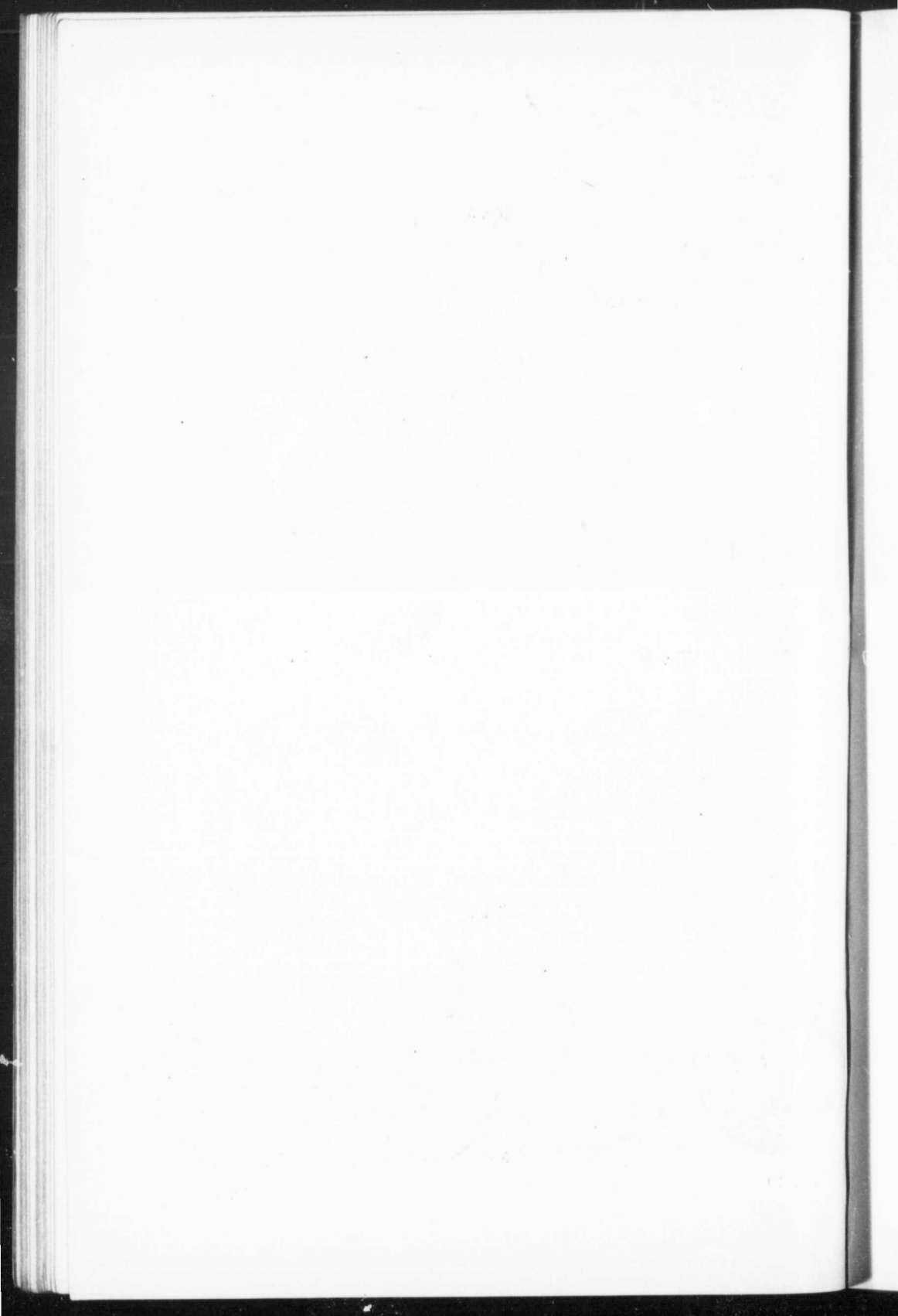
Fig. 8



Fig. 10

Fig. 9

Fig. 10



The medals of Savonarola, of which there are several types, are attributed by Vasari to one of the two sons of Andrea della Robbia. He is represented clasping a crucifix with one or both hands; the reverse has the sword of the Justice of God and the Holy Spirit hovering over the City of Florence, in allusion to the gloomy prophecies of the irreconcilable preacher of Judgment to come. A large gilt bronze one was probably executed after his death in memorial of him by one of his admirers, possibly Fra Bartolomeo.

Adriano the Florentine worked, in 1493-1495, before going to Germany, in Naples, at the Court of Ferdinand II., on the medal of Elizabeth Montefeltre, Duchess of Urbino, and was the author of the medal of Degenhart Pffeffinger. He worked in Germany in a yellow bronze gun-metal, unlike the usual Italian castings, about 1498.

The list of the Florentine medallists in the fifteenth century closes with the medals of Francesco Lancelotte, a painter (born 1472) of Lorenzo de Medici; Giuliano de Medici, Duke of Nemours; Lorenzo Medici, Duke of Urbino; and Giovanni della Bande Nere (1498-1526), son of Catarina Sforza and father of Grand Duke Cosmo I., who, at the head of his black-mailed followers as the last of the old Condottieri, fell before Mantua in a fight with the Imperial troops.

The following three artists at the end of the fifteenth century cast their medals instead of stamping them:

Domenico di Polo, a Florentine (1480-1547), well known as an engraver of gems, made a characteristic head of Alessandro de Medici; the reverse was in the style of the ancient gems, and represented a seated female figure of peace piling up a heap of weapons into a fire.

Francesco de Sangallo, sculptor and architect (1499-1576), is represented by a high-relief portrait of himself, and his wife on the reverse. He also was author of several medals of Giovanni and Alessandro de Medici and Pope Leo X.

Benvenuto Cellini is better known by his gold work, especially in his shields with figures in high relief, than for his

medals, which are wanting in the artistic feeling of the older artists even when they are cast, and his reverses are commonplace and conventional, such as on the reverse of the medal of Pope Clement VII., where a figure of Peace sets on fire a bundle of weapons in front of a figure of Discord, seated and chained to the temple of Janus.

One of the most fruitful artists of the sixteenth century was Pastorino of Siena (1508-1592). Throughout this century he was employed to make medallions in wax, afterwards painted; and excelled both in casting medals, engraving, and in painting glass. In the latter part of his life he was in the employment of the Grand Duke Francesco at Florence. His figures are full of grace and refinement: the heads of Ariosto and Titian, the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (the builder of the Villa d'Este), Lucrezia Medici, Margaret of Parma, and Eleanor Gonzaga testify to his skill.

The medallists, as well as other artists, were attracted to the Courts of the principal rival states of Florence, Siena and Ferrara, according as their ruler was a patron of the particular art they professed. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Court of the Medici at Florence was the market for the best workers in the precious metals, and they found ample employment in the Mint of the Grand Duke. They handed down the likenesses of the Medici family, whether as rulers of Florence or as Popes or Cardinals; and they were also employed in the Courts of Brussels and Madrid.

Francesco dal Prato struck the head of Clement VII; Domenico Poggino that of the Grand Duke Cosmo I., with the reverse of *Hetruria Pacata*; Giovan Paolo Poggini, the head of Philip II. and his wife, Anne of Austria; Domenico Poggini, the Grand Duke Francesco and his wife, Joanna of Austria. These were carried out with great attention to detail, but with rather a hard conventional treatment which was adopted in the coinage of the period, and lacked the freedom and softness of outline of the medals which were cast, as in the medal of the historian, Benedetto Varchi.

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Paolo Galeotti (died 1584) struck twelve medals of the Duke Cosmo I., with the reverses depicting the principal home events of his reign, viz., the supply of Florence with water, the draining of the marshes round Pisa, the union of the States of Siena and Florence, the building of a fortification in Elba, the column in the Piazza Santa Trinita brought from Rome, the improvement of the Library of San Lorenzo, the foundation of the Knights of San Stefano, the building of the Pitti Palace. His medal of G. Grimaldi has on its reverse Prometheus chained to a rock with an eagle gnawing at his heart.

At the end of the sixteenth century Gasparo Mola was a distinguished goldsmith, the designer of the celebrated shield now in the National Museum, formerly attributed to Benvenuto Cellini; he made the medals of Ferdinand I. and Ferdinand II., and Cosmo II. and Maria Maddalena of Austria. The likenesses are well modelled and are remarkable for the delicacy of detail, and though in the first quarter of the seventeenth century did not show the decay of art which soon took place.

Domenico de Vetri (1480-1547), a Florentine engraver of gems, made numerous medals of the Medici family. One of Cosmo Medici II. (Fig. 9) is a youthful figure with armour and bare head; the reverse has a wreath with the legend, "Publicæ saluti."¹ Another (Fig. 10), by the same author, has the reverse, "Animi conscientia et fiducia fati,"² with the sign of the Capricorn.

From the North of Italy came Leone Leoni (1509-1590), a native of Arezzo, employed in Rome as designer of the Mint. He was the medallist of Michael Angelo, of Pope Paul III., of Charles V., and also of Ippolita Gonzaga at the age of sixteen. The reverse represents Diana as huntress, a spear in her right hand, with a horn at her mouth, followed by three hounds; behind her Pluto is seated with Cerberus at his feet. Above, the moon is surrounded by stars, with the legend: "Par ubique Potestas."³

¹ For public welfare.

² With a conscious mind and trust in fate.

³ Equal power everywhere.

Jacopo Nizzola de Trezzo (1515 or 1520-1601), said to be a pupil of Leone Leoni, was a skilful cutter of gems, goldsmith and medallist of Milan. He designed several medals of Philip II. of Spain; the reverse of one represents his second wife, Queen Mary with head-dress encircled by precious stones, richly embroidered dress and a jewelled ornament on her breast. His portrait of Ippolita Gonzaga, wife of Antonio Caraffa, when she was seventeen (Fig. 11), is modelled with exquisite taste and a finish of detail which justifies the reputation he enjoyed as medallist. She has a double necklace of pearls and jewels and delicate drapery on her shoulders and neck. The reverse represents Aurora standing in a chariot floating on the clouds, drawn by a winged horse, with a torch in her left hand and in her right hand a basket of flowers, which she is scattering; in front of the car is a cock who is crowing. A distant view of the earth is seen below.

Compare this medal with that of Anna M. Ludovica, wife of William, Elector Palatine, and daughter of Cosmo III., the great patron of the medallist. This (Fig. 12) shows the decay of art in its absence of simplicity in its detail, but it still retains much dignity in the pose of the figure and the modelling of the features. The obverse has the legend: "ANNA M. LUDOVICA, P. AB. ETR. COSMI III M. E. D. F. IO WILH. E. PAB. ETC. OLIM UXOR." The reverse has a sun shining on a landscape, with Florence in the distance; an angel, holding the armorial lily of Florence in his right hand and a wreath in his left, is descending; in the foreground a female figure is kneeling to pick a flower, and opposite to her is a slightly draped figure of a River God with water proceeding from a fountain and a lion at his feet. The legend at the top is "Laetitia Reduci,"¹ and at the base "Firmantur sole regresso."² As the last of the Medici, who died childless, it may be fairly contrasted with those of the earlier members of the Medici family.

¹ To the return of joy.

² They are strengthened by the return of sunshine.



Fig. 12



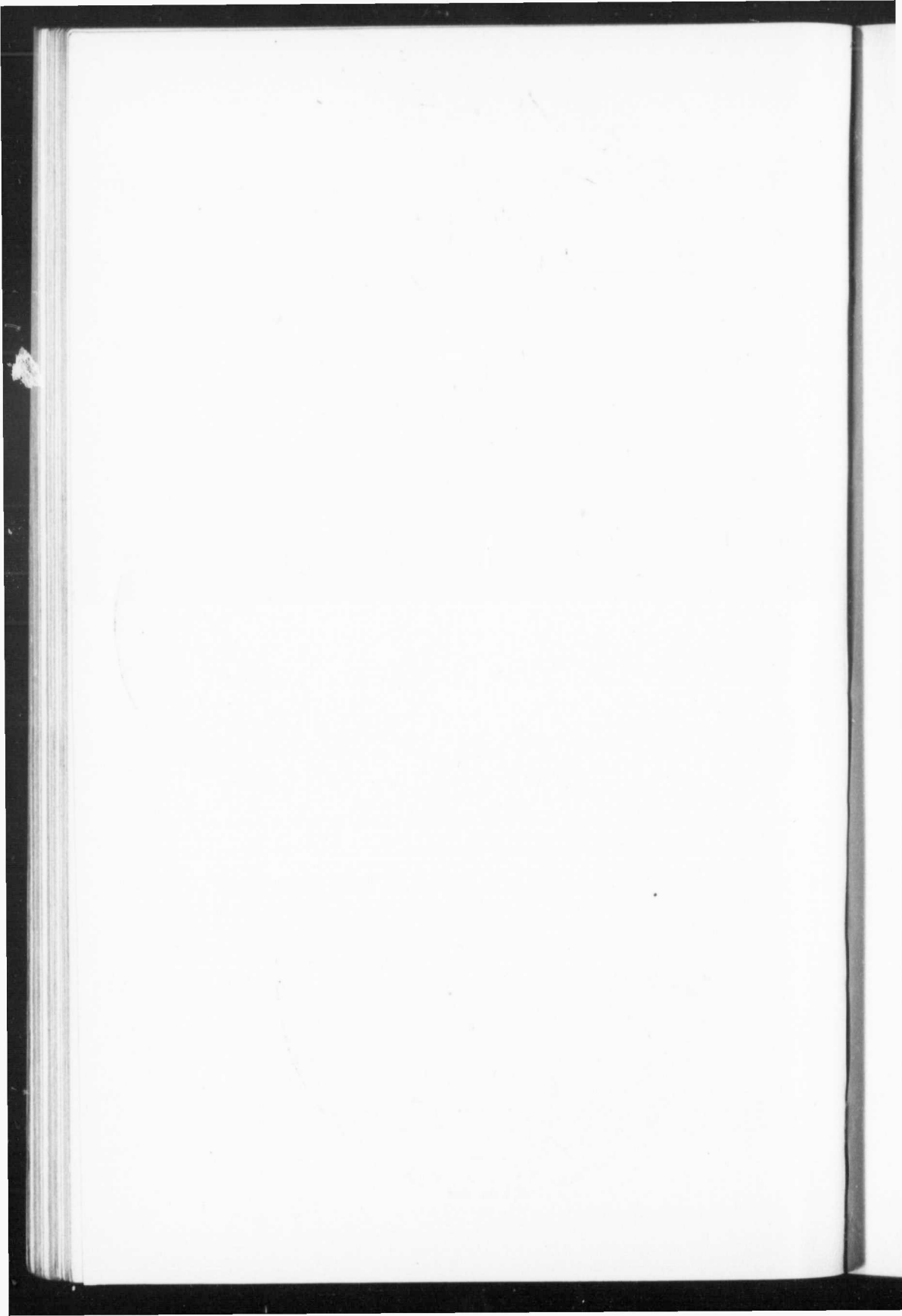
Fig. 11



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



In the medals of the best period we are brought in contact with the fascinating history of the Italian Renaissance; its revolutions and sudden changes of politics; its brilliant but unscrupulous statesmen and rulers; its patrons of the revival of art in literature, painting, and sculpture; and if in these days we wish to revive the art of commemorating our events and the likenesses of our great men in gold, silver, or bronze, it is to Italian art we must turn, as both in our coinage and our contemporary medals we are far behind Pisanello, Sperandio, or even of the later Dupré in his medal of Henry IV. and Marie de Medici on their marriage, or of Simon in the Coronation medal of Charles II.

The series of Papal medals demands a subsequent article.

EGERTON OF TATTON.

CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE

IT is almost a rule of the game, if a writer wishes to obtain full consideration for his views on some burning controversy in our own country, that he should identify himself with neither side completely, but should see elements that are true and good in both, excesses in both. If there is to be a general rule in such matters, perhaps it is not a bad rule, though it may sometimes issue both in injustice and in lack of whole-hearted enthusiasm where such enthusiasm is really deserved. Tennyson used to complain of the reviewers "a little praise and a little blame, carefully balanced; they will venture no further." The editor of a celebrated Review scratched out the epithet "great" poet, applied to one who was already the author of *In Memoriam*, and substituted the word "true."

But if the rule I speak of should have exceptions in England, in France, the land of extremes, it should hardly have place at all. There are excesses which can only be fairly dealt with by an attitude of unmixed condemnation. "Une œuvre française, donc une œuvre exagérée" was de Maistre's account of the Revolution. And the philosophic mind of Burke by a true instinct abandoned its habitual moderation in his protests against it. He became frankly a party man. This does not mean that there are not two sides to French questions, as to English questions. But the debatable ground generally goes so far back, in this logical and passionate race, that it is ground only for those who philosophise on first principles. In England

if we discuss Disestablishment or the Education Bill we address a large public, on *both* sides, who value the influence of the Church and of religious education. In France it is otherwise ; and no true view of the forces really at work can be gained if we lose sight of the fact that the spirit which expressed itself in "écrasez l'infâme" has never died, that it is now rampant, and that it is the strongest factor in the struggle at present going on against the Church. Decency forbids its constant proclamation,—though it must be owned that there has been no over-delicate disguise on the subject. But it has always been visible to those who looked facts in the face. It is no creation or distinctive appendage of the Republic. Such men as M. Ferry and M. Combes have been its mouthpieces, and represent its renewal and development after partial abatements. But Taine saw it long ago when he told us in his *Régime Moderne* that the Concordat could not be again the old solemn and reverent marriage at Rheims between Church and State ; that it really only marked and regulated a divorce. The State utilised its provisions to treat the Church, whom it no longer loved or respected, as its slave. "We are paid by our enemies," wrote Lacordaire in the *Avenir* in 1830, "who regard us as hypocrites and fools." We cannot read the following description of the Ministers of Louis Philippe, by the same pen and written in the same year, without feeling that the spirit of 1904 was already alive and at work seventy-four years ago.

Ils n'ont ouvert la bouche que pour nous menacer ; ils n'ont signé d'ordonnances ecclésiastiques que pour sanctionner les actes arbitraires dont nous étions victimes ; ils ont laissé debout les agents qui violaient nos sanctuaires, qui y faisaient pourrir des morts devant Dieu ; ils ont souffert qu'on fit de notre habit sur tous les théâtres le vêtement de l'infamie, tandis que leurs lieutenants généraux nous ordonnaient de le porter, sous peine d'être arrêtés comme des vagabonds sortis de leur bague ; ils ne nous ont pas protégés une seule fois sur un seul point de la France ; ils nous ont offerts en holocauste prématuré à toutes les passions ; voilà les motifs de sécurité qu'ils nous présentent ! Voilà les hommes de qui vous consentiriez à recevoir vos collègues dans la charge des premiers pasteurs. (*Avenir*, 25 Novembre, 1830).

Philosophers may still debate whether Christianity is or is not a one-sided interpretation of human nature, whether secularism is not the true outcome of modern science, whether the Church is or is not an evil. If the secularist view on these subjects be adopted to its full extent we may discuss M. Combes' policy in a spirit of moderation—partially excusing his excesses in consideration of the excellence of his aim. But if we accept the Christian standpoint no moderation of judgment can be claimed on the score of genuine political grounds for his policy; and to judge the present or forecast the future as though only or mainly political and social considerations were at work, and neglecting the true moving power—the sentiment of contempt or hatred towards religion—would be even more unreal in 1904 than in 1830. In the really critical matter in dispute, then, we must take sides. There may be very much in the existing French Church which we dislike or disapprove. There may be abuses among the religious orders; they may have needed weeding and controlling; clerical influence may have run to excesses. Jesuit education may promote—notably in the Army—Royalist sympathies, or, at least, a want of cordiality towards the existing Republican system. But to make such considerations a defence for M. Combes' action would be like pleading that schoolboys had gone out of bounds as often as five times in one day as a reason for cutting off their heads. The disproportion between the reasons alleged (when stripped of rhetorical exaggeration) and the policy pursued, is a startling reminder that the said reasons are little more than excuses; while the real reason lies in the hatred of religion which is avowed by the Socialists and Anarchists, whose sentiments find an echo in those of M. Combes, and more or less apathetic instruments elsewhere. Truth is reached not by looking for feelings of respect and justice where they do not exist, but by seeing clearly the strong and fanatical passion which is at work, and which is inconsistent with justice towards its object. True candour lies in recognising existing excesses as such; and the pseudo-

candour which urges a moderate estimate of what is immoderate, is the Candour gibeted long ago by Canning :

“ Much may be said on both sides.” Hark ! I hear
 A well-known voice that murmurs in my ear,
 The voice of Candour. Hail ! most solemn sage,
 Thou drivelling virtue of this moral age,
 Candour, which softens party’s headlong rage,
 Candour, which spares its foes and ne’er descends
 With bigot zeal to combat for its friends ;
 Candour, which loves in see-saw strain to tell
 Of acting foolishly, but meaning well,
 Too nice to praise by wholesale or to blame,
 Convinced that all men’s motives are the same,
 And finds with keen, discriminating sight,
 Black’s not *so* black, nor white so *very* white.

The present crisis is but one act in a drama which began three years ago ; and we must, therefore, to begin with, briefly remind ourselves of its earlier scenes, beginning with the Associations law of M. Waldeck Rousseau. Conscious, moreover, of the pitfalls which beset the foreigner in writing of a country in which he does not live, I have availed myself largely of a memorandum supplied to me by an able French Catholic, the Abbé Henri Bremond, who is known as at once a representative writer and a large-minded thinker.

The real motive underlying the recent legislation [says M. Bremond] I would suggest to be this. There is a class of persons in France now—and no serious Frenchman will attempt to deny this, or to underrate their strength—whose aim it is to secularise their country, to destroy Christianity, and, above all things, to put an end to every kind of religious instruction. These people have determined the policy of the Government, promising their support if their commands are carried out. M. Waldeck Rousseau was not a freemason, he belonged to no particular sect. I do not assert that he personally had a deep hatred for anything, or that he desired to destroy Christianity in France ; but in this law he found a successful means of satisfying those who did, and of distracting the minds of his majority—of rallying them upon an easy standpoint ; and, in the meantime, of making the Socialists forget the social reforms of which they are always dreaming, which all Governments promise to grant, and which no Government in the world really intends to grant.

The anti-clerical campaign has been, then, a succession of stops to Cerberus, thrown unwillingly by M. Waldeck but most willingly by M. Combes, whose own desires are identical with those of the fanatical party.

Coming to the Associations law itself, the writer thus continues :

The law relating to religious congregations was not merely a simple law of registration or regulation ; it was, also, according to the confession of its author, a *law of direct attack*. On the one hand its professed aim was no doubt to regulate, to concentrate, and to make uniform the law relating to associations, but it also professed from the outset to aim at exterminating certain religious congregations which were said to be harmful to the secular clergy and dangerous to the safety of the country. "If you are able" [said Waldeck Rousseau in the debate of June 27, 1901] "to disperse those monks who are plotters against the State and those who interfere in politics, you will succeed in putting a stop to their parasitical efforts."

On reading such words, used by the Prime Minister of a great country, Candour, the "solemn sage," will undoubtedly say—"Here we have the real motive of the Government ; an admitted political danger from religious orders who participate in plots against the Republic. We may doubt as to whether the danger is greater or less. But no moderate person can deny its existence."

Very different is the verdict of my French correspondent :

It is almost impossible [he writes] to imagine how little French monks interest themselves in political matters. With the exception of a dozen of the Assumptionists who were on the staff of the newspaper *La Croix*—which, by the way, was Republican—it is impossible to see on whom the Prime Minister's accusation of meddling with politics could possibly fall. The only other order against which the accusation has been seriously made is the Jesuits, and it has never been substantiated in their case.

And this is not mere assertion. The writer proceeds to emphasise the undeniable fact that this charge of M. Waldeck Rousseau, the chief alleged ground for legislation, has never been supported by any evidence whatever.

If any individual or order went beyond the limits of what was right [he continues] there has always been, and still are, the ordinary legal tribunals

before which they could be called to account. Nothing could be easier than to bring to justice any member of a religious order guilty of exciting to rebellion or implicated in a Monarchist plot. Had such an accusation been proved in the ordinary law courts, and had the existing law been unequal to dealing with it, there might have been some pretext for exceptional legislation. But nothing of the kind has been attempted. And in the case of the Assumptionists the Pope himself had anticipated the wishes of the Government and forbidden them to continue the editorship of *La Croix*, which was at once transferred to lay editors. . . . What would be said of a law which should suppress all nurses because in one or two cases nurses had got intoxicated and neglected their patients?

But if M. Waldeck's words involved an unjust accusation, suspicion was at first partly allayed; for it was represented that only very few would be affected by the proposed law.

It appeared [the memorandum continues] that positive expulsion was to be merely a threat. The orders would present their request for authorisation: it would be examined as a matter of form, and authorisation would, in most cases, be granted them—so at least his words and actions seemed to forbode. He himself promised the Dominicans—although they were very unpopular with the deputies because of the Inquisition—that their authorisation should be granted; and it was also represented to the Benedictines, Trappists, Carthusians and many other orders, that they had only to give this simple proof of submission to the State.

We all remember how those monks and nuns who preferred to remove themselves and their property from the country were commonly regarded as extravagant and fanatical, as attributing to the State unjust intentions—an attitude which only showed how suspicious was the clerical mind, how unable it was to recognise the virtues and liberality of the Republican régime. The "solemn sage" condemned their action as savouring strongly of mediæval bigotry.

Happy, however, as the event proved, were the 86 communities of men and 211 of women who declined to trust to the tender mercies of the French Government.

M. Combes had hardly succeeded M. Waldeck Rousseau when, by a flagrant violation of justice and of good faith, he contended at the outset that new houses founded by orders already authorised by the State were to be treated as unauthorised, and

might simply be swept away. First, in June 1902, 130 schools, and then, in July, 2500 more, were shut up. The houses had, for the most part, not applied for authorisation, because they firmly believed themselves to be already authorised as belonging to authorised congregations. M. Waldeck Rousseau had confirmed their view of the case. Every reason for the authorisation of the congregations themselves applied equally to their several houses. The action was one of such incredible arbitrariness and undisguised hostility that the puzzled Englishman is perhaps inclined to believe that there is some mistake about the matter. He passes no severe judgment, because he half thinks it never happened.

Then, with regard to the application of the law, M. Combes simply got rid of the principle which is at the root of the French Constitution—in which, as in our own, the two Chambers exercised a controlling influence on each other. He passed a law whereby *one* Chamber alone was to decide in applications for authorisation. He then assigned to the Senate only five (those whom alone he meant to obtain authorisation), namely, the Order of St. John of God, the Trappists, the Cistercians, the African Missions, and the White Fathers. Next, twenty-five teaching congregations, representing nearly 12,000 monks, were] refused authorisation *en bloc* by the Chamber on March 18, 1903. Six days later twenty-eight preaching congregations were similarly treated. The former group included the English Benedictines at Douai, the latter the English Passionists in Paris. Two days afterwards the Carthusians were suppressed, and the first act of the drama terminated.

The same absence of almost any pretence of fair play, the same undisguised attitude of hostility, has been visible in the recent rupture between France and the Holy See. And here let it be noted that the policy of M. Combes has throughout been drastic and in a sense effective, not from any qualities of the statesman in the Minister himself, not from any ability to gauge how public opinion might best be won, but because he has

been a man of one idea—a perilous gift in the long run for a Prime Minister. Not insight, but blindness, is his strength. Anti-clericalism is his ruling passion, and to follow the lead of the anti-clerical party is his policy. No organ of moderate French opinion (as my correspondent points out) is with him. The *Temps*, which its worst enemies could not regard as tinged with clericalism, as little approves of him as the *Journal des Débats*. His only supporters are the Socialist journals. But “fools rush in where angels fear to tread,” and a fool may thus accomplish, by determination and good fortune, what a wise man, even though his aims be the same, might fail in securing. The refusal of authorisation was in many instances too indefensible for any wise statesman to have attempted it. One who was so little a fanatical cleric as the late M. de Blowitz protested almost fiercely in the case of the English Passionists of Paris. And it was by no means the worst instance. But M. Combes did attempt it, and carried it through. Where he has deserted the blind pursuit of his *idée fixe* he has failed. Where he has hesitated, it has been in the wrong place.

This is very noteworthy at the beginning of the recent disputes. Had M. Combes taken the dispute over M. Loubet's visit to Rome as the reason for a definitive rupture of diplomatic relations with the Holy See, however unfair he might have been in detail, so far as the broad issue was concerned he would have stood on very strong ground in the eyes of the world. Even for those who take the strongest view as to the indefensible character of the original spoliation of the Papal States, the lapse of thirty-four years has altered the situation very materially. Even those who believe that the Pope is well within his rights in keeping up his formal protests until some satisfactory way is found for safeguarding his independence, are aware that every year those forms of protest which affirm the claim to his lost dominions are less and less effective. The Cardinal Secretary's letter, though in its substance possibly enough some such protest was necessary, offered an excellent opportunity of winning over to

the side of France the bulk of hostile opinion. Weighty French journals were, on this particular issue, largely with M. Combes.

Yet instead of seizing on the opportunity and consistently using it, M. Combes at first simply ignored it. Then, apparently as an afterthought, and in deference to those who pointed out how useful a lever he was throwing away, the question was raised again by the publication in *l'Humanité* of the copy which had been sent to the Powers of the Cardinal Secretary's letter of protest against the visit of M. Loubet. The only portion of this copy which could with any decency be acted on at this stage was that which was not contained in the original letter to the French Government. The importance of this passage was therefore magnified to enormous dimensions. The Cardinal Secretary's request to have questions in its regard put in writing—a request which would have been denied to no other diplomatic Power in the world—was refused. M. Nisard, the French Ambassador, left Rome. Yet, after all, diplomatic relations were not positively terminated at this point, and the Nuncio remained in Paris. M. Combes' hand-to-mouth policy, and his indecision, which is with him the only alternative to blind brutality, caused him again to let slip his opportunity—less good, indeed, than if he had seized it at first, but still good.

The excuse of which he actually availed himself for the final rupture was as bad as possible from his point of view. Any stick is good enough to beat a dog with, and therefore possibly he did not care. But the fact remains, and will tell in the long run with public opinion. The claim of Rome which he angrily resisted and made the crucial reason for a rupture, was not like that to the Temporal Power, a partly political claim, but one to purely spiritual jurisdiction over the Episcopate, exerted in the interests of morality and religion. Rome claimed to call on two Bishops to answer grave charges which had reduced their authority in their dioceses to a nullity, and which if true made them unfit to hold their positions.

But before reminding my readers of the details of this dispute, it may be noted that this unstatesmanlike indecision, and choice of a pretext, rested on another ground of indecision equally unstatesmanlike, because it betrayed ignorance of well-known facts. M. Combes had not yet made up his mind that separation of Church and State was the best policy for crushing the Church. The *Concordat*, plus the Organic Articles, had always been recognised as a serviceable machine for bullying purposes. M. Dumay had for many years in his episcopal appointments been endeavouring to detach the French Church from Rome. An amended Concordat worked by State Bishops, a kind of revised edition of the Civil Constitution of the clergy, might serve his purpose, the Prime Minister thought, better than separation. And for a time, there is no doubt that some such proposal was generally anticipated. For this purpose a dispute in which the relations of the Holy See to the Bishops was the turning-point would be the most serviceable.

Here was apparent very great ignorance of the state of feeling in the French Church of to-day. In the days of Bossuet, or in the days of the *Petite Eglise*, such an idea would perhaps not have been chimerical. Nay, even at the time of the Reformation the relation of the Bishops to Rome was such as might have afforded ground of hope for success in this policy.

There is an interesting case recently recorded by M. Antoine Degert in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for July, 1904, which throws significant light on the attitude of independence which French Bishops would take up on occasion in their dealings with Rome in the sixteenth century. The Cardinals of the Inquisition, with the approval of Pius IV., summoned before them eight French Bishops suspected of Calvinism, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*. Seven of them appealed to the Gallican liberties, and simply refused to obey the summons. They threw themselves on the protection of the Crown, which was fully accorded. On December 11, 1566, Pius V. declared them

deprived of their sees for their contumacy. The Bishops appealed from his sentence as an abuse of power, and it simply remained a dead letter. For years the Pope strove to enforce it, and his successor, Gregory XIII., did the same, but to no purpose. The excommunicated and deprived Bishops calmly continued to discharge the functions of their office; their clergy entirely accepted the situation; all that Rome could do was, when the death of each in the course of nature made a new appointment necessary, to state in the official documents that the late Bishop had been deprived of his see by a decree of the Inquisition in 1566.

At present, however, loyalty to Rome is of the very essence of French Catholicism, and even the least Roman of the Bishops would not venture on the desired policy. It may be added that M. Combes' undisguised contempt for the clergy might well also make any Bishop hesitate, from motives of self-interest, to take a course in which his only hope for the future should lie in the tender mercies of the ex-Seminarist. At Rome, at all events, all Prelates could count upon some of the respect due to their office. But from a group of statesmen who were hesitating between a new Concordat which would mean servitude for the Church, and a scheme of separation which, as planned by M. Briand, would involve wholesale spoliation, there was not very much to be confidently hoped for.

Be this as it may, any scheme of this kind which may have dwelt in M. Combes' mind has been signally defeated. After a struggle in which Candour, the "solemn sage," was his only supporter outside his own party—in which no fair-minded onlooker could take his side—diplomatic relations with the Holy See were broken off on the most flimsy of pretexts; and then the recalcitrant Bishops, instead of playing their part to the end as it had been rehearsed before M. Combes, invented on their own account at the last moment, a new termination to the comedy by submitting to Rome, and resigning their Sees.

The particulars will be in the memory of most readers. But they may be briefly recalled.

On May 17, Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli, writing on behalf of the Holy See, invited Monsignor Geay, Bishop of Laval, to resign his See. It was a repetition of an invitation made three years earlier, on the ground of grave charges against the Bishop, who at first consented to resign, but afterwards withdrew his consent. The Cardinal stated simply that if he did not resign the Sacred Congregation "might be driven to proceed to further measures" (*ad ulteriora*). The French Government, to whom the Bishop communicated the Cardinal's letter, treated the threat of "further measures" as though it were an explicit threat of deprivation, pointed out that as according to the Concordat the nomination of Bishops belongs to the State, so equally must their deprivation, and demanded in a despatch of June 3 that the letter should be withdrawn. Cardinal Merry del Val replied on June 10 that the "further measures" meant not definite deprivation, but only a summons before the Inquisition. To refuse to allow Rome to invite a Bishop to resign on account of grave moral charges, or to summon him to Rome to justify himself before the Holy Office, "would be equivalent to saying that the French Bishops are placed by the Concordat outside the Catholic Church."

On July 10 the Cardinal Secretary repeated the summons of Bishop Geay to Rome, requesting that he should come before the 20th, and pointing out that the penalty for refusal was suspension from his orders and jurisdiction, incurred by the very fact of disobedience (*latæ sententiæ*). Monsignor Geay again communicated the letter to the Government, and the French Chargé d'Affaires at once seized on this last sentence as a threat of deposition, and intimated on July 23 that diplomatic relations would be broken off unless the letters were withdrawn. He also declared that in summoning a Bishop to Rome without the knowledge of the Government its rights were ignored. "The Government of the Republic," he added, "leaves to the Holy See the full responsibility of the resolutions to which it shall be compelled." Cardinal Merry del Val replied, refusing to withdraw the letters,

and pointing out that the Pope had never surrendered his right to summon Bishops to Rome irrespective of the permission of the Government, that right being denied not in the Concordat but in the Organic Articles, which Rome had never accepted. The duty of all Bishops to come at certain times to Rome, under penalties *latæ sententiæ*, was contained in a "well-known law certainly not unknown to the French Government." He repeated what he had already stated on June 10, that in the event either of resignation or of a regular process against a Bishop with a view to his deposition, "the provisions of the Concordat *at the proper time* would not be neglected."

Exactly the same points were urged in the case of Monsignor Le Nordez, Bishop of Dijon. On July 26 Cardinal Merry del Val pointed out the formal oath taken at canonical institution by the Bishops, "*Mandata apostolica humiliter recipiam et quam diligentissime exsequar.*" The Government did not trouble itself to answer the Cardinal's arguments. It did not wait to see if an attempt would really be made at formal deposition without the consent of the civil power. Diplomatic relations were broken off in a verbal note from the Chargé d'Affaires, which was communicated to the Nuncio with an equally brief note from M. Delcassé on July 30. I do not think it is possible to read the "White Book" in which this correspondence is given without feeling that the Government had already come to this decision on grounds quite distinct from the merits of the argument; and that it did not take the trouble to preserve the bare pretence of fairness, or to disguise its contemptuous dislike of Rome and of the Church itself. It is clear that if the powers claimed by the Holy See were disallowed, there would be no protection against either immoral Bishops, or Bishops who were heretics or even atheists. The Pope had always been accorded the right to refuse canonical institution on the ground of grave irregularity in a Bishop nominated by the Government,¹ and his right to

¹ A priest who had been "suspended" could always be refused by Rome, and it used to be said, in jest, that in order to give the Pope a free hand, Bishop

suspend a Bishop from his spiritual functions was inalienable. Actual deposition no doubt would mean (as the Cardinal intimated) joint action with the Government. The Government did not wait, as I have said, to see if the Holy See would attempt to take this step without its consent. Had it cared for even the appearance of fairness it would have done so. It was quite possible that some more plausible ground might have been found at this point, where the Government had an undoubted *locus standi*. But in dealing with priests such attention to appearances was really unnecessary. It is very unlikely, however, that further delay would have changed the practical result. Clearly such cases, in which Church and State have to act together, demand some sense of justice and some mutual goodwill—conditions which were absent. Had the comedy been prolonged the *dénouement* would have been the same.

For some months after the rupture those who were best in a position to know the sentiments of the Government expected, as I have said, that it would attempt to fashion a Concordat which should reduce the power of the Vatican to zero, a plan which was rudely defeated by the journey of the two Bishops to Rome and their resignation. On September 4 came the famous Auxerre speech of M. Combes.

M. Combes was frank and truthful in his address on two points: he affirmed that the policy of the Government aimed, like that of the Revolution, at the "complete secularisation of society" as its "last formula and conclusion." He was frank, too, in stating that the separation of Church and State was the step which he eventually contemplated. For the rest, his justification of so drastic a measure consisted in a picture of the situation in the present and in the past which was such an undisguised piece of special pleading as only to emphasise the bitter hostility which could contemplate so weighty a political revolution without a more plausible excuse. Every expression of resentment on the part of Catholics at the Associations law

Dupanloup found a pretext for suspending at some time or other nearly all the clergy in his diocese.

was represented as an act of aggression against the Government, and the rupture of diplomatic relations and the sequel now contemplated were laid at the door of the clergy and of Rome. The Church was described as having gradually become more and more domineering over the State ever since the days of Napoleon, and the patriotic mission of M. Combes was to lay low this haughty enemy of the Republic.

The *Journal des Débats*, a safe index of what may be accounted moderate opinion in France, here stepped into the arena and pointed out the Premier's exaggerations. It did so with all the more effect because in the earlier conflict between Cardinal Merry del Val and the Government it had severely criticised both the Cardinal and Pius X.

The majority of the accusations of M. Combes [it said in the issue of September 6] against the French clergy, or against the Church, are false, or where they contain a slight particle of truth the exaggeration which he introduces makes them still mendacious. Whatever he may say the attitude of our clergy has nothing in it which resembles a revolt, and it is even surprising that acts like those of the years just passed could have been accomplished without more vigorous protests. It would not have been so at any earlier epoch of the Church's history.

The Prime Minister's detestation of the Church, the writer adds, cannot disguise itself. "Hatred is apparent throughout his whole speech." M. Combes had gone so far in his special pleading as to intimate that the Government of July, 1830—the very Government against which Lacordaire's bitter invectives had been directed on account of its utter irreligion and contempt of the Church—had been clerical in its tendencies. "See," exclaims the *Débats*, "how history is written in the Ministry of the Interior and of Public Worship!" Such a statement is "an historical untruth, so evident that it is not worth the trouble of refuting."

And now for the future. If, as seems too probable, M. Combes is strong enough to carry out his project, what will be its effect on Catholicism in France? Will it be, as Lamennais and Lacordaire hoped in 1830, its regeneration?

Or will the Church be so crippled in its resources as to deprive the people in many places of all religious ministrations, and gradually of religious faith?

One most important preliminary question must first be asked and answered. M. Combes gave certain assurances at Auxerre as to the scope of his proposed measure. The existing religious edifices, he intimated, were to be retained by the clergy, and pensions given to present holders of benefices. "There is no reasonable concession or sacrifice conformable to justice (he said) that I should not be disposed on my side to advise." He insisted that "Republicans should give proof in this debate of largeness of ideas and of benevolence" towards those Churchmen who should help to carry out the scheme. This raised an all-important question: Is the separated Church really to keep the existing churches and seminaries? Allowing that M. Combes meant what he said at Auxerre, who could guarantee his power to carry it out? Let us recall the weighty words used at the time by the *Journal des Débats*:

M. Combes speaks of a separation which should leave a certain liberty to religion. . . . At starting we always hear only of gentle and agreeable measures. All is to be kindly, easy and peaceable. Six months later the whole country is plunged in religious and social war. The law of Associations was to be a liberal measure; it was to take account of distinctions and to admit of being temperately applied; it was to let certain religious associations live quite freely. We know how in the event it has turned out. Will it be otherwise with M. Combes' scheme of separation? The President of the Council enunciates to-day large views, fitted to rally round him all the waverers, and to make sure of the goodwill of radicals who have become hostile.

But once the principle of separation was allowed, it was evident that he would have all the pressure of the uncompromising views of M. Briand and M. Jaurès as to the mode of its realisation. "History proves," added the writer, "that in such a case M. Combes is unable to resist."

Most painfully has this prophecy been realised. We know the scheme of M. Briand, and even in October M. Combes told us that that statesman's sketch of a scheme of separation, which has little in it of the conciliatory character on which the Prime

Minister insisted at Auxerre, would probably form the basis of discussion for the Government measure. Since then we have the actual text of the proposed *projet de loi*, which realises the worst fears of the Catholics, and entirely departs from the promises made by the Prime Minister when he first announced his intention.

So far as the present writer has been able to gauge the opinion of French Catholics of insight, they appear to think that if, in deference to the strength of the opposition, M. Combes should after all carry out a moderate scheme of separation, treating the clergy with liberality and leaving to them the existing religious edifices, leaving, moreover, real freedom to the Church, in the long run religion would be the gainer. There would be a time of great hardship before private devotion and liberality had done what was necessary for the support of the clergy. But the history of the orders shows how great private beneficence in support of religion is likely to be; and a persecution might prove stimulating and not crushing. Intellectual interests especially would suffer; university training for the clergy would be almost impossible, and the necessarily narrower atmosphere of the seminaries would not improbably diminish the power of the present valuable intellectual movement among French Catholics. But these drawbacks would, it might be hoped, prove temporary.

On the other hand, if the present scheme should become law, and if it should be administered in a spirit of utter hostility to the interests of the Church, the blow inflicted on the liberty of the clergy and on their means of support might be almost fatal. It might so hopelessly cripple the resources of the Church as to stamp out religion altogether in some parts of the country, owing to the inability of the clergy to support the burden of building new churches to replace those confiscated by the Government. Still, poverty is regarded as preferable to loss of liberty; and should the Government offer to lease the cathedrals to the clergy on conditions fatal to their independence, the offer should be refused.

I must not terminate these remarks without touching on two questions—branches of one and the same question—which the common sense of the Englishman prompts him to ask before he can accept such views as I have endeavoured to set forth in this article. "If," he will say, "the policy of M. Combes is opposed to the general feeling of the country, how is it that the electors endorse it?" And again, "If the aggression on the regulars is as tyrannical as its enemies represent it to be, how is it that Catholics are not more vigorous or more unanimous in their denunciation of it? Nay, in the days of Waldeck Rousseau especially, many Catholics largely approved of the Law of Associations."

I am inclined to think that the answer to the first question depends partly on certain conditions in the French Constitution, and on habits of mind and points of temperament in a Frenchman which it is hard for an Englishman fully to understand. The French are essentially a docile race who wish to be governed. The political power of the people is to some extent new, and they do not fully realise it or use it. With them, even more than with the lower classes of Englishmen (of whom it is also partly true), what spurs them to vote is some immediate appeal to self-interest. To organise on behalf of some great end of public importance is at present beyond them. They do not realise its possibility. Since the days of the Terror it has remained true that a small and fanatical party which *does* realise and exert its whole power can domineer over the country. Moreover, the present Constitution plays into the hands of this tendency. The intense centralisation effected by Napoleon makes it easy for the Government to inflict heavy penalties on those who should thwart its desires. To a very large number of the electors it is a matter of vital importance for their career and their livelihood to keep the good will of the Government. Others, who are less absolutely dependent, know that all the municipal and local schemes and improvements which they desire can only be obtained by a deputy who has the friendship of the Government. Such is the

centralisation of modern France. On this subject the Abbé Bremond writes as follows :

It may be said once for all that the elections are not free. A Government that is strong, decided and unscrupulous can have at the polls the results it wishes to have. The whole army of great and small officials is in its hands ; every one feels that if he is suspected of having voted against the prefect's candidate he runs the risk of losing his position. I am not speaking now of actual electioneering frauds, which are common enough, or of wholesale intimidation. The most absurd pretext is good enough to invalidate the election of an opposition deputy, and even if he has been returned by a strong majority, there is always a chance that he will not be re-elected now that it is well known on which side is the majority in the Chamber.

But quite independently of all direct pressure, the ordinary middle-class elector will vote instinctively for the Government actually in power. It has been impressed upon him over and over again that to overturn the Government means overturning the Republic, that any other form of government would certainly bring on a war, and, finally, that the great necessity of the country is that everything should remain *in statu quo*. The two great electoral forces, the peasant workman and the little shopkeeper, are won beforehand to the cause of the Government in possession. The workman, in consequence of a very strong Socialist organisation, the peasants and shopkeepers by conviction—which is reasonable enough—that they have everything to gain by remaining faithful to the Government deputy. It is he, and he only, who can obtain for them the favours which they hope for, such as good roads, bridges, banks, situations for their relations and friends, decorations, &c.

All this will appear extraordinary to an Englishman, but it is in this that the strength and duration of the Waldeck and Combes Ministry consist. There is no favour to be obtained by any man who does not offer his services and profess positive devotion to the Government by supporting the Ministerial deputies, over and above merely acquiescing in the present state of things. And we must remember that all positions and places of trust are in the hands of the Government.

As to the attitude of the secular clergy, and of some of the laity, towards the law of Waldeck Rousseau, it must be remembered that at first its persecuting intention was not fully apparent. The Seculars in France, as elsewhere, have always suffered from the wealth and power of the Regulars. English Roman Catholics remember the strong feeling on the subject in England itself prior to the regulation by the Constitution *Romanos Pontifices* of their respective relations. What the

Romanos Pontifices did in England it was hoped by those who were least suspicious of the Government that M. Waldeck's law would do in France. The curé who has not means to support his church cannot entertain a very warm regard for the neighbouring Jesuit church, whither the rich and the *élite* of the parish repair, contributing to its already abundant wealth, and leaving the parish church unsupported. Bishops, moreover, may resent the privileges and immunities of the orders, the presence in their dioceses of powerful corporations relatively independent of their jurisdiction.

The peasant, again, who wants a curé to marry him, to christen his child, and to give him the sacraments, has no link binding him to the large rich congregations of men in his neighbourhood. The orders of nuns, indeed, who nurse the sick and teach his children, he will love. But in regard to the great monastic houses he will sympathise with the curé. A law which had curtailed the privileges of the orders, which made their authorisation depend on the fulfilment of certain conditions, which had suppressed a certain number in deference to the really valid objections to the existing state of things, would no doubt have had many adherents. Since the thoroughly persecuting aim of M. Combes' law has become apparent, the indignation among sincere Catholics has been almost universal. There are always a few "cranks" with loud voices to form exceptions, and little-Englandism has its parallel in the world ecclesiastical; but the exceptions form a small proportion. Active agitation, indeed, there has been little. Bishops and clergy know that it is penal. Any protest is immediately followed by suspension of salaries. But, when all this said, it is difficult to avoid the impression of a certain lukewarmness, a want of energy and organisation among French Catholics. The spectacle of a certain number of Bishops protesting, regardless of fines and imprisonment, would have been to most of us a refreshing one. And it would have been more convincing to English public opinion than any reasoned defence of their cause.

We have now and again fresh attempts on the part of the more respectable supporters of the Government to represent its policy as one of genuine liberalism, and not of persecution. There was, for example, a month ago, the controversy between M. Goblet and M. Buisson on the subject of liberty of teaching. M. Buisson, professing those "large ideas" which M. Combes at Auxerre exhorted his Socialist followers to display, pointed out that secularised members of the teaching congregations were quite at liberty to open private schools under the requisite conditions. He advocated indeed the "laïcité intégrale" of the State. But this was, he declared, no formula of persecution. It meant only a fine and philosophic toleration. "A State without God," he wrote, "does not mean a State which makes war on God." Let every one be allowed to conceive of Him in his own fashion. Let civil society no longer either do injury to any of these conceptions or do it the favour of taking it under its protection." "Here," the solemn sage, Candour, will say, "is the real spirit underlying the Socialist policy towards the Church, of which so unfair an account has been given by its enemies."

Words cost little, however. How far do M. Buisson's words correspond to facts? that is the question. M. Goblet and the *Journal des Débats* ask this question and answer it. In point of fact no such spirit of tolerance is, they tell us, exhibited by the Government, but precisely the contrary. In point of fact "the most futile and arbitrary pretexts are invoked by the inspectors of education and the mayors to oppose the opening of private schools" by the ex-congregationalists. The difficulties they meet with often amount to an inhibition hypocritically disguised (*interdiction hypocrite*) to carrying on their profession at all. And in order to punish or intimidate those tribunals, whose conscience has forbidden them to carry out this policy thoroughly and unscrupulously, the Minister of Justice has planned a new project for getting rid of magistrates who will not do his will.

It is the old story, familiar since the days of Jacobinism, of

the cry of "liberty" and the reality of "persecution;" of

Freedom free to slay herself and dying while they shout her name.

Let us listen to the weighty words of the writer in the *Journal des Débats*, whose article has just been quoted.

That the State should be entirely secular (*laïque*) is a conception which all Republicans admit, and which is hardly contested now even by the Conservatives. But this secularisation of the State has been fully realised by the secularisation of public teaching. To go further than this, to require the secularisation of private teaching, is not merely to secularise the State, it is to want to secularise society, denying the liberty of private persons to give or receive an education in conformity with their religious ideal.

Those who so act have no longer any right to give themselves out to be liberal, "as they attempt to exclude religious opinions from the private as well as the public domain." This is to "identify oneself with those who attack not only clericalism but the religious spirit itself."

In truth such language of toleration as M. Buisson's is, as this writer points out, a mere external cloak of respectability thrown over a policy which is too unseemly in its oneness to be avowed nakedly by the more respectable statesmen. The *Revue de l'Enseignement primaire*, which is free from such scruples, characterises the axiom, "all beliefs which are sincere should be respected," as "*une niaiserie ou une lâcheté.*" The visible symptoms, the movements of the Government, point to its being inoculated rather with this simple and trenchant sentiment, than with the more complex and philosophic magnanimity of M. Buisson. Thus also the movements of Mr. Pickwick and his friends on a memorable occasion showed strong signs of being caused by intoxicating liquor. But Mr. Snodgrass hastened to explain "it was not the wine, it was the salmon." So now we hear "it is not persecution, it is toleration." But Mr. Trundle and Mr. Tupman saw their friends stagger, and smiled; and the able writer in the *Journal des Débats* is equally unkind to M. Buisson's explanation. "Complete secularisation," as conceived by those whose policy M. Buisson is carrying out, the writer says, is "a

formula of anti-religious war." Not only the public but the private schools must be secularised. And secularisation is not enough. They must "*laïciser la laïque*"; that is to say "breathe a purely anti-religious and socialist spirit into the university body." The *esprit laïque* means in those who really hold the power "the anti-religious spirit," and neutrality and toleration are denounced by their organs.

No wonder that M. Goblet holds that the present policy "profoundly troubles his unfortunate country"; and "threatens to spread disaffection among many citizens of the Republic."

I have in this essay attempted to give what I believe to be the opinion of the fair-minded public in France. I have taken the *Journal des Débats* as an organ of acknowledged moderation, and by no means clerical sympathies. M. Goblet is a Radical, who desires the separation of Church and State. My Catholic correspondent, M. Bremond, is one whose judgment is generally recognised as being also moderate and sound. We see other views put forth daily in the English papers. But I wish to emphasise what is not, I think, adequately recognised in England, that the severe judgments I have quoted on the policy of M. Combes are not the judgments of the persecuted clericals themselves. They represent the views of those who are averse to the extremes of Clericalism and Socialism, and have the interests of their country at heart. These Frenchmen do not regard the present policy as one claiming respectful and moderate judgment, but as dangerous and fanatical.

I have kept deliberately to the sole subject of the great war going on between Church and State. I have not touched upon the real needs for reform within the Church, the encroachments of the orders, or the (distinctly limited) danger to the Republic arising from the anti-Republican sentiments of some of the clergy and their pupils. On this last point it is enough to say that if a rhetorical account of these anti-Republican sentiments is to be ground for exceptional legislation, the first principles of justice are imperilled. When evidence is produced

of complicity on the part of the Church or the orders in any political plot, but not sooner, will this consideration assume such proportions as to deserve a place in the discussion. With regard to the other points the present writer would by no means take an optimistic view were these discussions in place here; but he echoes the words of the French correspondent already quoted in these pages: "Ce n'est pas le moment de tomber sur les congrégations et de nous jeter réciproquement la pierre." All sense of proportion is lost when writers set off against flagrant injustice towards the Church and bitter hostility towards Christianity considerations which hardly weigh one feather in the scale by comparison.

My French correspondent has for years been an enthusiastic Anglophile, and is deeply disappointed that public opinion in this country has not pronounced more strongly against the policy of the French Government.

Pour moi [he writes] c'est une humiliation de penser qu'il puisse y avoir un seul Anglais Combiste, et une joie de penser que Combes serait impossible en Angleterre.

[P.S.—Two of the later developments of M. Combes campaign must be touched upon—the suppression of the congregation of St. Sulpice as teachers of the clergy, and the recent army scandal. The Sulpicians were authorised by the Government both in 1813 and in 1816 as a teaching congregation. "I know nothing more venerable than St. Sulpice," wrote Fénelon. It has given to France its best priests, and its reputation is undiminished. Such leaders of the present Catholic intellectual movement as Archbishop Mignot and Père Lagrange were educated in its walls. Renan's loss of Christian faith could never destroy his admiration for his old Sulpician masters. M. Combes drives his coach and four through its legal authorisation. He simply gives orders to the Bishops that in twenty-three seminaries (including Saint Sulpice itself) the Sulpicians should be replaced by secular priests. He pronounces their teaching to be unsatisfactory,

and states that the Council of Trent requires secular priests to direct the seminaries. These reasons are impertinent and insincere. That M. Combes should pose as the judge of theological teaching is an impertinence which no comment could emphasise. And it is well known that M. Olier founded the Sulpicians expressly to carry out the wishes of the Fathers of Trent—the congregation being one of secular priests, in the sense understood by that Council—being, that is, directly subject to the Bishops. With regard to the debates in the Chamber on the War Office revelations, it may be said that they render unmistakable both the animus of the present Government and the hopelessness of the situation. That officers should be systematically kept back from promotion at the bidding of the masonic authorities, because their children attend Catholic schools or their wives teach the catechism, reveals a system of *espionage* and favouritism so hateful that even the French Chamber gave the Government only a majority of two in its vote on the subject. That afterwards the purely personal offence of M. Syveton in attacking the Minister of War should at once bring the Government up to one hundred and seven, and should give M. Combes courage to bring in his Separation Bill immediately instead of waiting until January, brings home to us the utter absence of intellectual fibre among the voters, and the neurotic conditions which determine their votes. M. Syveton's offence, however serious, does not touch the real issue. The loss of self-control by one man is, it would seem to be sufficient reason for sanctioning a system of *espionage*¹ which is a disgrace to a civilised country, and passing a Separation Bill which is a measure alike of persecution and of spoliation.]

WILFRID WARD.

¹ Since these lines were written the Minister for War, General André, has resigned. But on the other hand, M. Combes continues to defend the principle of *espionage*, and appears to contemplate extending it to the civil service as well as the army.

ELIZABETHAN CRIME-PLAYS

IT is almost an axiom among the cultured that a keen interest in crime and criminals is a token of defective intellectual development. Such a generalisation, however, requires a good deal of qualification, and is perhaps at bottom only part of a more far-reaching confusion between intelligence and refinement. Neither, no doubt, is very conspicuous in the average reader of police news, but the number of prominent literary men who have investigated criminal records with interest is enough to refute any such general maxim as that quoted above. To mention only a few instances, George Borrow found the task of compiling the lives of noted criminals by no means uncongenial; he even quotes a sentence from the autobiography of one of these heroes as a model of narrative style. One of De Quincey's best known, though perhaps not most successful, essays is his "Murder as a Fine Art." A greater man than of either these, Robert Browning, was by no means without interest in such matters. "Red-cotton-nightcap Country" was suggested by a *cause célèbre*, and his *magnum opus*, the "Ring and the Book," is built up on the foundation of an old pamphlet and a forgotten trial.

In spite, however, of the very general interest in crime and criminals in our day, the direct and undisguised use of criminal records for the stage would certainly offend modern taste, so that, whenever recourse is had to them, the adaptation is always veiled by a careful change of names and surroundings. It was

not so with the Elizabethans. To them the crime-play presented itself as a legitimate though humble variety of historical tragedy. The eighteenth-century conception of the dignity of history had not yet arisen to confine historians to political events. Nothing forbade the Tudor chroniclers, Hall and Stow and Holinshed, to mention, sometimes with detail, a crime wholly without political bearing, if it had deeply stirred the imagination of their contemporaries. Now it is well known how general was the custom in that time of dramatising events from English history or from the legends, such as those of Lear and Cymbeline, which then passed as such. If the crimes of princes were available as material for drama, why not on a lower plane those of private individuals?

These plays had two qualities that made strongly for popularity—topical interest and abundance of horror; and it is not surprising that the *genre* flourished. No less than sixteen names have come down to us, but only four of them are extant. I propose to confine my remarks to two, both of such transcendent literary merit that they have on this ground alone often been ascribed to Shakespeare.

The first edition of Holinshed's "Chronicle," published in 1577, devotes in the year 1550 no less than five pages to the account of a murder committed at Faversham, in Kent. One Thomas Arden of that place was murdered by two assassins, hired by his wife Alice, her lover, by name Mosbie, and an enemy of Arden's called Greene. The impression made on the public by this crime may be gauged by the space Holinshed devotes to it, and in 1592 (forty-two years after Arden's death) it was still sufficiently alive in the public memory to be the subject of a tragedy. The course of events follows step by step the account in Holinshed, and is merely a succession of plots by the conspirators against Arden's life, unaccountably frustrated, and always renewed.

It is one of the distinguishing marks of the play that these repeated failures never produce on the reader the slightest doubt of ultimate success. There is no attempt to excite

curiosity. The plot that pursues Arden seems no mere human contrivance, but an Ate, a mysterious destiny, which, though often baffled and stumbling, cannot fail to overtake him at the last. There is the truly tragic sense of inevitableness. We feel from the start that Arden is doomed. His opening conversation with his friend Franklin shows him the conscious victim of a misfortune with which he is helpless to grapple. He is profoundly miserable at his wife's faithlessness, but his resolution to be revenged goes no farther than abuse of her lover and idle threats against him, and he is persuaded by Franklin that he will win back his wife by a signal display of confidence. He will spend the rest of the term with Franklin in London, and leave Alice at Faversham, free to see as much of Mosbie as she pleases. He is so loath to believe in his disgrace that, when his wife comes in, the thinnest explanations on her part suffice for the time to allay his suspicions. Yet at this very moment she and her lover have already "decreed to murder Arden in the night," and, when the servant Michael comes to fetch the horses for the journey to London, she reminds him of his oath to make away with his master, and undertakes, as a reward, to procure his marriage with Susan Mosbie, her lover's sister and her own maid-servant. Mosbie, however, has another plan. There is a rival to Michael in Susan's affections, one Clarke, a painter, to whom her brother promises her in return for a poisoned picture, that whoever looked upon should "suck poison with his breath and slay himself," one of the many subtle means of taking life with which the Elizabethans credited the Italian *virtuosi* in assassination. For this device they, however, substitute some poison in the porridge given to Arden before starting on his journey; he detects a curious taste, and is suspicious enough to take an antidote "to prevent the worst." Mosbie is half inclined to give over the attempt, but Alice urges the hiring of *bravi*, "alehouse ruffians," in London. At this juncture Greene comes on the stage. He is known to have a grievance against Arden in connection with the confiscated lands of Faversham

Abbey, and Alice works on his feelings till at length they "grow to composition" for her husband's death. Greene is perhaps the least satisfactory character in the play; he is described by Mosbie as a "man of great devotion," but we are given no specimens of his hypocrisy.

The whole of the second Act, and the third up till Scene 5, are taken up by the constantly-foiled attempts of Greene's ruffians, Black Will and Shakebag, to murder Arden in London, with the connivance of Michael, whose qualms of conscience are the chief cause of their failure. After this follows the finest scene of the play. In Arden's absence Mosbie has had leisure to reflect on the dangers of the situation. He enters in a paroxysm of fear and concludes a powerful monologue with the necessity for murdering all his accomplices, including Greene, for whom, relying on his superstitious habits, he has already caused Clarke to prepare a poisoned crucifix, and even Alice herself, whom he can never really trust. She has betrayed Arden, why not him? At that moment Alice comes in. She, too, has had time for thought, and her conscience has been to a certain extent aroused. She is repentant, or believes herself to be so, and enters pensive and carrying a prayer-book. He questions her, and after passionate mutual reproaches he turns to go. Here her repentance breaks down. She grovels before Mosbie, and, tearing the leaves out of the prayer-book, swears that only his sweet phrases and his "letters shall dwell in the golden cover." Pride at her humiliation overcomes Mosbie's fears, and they fall in each other's arms. Here a letter is brought from Greene announcing his failure. It leaves them undaunted, and Mosbie's last words to Alice as they leave the stage are: "Ay, to the gates of death to follow thee." Arden gets home in safety, and the following day his wife and Mosbie lay an ambush for him and Franklin on their return from dining with a friend. A fog causes the *bravi* to miss them, but on the way home they meet with one Reede, who accuses Arden of cheating him out of some land, and, on his refusal to make

restitution, solemnly curses him and prophesies that his dead body will be cast forth on the disputed ground. Meantime the cut-throats have reported their failure, and Alice and her lover have concocted a fresh stratagem. By an insolent display of familiarity they provoke Arden to draw on Mosbie, whereupon the two ruffians rush in. Arden and Franklin, however, get the better of the scuffle, and Mosbie withdraws with a wound in the arm. At this stage even the confiding Franklin sees through the situation, but Arden's infatuation keeps pace with the audacity of his enemies. He believes his wife's assurance that the whole affair was a jest, and invites Mosbie to a supper-party he is giving that evening. There, at length, his fate overtakes him; before the other guests arrive, Mosbie and he sit down to the then popular game of tables. At a preconcerted signal the ruffians rush in upon him; he is thrown down and stabbed, and his body is carried out behind the Abbey. This precaution, however, does not avail the conspirators, who are all apprehended and sentenced by the Mayor of Faversham (!) to suffer capital punishment in various forms and places. An epilogue, spoken by Franklin, describes the fate of the ruffians, and adds:

But this above the rest is to be ruled,
 Arden lay murdered in that plot of ground
 Which he by force and violence held from Reede;
 And in the grass his body's print was seen
 Two years and more after the deed was done.

This seems to be the keynote of the play. Arden's blindness to the plots around him is no mere human folly. It is a case of "*Quem deus volt perdere prius dementat.*" His excessive tenderness to his wife and the ease with which she deceives him are Heaven's requital for a career of unrelenting violence and fraud towards the world at large. While mental obtuseness seems the immediate cause of his overthrow, there is a hint at some obscure ultimate connection with moral obliquity. His infatuation is not the mere pathetic stupidity of a Charles Bovary; it acquires the tragic dignity of the

Greek Ate. His doom is, in some mysterious fashion, the punishment for a fault to which it is not humanly traceable. This conception of Arden's character as a man harsh and grasping to the world at large, with one trait of excessive tenderness, is quite inconsistent with the very *scabreux* situation described by Holinshed, who represents Arden as aware from the first of his wife's adultery, and conniving at it, in order to avoid a quarrel with her wealthy and influential kinsfolk. Such a situation, however suitable a foundation for a realist novel, would, without doubt, be far too *rosse* for successful dramatic treatment. It would leave no character who could claim the sympathies of the audience. The writer evidently felt this and modified it accordingly, much as realist novels are now adapted for the stage.

There is a corresponding change, though not so radical, in the position of Mosbie. In Holinshed the plan for Arden's murder was first concerted between Alice and Greene, and Mosbie was only induced afterwards to join in it. In the play, on the other hand, Mosbie and Alice have already resolved on the murder before the action begins; Alice reminds him of their resolution in the first act: "Did we not both decree to murder Arden in the night?" Mosbie is blackened to an absolute villain with no redeeming feature in his nature, not even the physical valour which is commonly supposed to be needful for woman's good opinion. He has not the courage to answer Arden's taunts, and does not withstand his snatching away his sword. He uses his hold over Alice in the spirit of a bully. His change of mind in Act II., scene 5, is fear of detection, not remorse, at the moral wrong he has committed. When he is wounded in the scuffle he reproaches Alice; after the murder his only thought is how he can contrive his own escape, quite irrespective of her; in the final scene, after they are all doomed, he loads her with reproaches and throws upon her the blame for their common ruin. He is altogether about as despicable a paramour as could be found.

But the character which almost exclusively fastens the attention of the reader is that of Alice. Her love for the wholly contemptible Mosbie is an infatuation which she herself only half understands. It is her destiny. She knows it is of no use to strive against it. After their first seeming quarrel in Act I. she says :

So lists the sailor to the mermaid's song,
So looks the traveller to the basilisk ;
I am content for to be reconciled,
And that I know will be mine overthrow.

She foresees that her guilty passion must end in crime and shame, and nevertheless goes forward with her eyes open. She is wholly at Mosbie's mercy, always in nervous terror of losing her hold on him, quite unable to meet him on equal terms. When, rather frightened at the issue of their attempt to poison Arden, he has sworn never more to importune her in her husband's lifetime, she answers passionately :

Thou shall not need ; i will importune thee
What ? Shall an oath make me forsake my love ?
As if I have not sworn as much myself
And given my hand unto him in the church !
Tush, Mosbie ; oaths are words and words is wind,
And wind is mutable ; then I conclude
'Tis childishness to stand upon an oath.

He answers coolly :

Well proved, Mistress Alice ; yet by your leave
I'll keep mine unbroken while he lives.

This drives her to desperation :

Ay, do, and spare not ; his time is but short ;
For if thou be as resolute as I
We'll have him murdered as he walks the streets.

Mosbie prudently avoids entering upon this project, and the fear that he may possibly carry out his expressed intention of leaving her drives her into the rash arrangement with Greene. Her courage is that of reckless despair, not of self-possessed strength. She lives wholly in the present. When

Mosbie angrily points out the danger of her negotiations with Greene she can only answer: "I did it for the best." Her repentance in the third act takes no account of the fact that withdrawal is now impossible, as the assassins are already on Arden's track, and she is as powerless to reach them as to appease the desire for revenge which she has kindled in Greene. With this want of foresight is subtly combined a feminine readiness of resource in meeting an immediate emergency. Time and again, after the attempted poisoning, after the street scuffle, she saves the rest from detection by her ready wit. After the murder, however, her nerve is greatly shaken by unforeseen difficulties in getting rid of the stains of blood on the floor. Her previous sceptical tone breaks down with her courage and she answers Susan's question as to the cause of the difficulty: "Because I blush not at my husband's death." When the guests arrive she overacts her part. Her zealous inquiries after her husband arouse the suspicions of Franklin. The opportunity, which they have carefully arranged for her and Susan to get the body out into the fields, finds her quite incapable of calm and instant action. It is a wonderful touch of nature that makes her say to Michael, whose part is to decoy the guests out of the way:

Michael, bring them to the doors, but do not stay;
You know I do not love to be alone.

There is less of the Nietzschean Uebermensch in her than in many great female criminals of the Renaissance drama, Webster's Vittoria Corombona for instance, or even Belimperia of Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy." She has been called a *bourgeoise* Clytemnestra. *Bourgeoise* she is to the core; but, apart from her crime, there is little in common with Clytemnestra. There is nothing in the author's conception akin to "Aeschylus' bronze-throated eagle—bark at blood." His feminine psychology is far more reminiscent of Euripides. Such speeches as that quoted above on the futility of oaths, or her saying at the beginning of the play, "Love is a god and marriage is but

words," are more than accidentally and superficially Euripidean. There is a deeper likeness in character to Euripides' heroines, though no individual woman of Greek drama offers a complete parallel. When the play begins Alice Arden has already yielded up body and soul to her lover, and, although we feel from her general tone that she "swayed and rocked and suffered ere she fell," we see nothing of the struggle. This at once distinguishes her from Phaedra, the literary ancestress of so many *pauvres faibles femmes* of the French romantic school, and to whom René's sister offers the most obvious parallel. Alice Arden is far more *terre à terre*. Her true affinity is with the heroines of modern realism. She has their gift of dissimulation, their lack of definite moral principles joined with half-sincere *nostalgies de religion*, as in the great scene in the third act, where her effort to repent is curiously complicated by a very feminine sense of Mosbie's social inferiority :

Even in my forehead is thy name ingraven,
A mean artificer, that low-born name.

She is, in fact, a kind of Emma Bovary transplanted into the Elizabethan age, with its readier facilities for crimes of violence and consequent promptitude therein of natures which in our own day would content themselves with immorality.

Many distinguished critics, including Mr. Swinburne, ascribe this play to Shakespeare. Their arguments seem, however, merely to amount to this : that it is too good to be by anyone else, a rather unsafe foundation to build upon. There are many objections. If by him at all, it must be a very early work, as the first edition appeared in the probable year of his very first play, *Love's Labour's Lost*. Saving insight into human nature, it would be difficult to find any quality common to these two plays. One is romantic to the verge of extravagance, the other would be his only experiment in realism. The language is as different as the plots. The overloaded euphuism of *Love's Labour's Lost* is as remote from the unadorned speech of *Arden*, wherein, as stated in the epilogue,

"no filed points are foisted in," as the idyllic chivalry of the King of Navarre and his courtiers is remote from the sordid relations of Mosbie and Alice. This difference of language is, of course, by itself no argument against the Shakespearean authorship, apart from the difference of subject. The exuberant flowers of speech which adorn the romantic courtship of the enthusiastic Southern noblemen, who had grafted the culture and neoplatonism of Renaissance Italy on to the chivalry of the Middle Ages, would be absolutely inappropriate to a story of *bourgeois* adultery. The difference of language goes hand in hand with the difference of theme. If the play were Shakespeare's, it would merely mean that he already knew how to suit his language to his characters, of his capacity for which in later years we have abundant evidence. Still, the production almost simultaneously of two such plays would be a tremendous instance of versatility, to which there is no true parallel even in Shakespeare's maturity. The writing of tragedy and romantic comedy in the same year, even if far more common than the latest chronology of his plays would lead us to suppose, scarcely affords a parallel. Shakespeare seems to avoid the common life of his own day except as comic relief to his historical plays. The famous description of Falstaff's death in *Henry V.* is by no means the only instance of powerful realism, but *Arden*, if his, would be his only complete realist play. It would also be his only detailed portrayal of feminine immorality. Whether on moral grounds we do not know, but he always either avoided or slurred over this branch of psychology, so beloved of our own day and not uncongenial to his. The matrimonial unfaithfulness of Goneril and Regan is wholly subordinate to their other faults; it is an effect, not the cause, of their main delinquencies, and is very lightly touched. Cleopatra is merely an apparent exception. She is non-moral rather than immoral, a sumptuous *belle du temps jadis*, whose conduct is lifted out of the moral sphere. She ruins Anthony; she does not degrade him. He is mastered, in Professor Dowden's admirable phrase, by the sensuous

imagination rather than by the senses. On the whole, there seems no justification for extending the genius of Shakespeare, however great, to cover a field on which there is no substantial reason to believe he ever entered. One may find an argument of detail against Shakespeare's authorship in the gross legal solecism of representing the Mayor of Faversham as passing sentence on the criminals. This unwarranted extension of his powers would scarcely have been made by Shakespeare, whose accuracy in legal matters is well known.

There is even less ground for ascribing to Shakespeare a realist drama which embodies what is perhaps the most vivid portrait of criminal lunacy in all literature. It was not included in the work of Shakespeare till the folio of 1685; the only excuse for attributing it to him is its extraordinary force, and this force is not Shakespearean. It is the vehement rush of the narrow pent-up torrent rather than the ordered flow of a full-fed river. The piece is quite short and is not divided into acts and scenes. It is emphatically a thing to be read without taking breath—at all events the first time. It must take the reader by storm, or will perhaps fail to take him at all.

The "Yorkshire Tragedy," on which the play is founded, is a "strange crueltie," briefly recorded by Stowe's "Chronicle," under the year 1604:

Walter Calverly, of Calverly in Yorkshire, Esquier, murthred 2 of his young children, stabbed his wife into the body with full purpose to have murthred her, and instantly went from his house to have slain his youngest child at Nurse but was prevented. For which fact at his triall in Yorke he stood mute and was judged to be prest to death, according to which judgment he was executed at the Castell of Yorke the first of August.

In the play, first printed only four years after the event, names are, for obvious reasons, avoided. The murderer is called "Husband," his chief victim "Wife," and so with the lesser characters, except christian-names for the servants. The construction of the piece is skilful. It opens effectively with an increasingly ominous conversation among the servants as to their master's condition. He has just returned from

London to Yorkshire after spending his last resources at the gaming-table, and in a state bordering on criminal lunacy. From his first entrance we perceive that his mind is wrought to the extreme verge ; he hovers on the brink of insanity. The incoherent brutality of his first utterance plunges us into the inmost whirlpool of his passions, till we see the ground-mud :

A pox of the last thrown ; it made
 Five hundred angels vanish from my sight.
 I'm damned, I'm damned ; the angels have forsook me.
 Nay, 'tis certainly time, for he that has no coyn
 Is damned in this world ; he is gone, he is gone.

His wife is almost more patient than Griselda herself, but more naturally so. Instead of resenting Calverly's conduct and complaining to her relations, she does all she can to mitigate it, and obtains from her uncle the promise for him of an appointment at Court. At this stage the author shows his power, in sacrificing an obvious dramatic opportunity to his working out of the husband's character. The obvious course would be that he should have already murdered his children before hearing from his wife the chance of rehabilitating his fortunes, and that she should return from her uncle's just too late to thwart his desperate mood. This is the arrangement that a writer with an eye to obvious stage effects would probably adopt. Instead of this, the only incident in the wife's absence is a duel between Calverly and " a gentleman," who reproaches him with his treatment of his wife, and whom he thereupon accuses of being her lover. The gentleman then draws on the husband : they fight, and the latter is wounded. This misfortune further exasperates him, and, when his wife returns overjoyed at her news, he showers abuse upon her, swears he will never be an underling at Court or anywhere, and finally unsheathes his dagger. At this stage a visitor is announced, and the husband so far masters himself as to receive him with politeness and outward calm. It is the Master of a college at the University where Calverly's brother is in residence, who has come to inform him that his brother is in

prison for debts incurred on Calverly's behalf. He receives the Master's outspoken censure of his conduct with apparent acquiescence, professes his intention of taking immediate steps to repair the situation, and leaves the stage. His real purpose is quite otherwise. After an incoherent indictment of providence and the world in general, comparable to, though wholly different from, that of King Lear on the Heath, he murders his two children, wounds his wife and a servant, who tries to stop him, and rides off to find his third and youngest child, an infant out at nurse. The wounded servant gives the alarm, Calverly's horse founders and he is overtaken. His exclamation on being thrown from his horse contains a cleverly introduced reminiscence of the besetting thought. After cursing the horse, he exclaims :

To throw me now, within a flight of the town,
 In such plain even ground.
 S'foot, a man may dice upon it and throw away
 The Meadows.

Calverly's wife is still attached to him in spite of his crimes. When she recovers consciousness from her wound, instead of resenting his conduct she merely casts about plaintively for an explanation of it.

What is it hath beguiled him of all grace
 And stole away humanity from his breast
 To slay his children, purposed to kill his wife,
 And spoil his servants ?

A modern author would probably answer that there was an hereditary taint of insanity in his family, and take some opportunity of informing the reader that one of his great-uncles had shown unmistakably homicidal tendencies. We are here, on the contrary, informed by "a gentleman" that nothing of the kind had been known in the family before :

That ever he took stock and natural being
 From such an honoured stock and fair descent
 Till this black minute without stain or blemish !

When captured he is defiant, and his words on being removed to prison are :

My glory 'tis to have my action known.
I grieve for nothing but I missed of one.

The introduction of the undergraduate brother and the Master of his college looks as if the playwright had access to some pamphlet or other record of the trial now lost, but Stowe's mention of Calverly's stubborn silence and subjection to the *peine forte et dure*, then and long afterwards the usual consequence of refusal to plead to a criminal charge, may well have given the hint for attributing his conduct to distinct lunacy. At this time lunacy still connoted demoniac possession. Though the age of Elizabeth had its "philosophical persons to make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless," the mediæval beliefs on the subject of insanity were still general enough to enable an author to dispense, if he chose, with all natural explanation of sudden fits of depravity ; such could always be represented as the direct outcome of a supernatural intervention which displaced all the ordinary workings of the human mind. The same process held good for equally sudden invasions of remorse. There was no need to look for human motives : the evil spirit departed, leaving the person on whom it had laid its hands in his right mind. This is the attitude of the Greek dramatists towards insanity. The Ajax of Sophocles, the mother and sister of Pentheus, were objects of divine anger which darkened their intellect for a season and suffered the light to return so soon as they had wrought irreparable mischief. How far to the mind of the Attic tragedians these deities were the poetic personification of abstract and impersonal forces is a question bound up with the whole problem of Hellenic religion.

In the sixteenth century this view had not been theoretically displaced, but was largely neutralised in its application by the strong belief in free will and the power of every man to work out his own destinies which permeated the thought

of that age. "Every man at some time was master of his fate," and "the fault was not in their stars but in themselves if they were underlings." The Elizabethans gloried in a brief apotheosis of the human will; it had almost freed itself from the yoke of astrology and predestination, and did not yet believe itself the thrall of heredity and environment. Calverly's criminal lunacy is the quite natural outcome of a prolonged yielding to what was worst in his nature; the process of degeneration has been gradual, and, although it is complete when the play opens, we can retrace the course it has followed back to a quite natural and explicable beginning, an inordinate love of money and of the pleasures and advantages money procures; a belief "in just the vile of life."

Not so Calverly's repentance. It is brought on so suddenly by the sight of his wounded wife that we can scarcely account for it by natural causes. We are almost driven to accept his own explanation, which, as insanity in those days procured no immunity from punishment, is probably intended to be sincere.

I did my murders roughly, out of hand,
Desperate and sudden, but thou hast devised
A fine way now to kill me, thou hast given my eyes
Seven wounds a piece; now glides the devil from me;
Departs at every joint, heaves up my nails,
O catch him new torments!

Calverly is shown the bodies of his slaughtered children, and exclaims:

Here's weight enough to make a heart-string crack.
O, were it lawful that your pretty souls
Might look from heaven into your father's eyes
Then should you see the penitent glasses melt
And both your murders shoot upon my cheeks.
But you are playing in the angels' laps
And will not look on me,
Who void of grace killed you in beggary.

A final prayer by his wife that he may be forgiven closes the play.

J. SLINGSBY ROBERTS.

RHODESIA AND THE CHARTER

SINCE Rhodesia was bereft of Mr. Rhodes, it has declined somewhat in the public interest. From being the cynosure of all eyes, because it was the child and first care of the foremost Imperial statesman of the time, whose name was a household word throughout two hemispheres, it has sunk to the status of simply one of the smaller component parts of the British Empire, and a rather troublesome part at that. It is heard of no oftener than British Guiana, the Straits Settlements, or New Guinea. But its area has not diminished; its 800,000 square miles, crying out for population, are still there, mile for mile. Its great railways have not been swallowed up by the tall grasses of the veld. Its silver and its gold, part of which went to make the Temple of Solomon the wonder of his age, its coal and its copper, await the miner's pick just as patiently; its pasture is just as sweet for stock, its soil just as fertile for corn, and cotton and tobacco; its Kaffirs are just as numerous, just as somnolent; the many problems and difficulties with which its flower is set about are just as perplexing and urgent as heretofore. Its problems are just as perplexing and urgent—rather are they all the more perplexing, all the more urgent, now that the illuminative brain which rejoiced in difficulties, looking upon them but as incentives to a more strenuous and a more joyful effort, and holding that to every problem there exists a key, is no longer present to watch over its own creation. For Mr. Rhodes is no longer here, and his works seem in grave danger of following

him. It is as if the electric force that drives the motor-car had suddenly come to an end, and the car, still impelled forward by the momentum it had gained, was yet slowing down minute by minute, as no fresh force came to give it a fresh impetus. That such a brilliant undertaking, so brilliantly executed during its first years, should come practically to a standstill, would be most deeply to be regretted; but that progress is painfully slow, that strong discontent over the present state of affairs exists, not only in Rhodesia itself but among the shareholders at home, is no longer to be gainsaid, since it culminated this autumn in the abortive embassy of the Rhodesian people to the Chartered Board, and the extremely tepid enthusiasm evinced by the Chartered shareholders at their annual meeting, an enthusiasm which flickered out in the end in a burst of anger. There is but one thing on which the Rhodesian people, the Rhodesian shareholders, and the Rhodesian Board of Directors are unanimous, and that one thing is, that this present unsatisfactory position would never have been reached had Mr Rhodes himself remained at the helm, and that, to quote Mr. Rochfort Maguire, "we may all go to our graves before we look upon his like again." But such a unanimity brings us no nearer any solution of the present difficulties, and on other points, where every one is clamorous for his own rights, any satisfactory settlement recedes into the dimmest distance.

In order to come to some understanding of the problem, it may be as well to examine it first from the point of view of the Rhodesian people themselves, a people, it may be, somewhat floating in character, but tending day by day as the country develops to become more and more stable. All South Africa is in a state of flux. The Johannesburgers, when we espoused their cause against President Kruger, were pre-eminently migratory, but we made that no reason to stay our hand; and now in Rhodesia, more significant than the new names continually becoming attached to the old grievances, is the fact that these old grievances tend to recur again and again, whatever the names attached to them. First and foremost of all

grievances, so much in advance of all others that it indirectly is the cause and propagator of all others, is the trouble that this young colony of Englishmen is governed by a body of men established six thousand miles away. That this is inevitable, and no more to be avoided than the drying up of their rivers in the dry season, makes it none the less a grievance. What trouble in life was ever mitigated by the realisation of its inevitability? For Rhodesia is not a tropical country governed in the interest of coloured men by a small body of whites. It was occupied in the first instance because of its suitability for colonisation by families of white men; and since the day when the Boston patriots emptied the tea-chests into the sea, Englishmen have been very adverse to government from a distance. Englishmen are, indeed, about the most inveterate political grumblers in the world, and when parts of South Africa, managing their own affairs, have yet been able to speak so hostilely of interference from Downing Street, it is not surprising that Rhodesia, with only representative institutions and no final say in its own business, should look with suspicion on government from London Wall, suspicion aggravated by the circumstance that that government is not primarily political but commercial, and therefore exposed to the constant temptation of exploiting the country for the benefit only of the pockets of its shareholders. When to this complication of a commercial character it is added that Rhodesia is a particularly vigorous child, nourished from infancy on high ideals of Empire and Liberty, whose parent took perhaps a surreptitious pride in each proof it gave of its sturdiness, healthiness, and strong individuality of character, difficulty is added to difficulty; but that, because under such circumstances a certain amount of discontent is bound to be generated, is no reason for allowing it to grow to such proportions, nor for sitting down, accepting the situation, and awaiting the *débâcle*.

While Mr. Rhodes was in and out among us these troubles never came to a head. The confidence in him was such that the settlers trusted him blindly, secure that he would ever

hold the balance even between them and the Company. Indeed, of the Chartered shareholders they were never jealous, but, on the contrary, poured out what movements of jealousy they had upon the Cape, which also shared in the treasure of his close attention, a feeling that was varied from time to time by an outburst of jealousy on the part of the Cape against Rhodesia. Mr. Rhodes, I say, was able to keep any discontent well within bounds simply by his periodical visits; but Mr. Rhodes was an exceptional man, whose utter absorption in his work enabled him to undertake double the labour that lesser mortals, with more personal cravings to satisfy, could fulfil, and because of these capabilities of his he was able to show himself the exception that proves many a rule, and "we shall never look upon his like again." But it was not only Mr. Rhodes who went among the colonists and was personally accessible to all their complaints. When Dr. Jameson, the Administrator, was withdrawn from Rhodesia on account of the Raid, and while that country was still sufficiently novel to evoke enthusiasm, Earl Grey himself assumed the duties of the Administratorship and lived in the midst of the people throughout the stirring times of '96, '97, and '98; and during that time, when the question of the Charter was in the balance and Rhodesia almost reverted to the Crown, the Rhodesians were emphatic in declaring themselves in favour of the Chartered Company's rule, and in rejecting, as far as with them lay, all suggestion of a change of government.

When Mr. Rhodes laid down his sceptre the colonists at once took alarm. They had been accustomed to an overseer who, they shrewdly suspected, cared more about Rhodesia than they themselves did, who knew the country like an open book, and who was the personal friend of any man who was willing to adventure in that new land; and they feared the installation of managers who would be acquainted with their home and ways only from the outside, and who would be interested in them only from a mercenary point of view. They clamoured for the admission to the Board of Directors

of Dr. Jameson, as a man who knew them personally and who had their own interests at heart, and they wisely were given their way. But they made another request beside; they asked that a director, the Doctor if possible, should take up his residence in the country, that some one man of those who governed them should be directly among them, to be intimate with the land and its possibilities and needs, to see for himself month by month how the laws worked, in what ways the growth of the colony was unnecessarily impeded, in what ways it could best be advanced, to be always at hand to hear and discuss difficulties as they arose. But to this the directors were unheeding. Those whom Mr. Rhodes left behind attempted to continue unchanged what it had taken all his unusual powers to carry on successfully, and what could only be carried on successfully by men of unusual powers. Periodical visits were still all that were to be paid to their vast dependency, and these visits were held to be sufficient to satisfy all the requirements of that blossoming land. A party of directors, namely, the Doctor, Mr. Beit, Sir Lewis Michell, and the secretary of the Company, soon made a tour of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. They went up to Bulawayo, across to Salisbury *viâ* Gwelo, down to Umtali, and thus to Beira, and where they halted they received deputations and discussed grievances. And so, having completed the trip, they took ship and returned home. They left fairly complacent faces behind, for they had made some concessions which were welcome. The fifty per cent. clause had been reduced to thirty per cent., and had been lifted entirely from the shoulders of the small mine-owners; the heavily-pressing railway rates had been reduced, and the hope of still further reductions held out.

But these pleasant things being once digested, hunger began to rise again and the Rhodesians to raise their voices anew. Railway rates remained troublingly high, labour could not be obtained, the thirty per cent. clause was only a mitigation of the fifty per cent. and still burdensome. In short, the

price of everything was extremely costly, and living was as difficult as ever. No results seemed to come of their complaints, many turned their backs on the country, and those that remained began to feel neglected. Young people and countries are rather exacting, according to Mr. Rhodes, but the grumbling now grew more insistent than he had ever heard or thought of hearing. It began to be said that the settlers had been forgotten, that rule by a Charter was a failure and always bound to be a failure, that it was time for the colonists to get rid of the Charter and to manage their own affairs, that it would be better, if necessary, to come directly under the Crown than to go on under the present *régime*. A general wave of discouragement was sweeping over every one, progress was coming to a standstill, and the contagion of this political discontent spread rapidly over the whole country and found vent in words more and more unmistakable. Then, like a rainbow upon this gloomy scene, came the news that Sir George Goldie had been invited to come to Rhodesia to investigate grievances and to suggest remedies. It was rumoured that he was permanently to join the Governing Board, and that he intended even taking up his residence among the settlers, and not simply paying them a meagre visit. This news had an immense effect upon the depressed people. It was wonderful how hopes rose as if by magic, how denunciations of the Company's rule lost their violence, how half the causes of grumbling seemed to disappear at this earnest of sympathy and redress! But Sir George Goldie came, he made the usual tour of the country, and having made the tour, he also took ship and was gone. The Rhodesians were left to themselves again, deprived once more of an ear to which they could appeal in any way except by cable at so many shillings a word. To them while in this mood were handed Sir George's proposals, which he had come out to formulate, proposals which contained no concessions for themselves, but which the rather advised, so they considered, large concessions on their part towards a Company which, so they also considered, looked

upon them only as so many potential dividend-winners. Their indignation reached a pitch it had never attained before; they put his proposals in the fire and appealed to Lord Milner.

It was at this crisis that Dr. Jameson put forward a suggestion that the settlers, if they were to choose certain of their number to represent them and to visit England on their behalf, might advantageously open negotiations with the Chartered Company, and his advice was quickly adopted. But public opinion was now in a very exasperated state and little inclined to meet half-way any offers that might be made by the other side; and, considering their unconciliatory temper, it is not surprising that the ensuing conference led to no results. Undoubtedly some of the demands put forward by the Rhodesians were unreasonable (those who feel neglected are apt to be unreasonable and to lose sight of all claims except their own), but that these Rhodesians should have reached such a frame of mind must lie at the door of the Charter. The proposals which Sir George Goldie had made were that Southern Rhodesia should assume a debt of seven and a half million pounds sterling, expenditure made by the Company in developing the country, of which two-thirds should be refunded to the Company in settlement of its claim, and the two and a half million pounds remaining be administered by it as a trust fund to be spent in the public interest. The principal demands made by the delegates were: First, the elimination of the thirty per cent. clause and the substitution of a system of royalties or a tax on profits; secondly, the acknowledgment that all unalienated land was the property of the country and not of the Company; thirdly, the immediate statement by the Company of the value it placed on all its assets south of the Zambesi, that the people might take them over at that price whenever they so desired; and fourthly, the waiving of any claim by the Company to reimbursement for past expenditure on the country.

Such demands unmodified were naturally impossible of acceptance; but the deadlock which followed and still remains

did not mark the nadir of the Rhodesian troubles. Another blow was yet to fall on them in the retirement of Earl Grey from the directorate in order that he might assume the Governor-Generalship of Canada. With the exception of Doctor Jameson, now fully occupied elsewhere, Earl Grey was the most intimate with Rhodesia, its people and its needs, and, without exception, the most active in promoting its welfare, of the Board. To him is due the agitation for the reduction of burdensome freights which, with the railway rates, make living so preposterously expensive in that land. To him is due the fostering of the infant tobacco-growing industry, which bids fair to become an important item in the country's good fortunes, and the encouragement of the Salvation Army in its admirable scheme for the establishment of one of its farm colonies in Rhodesia. His outlook, too, is broad, and he realises that the Chartered Company is not only commercial, but Imperial, in character. His loss is felt throughout the land, and with every day it is more and more deeply to be regretted that, unlike Lord Milner, he did not see his way to remain by his ship until he had brought it safely into port, whence it is at present far off. Governor-Generalships may bring in a more immediate glory, but the glory of settling a new country on a stable, prosperous, Imperial and material basis is the more lasting, and only that glory which endures the test of time is worth a thought.

All this is the Rhodesian settlers' view of what has most emphatically two sides, and the grievances of the British South Africa shareholders, though less lengthy in the recital, are none the less weighty. They have invested great sums in gaining this territory, and for fifteen years they have waited patiently, and fruitlessly, for some return on their investments, while the hope of dividends recedes more and more into the far horizon with every year. They have lost their ablest and most trusted director, and their second has just left them. It seems to them that there is little enough to show for all the outlay they have authorised, and they in their turn have also grown to feel

neglected. It is small wonder that they should have grown impatient—impatient with the settlers for their often unreasonable demands and with the directors for their lack of earnestness.

And which of the grievances on either side are remediable? As regards dividends, the prospect of any such reward must be small as long as the administrative work is mixed up with the commercial; nor are they altogether to be desired. That dividends should be extracted from the land by those who govern it would inevitably excite a whirlwind of indignation among the governed. All chance of a return has always depended and must depend on the fifty per cent. interest in the vendor scrip of all mining companies in Rhodesia which the Chartered Company possessed, and now that that interest has been reduced by nearly one-half, its efficacy is reduced by the same amount; but as possessors of the land, with a right to one-third of the vendor scrip in its minerals, the shareholders will still be in a strong position, and that dividends will come in comfortably when once the Company has become purely commercial is easily to be anticipated. It is for this reason that the demand for the elimination of this thirty per cent. clause, with which Mr. Rhodes never allowed any tampering, is unreasonable of the Rhodesian people, because it is the one thing by which the shareholders can expect any return under present conditions, and because the labourer is worthy of his hire. Mr. Rhodes puts the matter very clearly when he says:

You may ask what prospects you have, as shareholders, of a return. Well, I will say frankly that it depends on the result of the minerals in the territory. My experience of the past is that just as *qua* Government, so *qua* a company—we cannot expect to do more than balance revenue and expenditure from land, customs, and assisting in other matters connected with developing the general natural resources of the country. Therefore, when we created the Charter, we had to consider by what means a return could be given to the shareholders, and I remember thinking out the various ways of making a return to those who had risked their capital in the undertaking. It has always struck me that if it were possible for the Government of the country to share in the discover

of the minerals, a very fair return would accrue. . . . We thought we would try it in Mashonaland, and it is the law of the country that fifty per cent. of the vendor scrip goes to the Charter. I may say in a parenthesis that the Charter had an extra reason beyond what an ordinary Government could give for asking this, because, besides being the Government of the country, it is also the possessor of the mineral wealth.

And in another speech he says :

This interest in the vendors' scrip is fair; it is not an excessive interest for you to claim, and it does not affect the interests of any one. It is often said that you want one-half the gold, that you take one-half the gold. Nothing of the kind. You have the right to half-interest in the vendors' scrip.

The other point in which the labourer is worthy of his hire is in regard to the large sums of money which have been laid out in developing the country. The return of some proportion of this is eminently just, nor has the justice of it been seriously gainsaid until the immediate past, though the proposition has been public for many years. Englishmen may be good at bargains, but it is they who have also coined the proverb "Fair play is a jewel"; and this sudden repudiation of their debt by the Rhodesians (it is a fair supposition) is due rather to a fit of anger—anger for which they are little to blame—than to a long-settled intention.

But if, as regards these two points, the Chartered Company are in the right, the same cannot be said of others, less sweeping in scope, but of a continually irritating character, which soon tends to colour the whole outlook. It is generally insisted that railway rates are excessive, and that they are largely the cause of the almost prohibitive prices of everything in Rhodesia. Because freights are to blame in part for this is no reason why railways should follow suit, and then join issue with them on the question of blackness, like the pot and the kettle. Of course it is the business of railways to pay their way, but, especially in young and growing communities, reduction of rates generally bring in their train an increased volume of trade which more than counterbalances the initial loss. Again—and though this is not mentioned in the eight

demands of the Rhodesian delegates, it has long been a subject of discontent—more, much more, might be done to induce immigration. At the last shareholders' meeting an intention was expressed of encouraging the advent of small farmers, but before any such immigration can be a success drastic steps must be taken to reduce the present abnormal cost of living, and for action in this direction every one looks to the Government.

There still remains the dissatisfaction of the shareholders as to the expenditure of their money.

There also remains the unfulfilled request of Rhodesia, made two and a-half years ago, for a resident director.

Some account of the grievances on both sides has now been given. There still remains the one remedy that has been put forward to be discussed. Of late it has been suggested, and in Rhodesia openly considered and advocated, that the only way for the colonists out of their difficulties is after all to get rid of the Charter, and as they are not yet strong enough to stand alone, to be perforce metamorphosed into a Crown Colony. Against this it has to be borne in mind that the Charter has still another ten years to run before it can be abrogated without its own consent, and that it is of no good to talk of abruptly putting an end to the British South Africa Company as a governing body unless it agrees to its own extinction. But if discontent increases in Rhodesia by leaps and bounds, as it is doing, and if popular clamour (to which we are told no heed should be paid) grows deafening—if, in short, a dead set is made against the Chartered Company's rule by its own settlers, with all the stagnation of business and the paralysing of progress which political agitation involves, would the Imperial Government stand out against this pressure of agitation, so injurious for South Africa at this time, and not attempt to buy out the corporation to which it has delegated its powers? To get rid of its administrative functions at a fair price may be a good thing for the Company from a commercial point of view, and from that point of view

solely; but the Imperial Government can on occasion drive a very hard bargain, as those connected with Rhodesia have found out more than once, and may they not find it out once again if this state of affairs comes to pass? Again, the goal of all South Africa at present is federation, and that blessing may come upon us at any time. It is no longer a question of how far off federation may be, but of how near it may not be; and when that time comes Rhodesia must take its place in the Union as a self-governing State. It is therefore inadvisable, looking towards the close realisation of this dream of federation, to alter the system of government more often than is absolutely needful. To chop and change about in governments, as in anything else, is a handicap to any country, and to avoid this misfortune it is preferable to put up with Chartered rule, whatever its mistakes, for the short time that need elapse before Rhodesia becomes strong enough to take over the management of its own affairs. And yet again; the Charter, whatever its mistakes, has certainly done more for the country than ever the Imperial Government would have done. Under the Crown the progress of new colonies is notoriously slow, and Bechuanaland will be sufficient to serve as an example—Bechuanaland, which is six years older than Rhodesia, and yet is to-day simply the highway to Rhodesia and nothing more; the Suez Canal towards that country, to adapt an old simile to a new use. No, an interval of Crown Colony government pending federation is not to be desired in the interests of either side. As to the other suggestion, that Rhodesia should be annexed to the Transvaal, it is as impossible as the old one of its annexation to the Cape. Rhodesian interests are distinct from the Transvaal's interests, and not to be swamped in them; nor is it to be imagined that a community which has proved so restive under Chartered control would for long suffer the domination of Johannesburg.

Is it not possible to meet the unfulfilled wish of the Rhodesian people, so long expressed, so long ungratified, and to establish a resident director in Salisbury or Bulawayo? Such a

step would be an assurance to the shareholders on this side that their affairs were to receive the closest and most prolonged personal attention which they need, and to the settlers in that far land that their controllers are not careless of their welfare as distinct from their value as dividend-earners. The present exasperation and unreconcilable temper of these latter are due to the uncongenial system of government under which they live—uncongenial to all Englishmen—and to the suspicions which such a system fosters, unless most wisely managed, of neglect and indifference; for, however efficient the officials may be, the fact yet remains that they are but the paid servants of the Company which rules the land, and which has its headquarters six thousand miles away. But these suspicions would be greatly obviated by the continual calming presence among the Rhodesians of one of their responsible heads, who would live their life with them, accessible at all times for all reasons, seeing and judging for himself at first hand on all questions. All the weaknesses of a government by charter will be still more exposed when the drastic measures of retrenchment promised to the shareholders have been put in force, and unless some such step be taken, with the proof of sympathy and interest it gives, worse trouble may be looked for in the near future as inevitable. The suggestion is a very obvious one, so obvious that it is apt to be overlooked; it is but a palliative at least, a means of tiding over a rough passage which lies before Rhodesia and the Charter ere either of them can make a peaceful haven. Under the quieting, reassuring influence of a resident director the country may yet regain a considerate frame of mind, when it will be possible for it and the Company to discuss a settlement in a right spirit of give and take, and to appreciate each the claims of the other, for there is no mood so unreasonable, so unmanageable, as that of the man who feels himself neglected. Such a feeling, even though it were proved to be unfounded, exists, and the presence of a resident director would go far to assuage it.

In all this there is no suggestion that it is the place of Doctor Jameson to devote himself to Rhodesia. When he took up his work in Cape Colony he acted wisely, for he is the only man in that Colony who is fitted for the task to be accomplished. To Cape Colony Doctor Jameson is at present the Necessary Man, but which of the other directors is necessary—necessary with a big N—to the land in which he lives? There is one country which has a place vacant for a Necessary Man, and none can fill this place save one of those who are responsible for its governance. Should residence in such a land be looked upon as exile by those who are responsible for its fortunes? Even if it were exile, the sacrifice of personal feeling is worth while, when it is of so temporary a character (a few years at most), and when the issues at stake are so great. It is no paltry thing, no inconsiderable ambition, to be the pilot to guide that vast territory in these years of its youth, a task which even Mr. Rhodes held worthy of his eager aims and energy.

A *point d'appui* from whence to work towards a reconciliation may well be found in the question of the importation of Chinese labour, a question on which both shareholders and settlers are at one. Community of aim and effort in even one particular tends to bring about a friendliness of feeling which, if wisely nursed, may be spread over the whole field of controversy. But any co-operation, to be successful now, requires most skilful and painstaking handling, for there is irritation on both sides, unreasonableness on both sides, just as there are rights on both sides and an equal claim to be heard. Then let both sides strive after that fairness of judgment without which no equitable bargain was ever struck, and surely an inequitable one is not desired by the one or the other. The moderation for which this plea is made, which is a necessity in the most ordinary business transactions, becomes an urgent duty when subjects of Imperial concern are involved. The matter is worthy of patience, and tolerance, and enthusiasm, for, to end up as I began, the wonderful land is still there, mile for mile,

as fair as ever it was. The land is there, and it is fertile ; the land is there, and it is rich in metals ; the land is there, the blessed, empty land for which our over-populated islands, our poverty-stricken slums, are crying out, and it is the joint inheritance of the Chartered Company and the Rhodesian settlers to make of it one of the strongest and most prosperous links in an Imperial Federation.

I. DOBBIE.

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

“THE noblest monument in the world relating to our old English history,” as that ardent antiquary, Stukeley, styled the stitchwork of Bayeux, has a whole literature of its own, a literature that now covers nearly two centuries. In the first appendix to the third volume of his “History of the Norman Conquest,” Mr. Freeman traced briefly and well the story of the long controversy as to its origin and its date down to the appearance of his own work in 1875.¹ And in the opening words of that dissertation he nailed his colours to the mast:

It will be seen that throughout this volume I accept the witness of the Bayeux tapestry as one of my highest authorities. I do not hesitate to say that I look on it as holding the first place among the authorities on the Norman side. That it is a contemporary work I have no doubt whatever, and I have just as little doubt as to its being a work fully entitled to our general confidence. I believe that the tapestry was made for Bishop Odo, and that it was most likely designed by him as an ornament for his newly rebuilt cathedral church of Bayeux.

And this profession of his faith does not stand alone; more than once he insists on “the primary importance” of the tapestry, and he ends his dissertation by asserting that no one could look on the work itself without feeling that it was “traced out by one who had himself seen the scenes which he thus handed down to later ages.”

¹ I refer throughout to the second edition, revised, of vol. iii. Appendix A (pp. 563-575) is devoted to “The Authority of the Bayeux Tapestry.”

When it is remembered that Mr. Freeman spoke not only after long study of the subject, but also with full knowledge of all that others had written, it must be admitted that his conclusions carry considerable weight. Nor, with the odd exception of which I shall speak below, has any one in England, so far as I know, subsequently challenged the early date or the independent authority of the famous "stitchwork."¹ Mr. F. Rede Fowke, who wrote just after him, and who republished his observations six years ago,² similarly arrived, on his own account, at the conclusion that it was a "contemporary work in which Queen Matilda had no part, and that it was probably ordered for his cathedral by Bishop Odo, and made by Norman workpeople at Bayeux."

In France, however, the question of the tapestry's age and authority, which had been looked upon there also as, for practical purposes, settled, has been suddenly and sharply reopened. The appearance, not long ago, of M. Marignan's "Tapisserie de Bayeux"³ gave rise to a vigorous discussion of very considerable interest. For it is from the standpoint not of the historian, but of the student of archæology and art that M. Marignan approaches the problem and challenges the authenticity of the work as a contemporary and unique record of the life of the Conqueror's day. It is hardly possible here or in France to write on the development of art or architecture, of costume or heraldry, of arms or armour, of other details of mediæval life in peace and war, without reproducing or describing the evidence of the Bayeux tapestry. If, therefore, the work has been assigned to so early a date in error, all the conclusions based upon its evidence in these departments of research would obviously need revision.

¹ The tapestry, as has often been explained, is not really tapestry at all, but a band of linen on which the scenes are worked with a needle in worsteds of various colours.

² "The Bayeux Tapestry: a History and Description." Bell. 1898. It contains photographs of the work in a handy form.

³ Publiée sous la direction de M. Kaemfen, directeur des Musées Nationaux. 1902. Leroux.

M. Marignan explains that he found himself compelled to face the question of the "tapestry" and the date of its execution by its position as "a monument of the highest importance for the history of Western art." Having been led by his studies to conclude that in Italy, Germany, and France certain frescoes, sculptures, and other works of art had been seriously ante-dated, he found the accepted belief as to the date of the stitchwork¹ a formidable obstacle in his path. For where so much is conjectural a "fixed point" is priceless.

Even his critics have frankly admitted that his book will have a useful effect. M. Gaston Paris, in attacking his conclusions, observes that :

Il y présente beaucoup de remarques dignes d'attention, et j'espère que sa critique excitera les archéologues à s'efforcer, comme il leur demande à bon droit, d'apporter un peu plus de précision dans le classement et la datation des monuments figurés des xi^e-xii^e siècles.

And M. Lanore has similarly found in this the merit of his work :

Que l'on admette ou non les conclusions de M. M., on s'accordera à le féliciter d'avoir troublé la quiétude des archéologues à l'endroit de cette œuvre célèbre et primordiale, et d'exiger d'eux pour la datation des monuments, des précédés de critique rigoureux. On le louera enfin d'avoir fait preuve d'une connaissance approfondie et rare des monuments.

If French scholars can write thus, what shall be said of the present condition of archæology in this country? For in France it is at least a serious study, accorded an honourable position and pursued on scientific lines; but here it is still, I fear, associated in the public mind with the dilettante ramblings of the so-called "antiquarian," and is treated with contemptuous tolerance as a source of harmless amusement. To those who are striving to raise the standard of English archæology it is disheartening to find their study disparaged by these associations and to see the fantasies of the dabbler or the "crank"

¹ He takes this accepted date as 1070-1080.

placed on a level with their own efforts. As Mr Barron is fond of reminding us :

We come to insist upon the worthiness and dignity of the side of archæology with which we deal as a work without which history itself cannot live. We find a noble study which asks for the best energy of scholars still esteemed a pastime for the elderly and incompetent. The believer in the flatness of the earth does not find his work seriously discussed among geographers; the enthusiast who traces the English race down many-coloured charts from the lost tribes of Israel is not received as a brother by the ethnological societies. But popular archæology has been allowed to flourish freely on southern slopes where never wind blows loudly.¹

The close inter-relation of archæology and history is one of the lessons we may learn from M. Marignan's book, and it is as a sign of the growing interest in the study of the subjects with which it deals that its appearance deserves notice in this country also.

As illustrating this inter-relation we may take a matter on which, oddly enough, neither M. Marignan nor his critics have even touched. "The great master of military architecture," as Mr. G. T. Clark was termed by Professor Freeman, evolved a theory on the origin and development of our oldest castles which gradually received the sanction of historians, and even won the ardent commendation of Professor Oman in his "Art of War." This theory was first questioned in an article of mine on "English Castles," published in the *Quarterly Review*, and has since been assailed by Mr. Neilson, Mrs. Armitage, and Mr. St. John Hope.² We hold, and claim to have established, that the strongholds which played so large a part in the Norman Conquest of England were moated mounds crowned by a timber palisade; and it is one of our chief arguments that when the Bayeux tapestry wishes to indicate a fortress, it shows us a stronghold of this description. Moreover, it even depicts the Normans throwing up such a mound at Hastings,

¹ "The Ancestor," vii. 269.

² See my paper on "The Castles of the Conquest" (*Archæologia*, vol. lviii.), and that of Mr. St. John Hope on "The Fortresses of the 10th and 11th centuries." (*Archæological Journal*, lx. 72-90).

as the *castellum* that Duke William hastened to raise there. The importance of the tapestry's evidence and, therefore, of ascertaining its date, is shown by this instance; and, conversely, the artist's adoption of this type is strongly opposed to the view advanced by M. Marignan. For if it was designed, as he thinks, between the years 1170 and 1180,¹ we should have expected in its castles represented by the well-known rectangular type distinctive of that epoch. It is now known that the keep of Newcastle belongs to 1172-1177, and the advance of our archæological knowledge enables us to assert that during the century and more that elapsed between the building of the Tower of London and that of the stately keep of Dover Castle (1187) these great stone towers were a more favoured type than the primitive moated mound which had the advantage, in the days when the Conquest was yet young, of needing neither time for its construction, nor stone, nor skilled labour.

M. Marignan might have been better advised if he had decided to impugn the date assigned to the tapestry on considerations, primarily, of archæology and art. Instead of this, he has treated them merely as confirming his main contention, which is based on historical criticism. That contention, upon which he insists with the utmost confidence, is that the designer of the tapestry can be shown to have followed Wace's "Roman de Rou," and that, therefore, the execution of the stitchwork must be later than the date at which that poem was published:

Demandons-nous tout d'abord où l'artiste a puisé tous les renseignements qu'il nous donne sur la conquête. . . . Il faut arriver à Wace, l'auteur du "Roman de Rou," pour trouver un poème capable d'inspirer à un artiste une œuvre aussi longue. . . . C'est un point qui me paraît solidement établi.

Le poème de Wace a donc été composé vers 1170 et la tapisserie a vu le jour quelques années après.

Having thus expressed his conviction at the outset, M. Marignan closes his arguments with renewed insistence on the point:

¹ M. Gaston Paris held him to imply that the work could not have been executed before 1175.

L'idée directrice de tous les développements qui précèdent, c'est que l'auteur à suivi Wace pas à pas, qu'il ne s'est pas préoccupé, cela va sans dire, des sources où ce poète avait puisé. C'est un point qui nous paraît désormais acquis. . . . C'est donc le point capital de ce travail, c'est la base et la raison même de la longue et minutieuse démonstration que j'ai tentée.

Before proceeding to examine M. Marignan's theory, which rests on a comparison, in parallel columns, between the "Roman" and the stitchwork, one may say something of his critics,

M. Gaston Paris, whose lamented death, some months ago, was a grave loss not only to French, but to European scholarship, was bound to reply to M. Marignan, for it was recognised by both that the date of the famous "Chanson de Roland" was a question raised at once by that of the Bayeux tapestry. Now the great French scholar had held, in opposition to M. Suchier of the University of Halle, that the "Chanson" was anterior to the first crusade, and must even be dated as early as *circ.* 1080. M. Marignan devoted a lengthy appendix to assailing this conclusion on archæological grounds, and would like to assign the poem to 1140-1150, the date of the Oxford manuscript. He admits, however, that the fact of Conrad having made a translation of it, in Germany, in 1133-1139, has compelled scholars to place it earlier, and he finally decides in favour of the year 1125. In *Romania*, his own learned organ, M. Gaston Paris has vigorously rejected M. Marignan's conclusions on the "tapestry" as well as on the "Chanson."¹ Recognising "l'accord frappant qui existe entre la tecture et la 'Chanson,'" M. Paris justly observed that, as to the connection between the "tapestry" and Wace's "Roman de Rou," "C'est une thèse d'histoire littéraire, de critique des sources, et non d'archéologie." Dealing with it, therefore, as such, he dismissed the parallel columns, in which it was attempted to show that the tapestry was based on Wace, with the almost contemptuous words, "Ce tableau, qui doit établir sa thèse, suffit à la détruire."

¹ *Romania*, xxxi. 404-417. 1902.

But the new heresy was too flagrant and too confidently advanced to escape further criticism. The arguments on which it rested were examined and rejected anew, in another learned organ, by M. Lanore.¹ To each of them, historical or archæological, there was, he held, a sufficient answer. His own conclusion is that, as Mr. Freeman held, the so-called "tapestry" is itself an independent authority, that, in any case, it is "altogether independent of Wace," and that although its exact date has not at present been determined, it probably lies between 1080 and 1095.

For my part, I look on M. Marignan's proof that the designer of the "tapestry" took his history from Wace's "Roman de Rou" as an instance of that power of self-deception possessed by the writer who sees facts in the light only of his own theory, and who makes them fit that theory whether they support it or not. For, even if one admitted the alleged striking concordance between the scenes in the stitchwork and the text of Wace's poem, it would obviously admit of the explanation that, instead of the designer following the poet, it was, on the contrary, Wace himself who, being as a canon of Bayeux familiar with the pictured story, included it among the sources from which he freely drew.

But, as both his critics have pointed out, the alleged concordance breaks down. With my knowledge of the "sources" I cannot even admit, as does M. Lanore, that M. Marignan has discussed his subject "*avec une loyauté parfaite, puisque son ouvrage fournit, avec une certaine abondance, les arguments mêmes qui permettent de le discuter.*" A single instance is enough to condemn him on this point; his treatment of William's landing is decisive. Mr. Freeman justly observed that the words on the stitchwork, "*Venit ad Pevenesæ,*" are in strict accordance with William of Poitiers and William of Jumièges, both of whom assert that William landed at Pevensey; and he added that

¹ "La Tapisserie de Bayeux." Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes (Jan. 1903), lxiv. 83-93.

William of Malmesbury says carelessly, "Placide cursu Hastings appulerunt." So Wace, who altogether reverses the geography, making the army land at Hastings and go to Pevensey afterwards.¹

This, I may mention, is among the proofs that I have adduced for my contention that William of Malmesbury was one of the "sources" used by Wace. The point here, however, is that, so far from following Wace, the "tapestry" flatly contradicts him, and is, moreover, right. And yet M. Marignan does not hesitate to print their versions side by side, as if the agreement were complete. It is only a close scrutiny that reveals the fact that to do this he has coolly transposed the lines in which Wace speaks of Pevensey and of Hastings.

On the archaeological side the arguments of M. Marignan are, in the instance I shall now give, exposed to no less crushing retort. Mr. Freeman cited with approval Dr. Bruce's just remark² that Wace speaks of the horse of William FitzOsborn as "all covered with iron" ["son cheval tot covert de fer"],³ while not a single horse in the "tapestry" is protected by armour, that practice not being known at the time of its execution. This, of course, is strong evidence, not only for its early date, but against its having been based on Wace's work. Yet M. Marignan is silent on the subject of Wace's anachronism and of the striking contrast it presents to the Bayeux tapestry. Nay, to prove his point, he has had to go further and to argue that the absence on the "tapestry" of defensive armour for the horse only proves that it is previous to the thirteenth century:

Je ferai indiquer que les chevaux . . . ne sont pas couverts, ce qui indique que ce monument ne saurait appartenir au xiii^e siècle; mais j'ai souvent constaté dans mes études sur l'art du moyen âge qu'aussi bien sur les sculptures que sur les vitraux, les chevaux ne sont pas couverts avant le commencement du xiii^e siècle.

To this conclusion the words of the "Roman" (which he assigns

¹ "Norman Conquest" (2nd ed.), iii. 402.

² In "The Bayeux Tapestry Elucidated." 1856.

³ "Roman de Rou." Ed. Andresen, l. 7512.

to 1170) are no less fatal than they are to his theory that the "tapestry" was designed from Wace's text.

That the archaeological discussion has a useful and a stimulating effect I have already urged at the outset; but M. Marignan is so determined to view the evidence through his own spectacles that we have to check his arguments at every step by the facts. As to the mode of using the lance, he tells us that at the late date to which he assigns the stitchwork, the knight charged lance in rest—"le chevalier tenait la lance appuyée 'sur la partie feutrée' de la selle, *la lance sur la feutre*, disent les poètes." But in the "tapestry" we see the Normans, on the contrary, armed, in Mr. Freeman's words, "with long lances, which, when the moment for the charge came, were not laid in rest as in the equipment of the later chivalry, but lifted high in air over the bearer's shoulder." They differ little in appearance, when used overhand, from the javelins of the English warriors, and I am by no means sure that they were not sometimes hurled. Lastly, as to the argument from heraldry, M. Marignan insists in three places (pp. 29, 87 and 88) on the arms of the Counts of Boulogne appearing on a banner borne, it would seem, by Count Eustace as "l'attestation évidente" of the tapestry's age. But I do not admit that the arms of the counts are represented on the banner, or, indeed, that the banners in the stitchwork are really armorial at all.¹

The question of the age and the authority that we ought to assign to the tapestry was raised among ourselves in a curious way some nine or ten years ago. Stothard, Amyot, and Collingwood-Bruce all argued ably in favour of its early date, and Mr. Freeman, who insisted on its position as a "contemporary" authority, had dismissed as merely "grotesque" the view of Mr. Bolton Corney that it was executed

¹ A cross between four annulets, as the banner would have to be blazoned, is an entirely distinct coat from the "or, three roundles gules" of the Boulogne arms. And the prevalence of annulets on the banners shows that they cannot have been intended to represent heraldic charges.

after the loss of Normandy (1204). But when I came forward to assail the existence of the now famous "palisade" which plays so large and so important a part in Mr. Freeman's narrative of the great battle, it was one of the arguments on which I relied that there was not to be found in the Bayeux tapestry, his own supreme authority, the slightest trace of its existence. Nor can this be explained away as merely negative evidence, for the stitchwork, which shows itself in another place perfectly able to depict a wooden palisade, shows us the Normans charging the English at the very outset of the battle in a manner that precludes the existence of any palisade. Moreover, it makes a remarkable effort to portray that "wall of shields" from which, as I hold, by misconception was evolved the idea of a palisade.

This has a most direct bearing on M. Marignan's theory. But let us first see how the question stands as regards Mr. Freeman himself. The matter is so simple that it will not detain us long. For his "palisade" Mr. Freeman relied partly on a passage in "Henry of Huntingdon" and partly on Wace's "Roman de Rou." The former, it is now admitted, says, as I pointed out, nothing whatever of a palisade; the evidence, therefore, must be sought in Wace, and in Wace alone. Of the now famous passage in Wace, which has been the subject of so much discussion, I need only repeat what I have written in another place.¹

In his first edition, writing, we believe, under the influence of Taylor's version, Mr. Freeman gave these lines in a foot-note to his narrative of the battle, and appears to have then looked on them as describing his palisade. But in his "second edition, revised," in preparing which he went "minutely through every line, and corrected or improved whatever seemed to need correction or improvement," he transferred these lines to his appendix on the battle, where he wrote concerning them as follows.

[(At Maldon) the English stood, *as at Senlac*, in the array common to them and their enemies—a strong line, or rather wedge, of infantry forming a wall with their shields (i. 271).]

¹ "Feudal England," pp. 34-5-6.

Of the array of the shield-wall we have often heard already, as at Maldon (see vol. i. p. 271), but it is at Senlac that we get the fullest descriptions of it [*sic*] all the better for coming in the mouths of enemies. Wace gives his description, 12941 :

'Fet orent devant els escuz
De fenestres è d'altres fuz ;
Devant els les orent levez.

.
Et s'il se fussent bien tenu
Ja ne fussent li jor vencu.

So William of Malmesbury, 241 : " *Pedites omnes cum bipennibus, conserta ante se scutorum testudine impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt; quod profecto illis ea die saluti fuisset, nisi Normanni simulatâ fugâ more suo confertos manipulos laxassent.*" So at the Battle of the Standard, according to Æthelred of Rievaulx (343) : " *Scutis scuta junguntur, lateribus latera conseruntur*" (vol. iii. pp. 763-4).

The unquestionable meaning of Mr. Freeman's words is that Wace's lines (like the other passages) describe the time-honoured shield-wall, "The fortress of shields, so often sung of alike in English and in Scandinavian minstrelsy" (vol. iii. pp. 763-4).

So far, then, as Mr. Freeman is concerned, the one passage on which rests the existence of his palisade has been finally and definitely pronounced by him to describe (*not* a palisade, but) "the array of the shield-wall," that array of which the Bayeux tapestry remains a priceless record. He thus destroyed with his own pen, unconsciously no doubt, the sole evidence for that palisade without which his story of the battle would have to be entirely rewritten.

Entirely distinct, of course, from the question of Mr. Freeman's personal consistency and treatment of the evidence before him, is that which may fairly be raised, of whether, leaving his conclusions aside, the evidence as a whole is or is not in favour of a palisade. Unfortunately, his champions and friends persistently mixed the two questions, coming forward, as they avowedly did, to vindicate his authority and accuracy, and yet claiming not only to repudiate his final interpretation of Wace's words, but even to reject his acceptance

of the Bayeux tapestry's authority because they perceived that, as I urged, the evidence of the stitchwork was incompatible with the challenged "palisade."

The result was one of the queerest positions in the whole range of historical controversy. While professing to prove that Mr. Freeman was absolutely right in his conclusions, Mr. Archer was coolly dismissing, without a hint that he was doing so, his most cherished convictions.¹ To prove this I had merely to print, in parallel columns, what Mr. Freeman had said of the tapestry and his champion's utter rejection of all that the Professor held.² Here I have only space to quote the sharp conflict of opinion on the all-important question as to whether the stitchwork was wrought for Bishop Odo of Bayeux. Mr. Freeman insisted that it was.

I believe that the tapestry was made for Bishop Odo . . . Mr. Amyot's arguments seem to me distinctly to prove that the work was a contemporary one, and one made for Bishop Odo and the church of Bayeux. . . . It was plainly a gift from Odo to his own newly built church . . . there is every reason to connect it with Odo. . . . It is plain that it was wrought by order of Bishop Odo, and was given by him to his cathedral church at Bayeux. . . . That it was made for Odo and for Bayeux is plain . . . was made very shortly after the time by order of Bishop Odo for his church at Bayeux.³

And yet his would-be champion writes :

I would here remark that, in my opinion, those who regard the tapestry as worked by Bishop Odo's orders, and by so doing turn it into a semi-official account of the battle, go much beyond their evidence.⁴

But the contradiction was sharper than this. Mr. Freeman had insisted on two points : (1) that the tapestry was "contemporary"; (2) that it was a "primary" and independent authority. His champion confidently denied that it was either contemporary or primary. The historian had asserted that

The work must be a contemporary one. . . . That it is a contemporary work I have no doubt whatever . . . abundant evidence to establish the con-

¹ *English Historical Review*, ix. 27-9.

² *Ibid.* pp. 219-25.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 221-2.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 28.

temporary date . . . the earliest and most trustworthy witness on the Norman side, the contemporary tapestry . . . [itis] a work which throughout breathes the spirit of the earliest days of the Conquest.¹

Mr. Archer assured us that "no one nowadays supposes it to belong to the earliest days of the Conquest, that it might have been executed at any time before 1210, and that, apart from its age, he himself looked on it as comparatively weak evidence."²

Mr. Archer, however, went further and anticipated M. Marignan in assuming that the stitchwork, so far from being a primary, or independent authority, must have been based on a popular "story current on every lip." He could not "insist too strongly on the fact that it is to the popularity which a story has thus obtained that we owe its transfusion into colour"; and he summed up the matter thus:

*The historic worth of the Bayeux tapestry depends on that of the "Chanson" history, or tradition underlying it.*³ Till this is found we cannot know the value of the facts it has preserved.

We cannot, consequently, say more than that "it may be fairly good evidence for the archæological notions of the women who worked it, and for the contents of the ballad history or legend on which it was founded."⁴ He does not, indeed, venture to claim that the ballad history was that of Wace; but his assumption is no less destructive to the value of what Mr. Freeman termed this "precious monument" than is that of M. Marignan himself.

Let us see, then, what is the verdict of the latest French critics on the fundamental assumption common to both writers. M. Gaston Paris, to whose authority Mr. Archer himself has triumphantly appealed, rejects their view absolutely:

La question est, en effet, non pas de savoir à quelle source a puisé l'auteur de ce plan, mais de savoir s'il est lui-même une source indépendante. Or c'est là ce qu'il y a de plus probable, la tenture . . . a toutes les apparences

¹ *English Historical Review*, ix. 220-221, 223; "Feudal England," p. 351.

² *English Historical Review*, ix. 219.

³ *Ibid.* p. 29. The italics are Mr. Archer's own.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 27.

d'être un témoignage indépendant. . . . *A priori*, elle a tout l'air d'un document contemporain des événements, ou de bien peu postérieur.¹

M. Lanore² is no less emphatic :

On peut lui répondre surtout que son hypothèse exclut *a priori* le cas où la tenture serait indépendante des récits écrits et constituerait elle-même une source. Or, cette dernière opinion est la plus vraisemblable.

La tenture de Bayeux . . . semble fait pour un milieu qui n'avait pas besoin pour la comprendre qu'on lui en expliquât le sens. Or, ce milieu, très au courant non seulement des faits principaux mais de circonstances tout-à-fait accessoires et spéciales, ne pouvait se retrouver qu'à une époque très voisine de la conquête ou, plus tard, au moment de la vogue d'une œuvre littéraire qui en eût rendu familiers les épisodes tels qu'ils sont figurés sur la tenture. Mais, encore une fois, nous n'avons nul trace de cette œuvre littéraire ; rien absolument ne nous autorise à en conjecturer l'existence.

M. Marignan, who finds the tapestry in the way of his archæological theories, sees the difficulty of postulating the lost *chanson* required, and accordingly tries to force the "Roman de Rou" into his service. Mr. Archer, who finds the tapestry in the way of his belief in a palisade, sees the difficulty of forcing it into harmony with Wace, and prefers to postulate a lost *chanson*, "of which we have not," as M. Lanore observes, "the slightest reason to suppose the existence."

Mr. Archer's attack on our "precious monument" fails, we have seen, to receive any support from these critics, and has served only to make it clear how deadly he deems its evidence in the matter of the palisade.

M. Marignan avoids the difficulty by passing over in silence the passage in Wace alleged to denote the palisade, and citing only the lines "a pie furent serrement. . . . Engleis se sunt tenu serre." Of these he says, comparing the tapestry :

L'artiste . . . a suivi à la lettre le récit de Wace . . . Ils sont là fortement serrés, formant un peloton compact.

¹ *Romania*, xxxi. 406.

² Both these critics assume, naturally, that the tapestry was *designed* by a competent man and not left to the "notions of the women who worked it."

³ Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, lxiv. 84, 86.

Of this close order there is certainly no question. As I have elsewhere observed :

No feature of the great battle is more absolutely beyond dispute. It was the denseness of the English ranks that most vividly struck their foes "Shield to shield, and shoulder to shoulder," as Æthelred describes them at the Battle of the Standard, they wedged themselves together so tightly that the wounded could not move, nor even the corpses drop. And so they stood together, the living and the dead.¹

The singular unanimity of the various authorities on this one point is echoed by modern writers. Since I established our *consensus* in the pages of "Feudal England" (pp. 354-8), Sir James Ramsay has observed in his history that

The English, as we take it, established themselves in very dense formation. On this latter point all the writers are agreed. . . . The front rank was formed of mail-clad warriors, their shields closely locked.²

In denying the fact of this close array Mr. Archer remains in eccentric solitude.

But the tapestry does more than depict a close array ; it shows us the English, as Mr. Freeman put it in his very latest study of the battle, fighting "on foot in the close array of the *shield-wall*." This ancient national formation, which to Mr. Archer is anathema, is always described by Mr. Freeman as that in which the English axemen fought. The evident pains which the artist took to indicate, even in the cumbrous stitch-work, this peculiar formation proves that, in Mr. Freeman's words, "the Bayeux tapestry shows Harold's army at Senlac as Harold's army really was." Wace, on the contrary (*pape M. Marignan*), writing at a later date, had probably never beheld, and therefore could not understand, this English formation. We have already seen that the alleged palisade rests, in the last resort, on his authority alone ; but I do not leave the matter there. I have taken the famous disputed passage in which Mr. Freeman first discovered the description

¹ "Feudal England," p. 358.

² "Foundations of England," ii. 26.

of a palisade, and afterwards recognised a description, on the contrary, of "the array of the shield-wall," and by analysing Wace's sources, have traced it clearly to his misapprehension of a passage in which William of Malmesbury describes the English axemen as forming the shield-wall—"conserta ante se scutorum testudine." Wace's metrical and somewhat confused adaptation of this passage shows that he did not understand the character of the "closture," which he says the English formed with their "escuz."¹ Such misapprehensions have sometimes been the source of error. Mr. Freeman traced elsewhere in Wace "a misconception of the words of William of Jumièges," and it is now known that a passage in the Latin *Itinerarium*, which baffled Dr. Stubbs, is the result of the translator misunderstanding his French original.

At the time of the controversy on the "palisade" in the *English Historical Review*, the late editor decided to submit the disputed passage in Wace to M. Gaston Paris and M. Paul Meyer without, he admitted, their seeing my arguments, and, above all, without my evidence that Wace's "source" was here the passage in William of Malmesbury. The agreement of these two eminent scholars was not complete as to the meaning of this confused passage, but a snap verdict was obtained.² M. Meyer, however, guarded himself by adding that it was only provisional, owing to his absence from all his books and the impossibility of his consulting the "Latin sources," from which Wace drew.³ He was subsequently good enough to promise me that my evidence should be examined, and that M. Gaston Paris should reconsider the matter in the light of my discovery of Wace's "source."⁴ But the lamented death of his distinguished colleague has prevented this being done.

¹ "Feudal England," pp. 409-418.

² *Ibid.* pp. 401-2.

³ Je suis en ce moment, pour quelques jours, loin de tous mes livres . . . Je n'ai pas non plus les sources latines de Wace, qui doivent sûrement être prises en considération.—*English Historical Review*, ix. 260.

⁴ "Feudal England," pp. 409-418.

To sum up the whole discussion, the result of M. Marignan's attack and of his critics' replies has been the vindication of the tapestry's position as a genuine relic of the eleventh century and almost certainly of the days of the Conqueror himself. Mr. Freeman's conclusion to that effect has been reinforced by the remark of M. Gaston Paris, that the philological evidence favours its traditional antiquity.¹ He is at one, moreover, with M. Lanore in considering (as others have done before them) the old English final letter which has crept into the name of Gyrrh, together with such forms as "Ælfgyva," as proof of its execution in England or at least by English fingers. For my own part I should here compare the evidence of William's charters, the earliest of which are sometimes written in Anglo-Saxon or contain characters from that tongue.²

It is doubtful if the fascinating problem of the purpose for which the tapestry was worked or of the person who ordered its execution will ever be definitely solved. M. Marignan suggests in his second appendix, on "The Nave of Bayeux Cathedral," that it was really intended not for a church but for the walls of a palace chamber, like that which dealt with the same subject and which Abbot Baudri has described for us in detail as he saw it on the chamber walls of the Conqueror's daughter, Adela. Of its close association from the first with Bishop Odo and his knights there is absolutely no question; but, oddly enough, French scholars hardly seem to have grasped clearly that Tuold, Wadard, and Vitalis, who figure by name on the stitchwork, were actual followers of Odo who held fiefs of him in England. Mr. Freeman insisted upon this fact, which had been detected by Amyot and Lingard, as further evidence of early date, the more so, I may add, as Tuold was dead before Domesday.

¹ Je me permettrai d'ajouter une remarque philologique qui confirme pleinement l'opinion traditionnelle sur l'antiquité de la tenture: la dentale médiale y est constamment conservée dans les noms propres.

² Compare "Feudal England," pp. 421-3, 427; *English Historical Review*, xi. 740; and William's charter to the Londoners.

It is not till the fifteenth century that the tapestry first meets us in records, and we then hear of it as displayed at festivals round the nave of Bayeux Cathedral. That Napoleon in far later days carried it off to Paris in order to stir his people to a fresh conquest of England is a fairly well-known fact; but that it served in its Norman home to keep alive, throughout the Middle Ages, the proud traditions of the Duchy is suggested by the tale of an earlier enterprise. In 1039, by formal treaty with their sovereign, the Norman people, through their representatives, agreed to conquer England anew in return for a charter confirming their peculiar privileges and liberties. Four thousand men - at - arms and twenty thousand footmen were deemed sufficient for the job, and careful provision was made for dividing the spoils. Keen bargainers then as now, the Normans stipulated that the charter, bearing the King's seal, should be given them before they started. They duly got their charter; but they did not conquer England. From the ports of the Duchy, a year later, there sailed as great a fleet as that which William had assembled, but only to meet its fate at the hands of the English King in the smashing victory of Sluys.¹

J. HORACE ROUND.

¹ For this curious episode in Norman history, see Coville's "Les États de Normandie" (1894), pp. 47-52

LIBERAL CLUBS AND THE LIBERAL PARTY

IN the August number of the *Nineteenth Century* I endeavoured to prove how much better the Tory party is served by its Press than is the Liberal party by the organs that do battle for it. In this article I propose to show that in another important sphere of political activity—namely, the party clubs—Liberals are at a scarcely less considerable disadvantage. It will be found, I think, that the same causes that have contributed for some years past to a lessened efficiency of the Liberal Press are also responsible for the club as a political instrument having become weaker in the hands of the Liberals than in those of the Tories. These causes are: divided counsels in the party, and a neglect on the part of those to whom the rank and file look for initiative and guidance to stimulate the social side of politics. It may also be urged that the clubable spirit is not so general among Liberals as among Conservatives; but probably a sounder explanation as to the undoubted preponderance of Conservative over Liberal clubs is that the Conservative rank and file have more money to spend on clubs than the Liberal rank and file.

In London there are eight principal clubs devoted to the furtherance of the Conservative cause, against six—including Brooks's, which, however, is Liberal by tradition rather than by constitution—which exist for the promotion of Liberalism.

But in membership the Tory clubs have an even greater superiority, as the following list will show. The Conservative eight comprise the Carlton, the oldest of them all, with a permitted membership of 1800; the Junior Carlton, with 2100 members; the City Carlton, with 1000; the Conservative, with 1300; the Constitutional, with 6500; the Junior Constitutional and the Junior Conservative, with 5500 each; and the Primrose (though some may dispute its right to inclusion among the principal clubs), with 5000; or a total membership of 28,700. The Carlton (established in 1832), the fount and inspiration of the Tory party, has, like Brooks's, no word in its constitution as to the politics to be professed by its members, and the rules of the Conservative Club (founded eight years later) are equally innocent of any political allusion. In the case of the younger clubs, however, there is no room for doubt as to the object of their foundation. The Junior Carlton, for example, is described as "a political club in strict connection with the Conservative party, and designed to promote its objects," and it is added: "The only persons eligible for admission are those who profess Conservative principles, and acknowledge the recognised leaders of the Conservative party." The City Carlton is described as "a club in connection with the Conservative party, and designed to promote its objects," and its members must pledge themselves to support "Conservative and sound Constitutional principles"; while, the better to carry out its political objects, its rules provide for the compulsory retirement of any member who is proved to have "acted in opposition to the principles upon which the club has been established." The Constitutional and the Junior Constitutional make equally precise profession of their political faith.

Against this phalanx the half-dozen principal London Liberal clubs—and for the moment I exclude the local and suburban clubs—can only set a nominal membership of 10,850; and even this figure is not actually reached, the largest of the clubs—the National Liberal—being under its

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complement by a few hundreds. The Liberal clubs are : Brooks's (the oldest of all political clubs, its foundation dating back to 1764), with a membership of 650 ; the Reform, with 1400 members ; the Devonshire, with 1200 (nominal) ; the City Liberal, with 900 ; the National Liberal, with a permitted membership of 6000 ; and the Eighty (which, however, has no club-house), with some 700.

It will be seen that in mere weight of numbers London Liberalism stands at about the same disadvantage towards its Tory rival in its club organisation as it does in its Press. And as the Conservative Press of the metropolis is not only numerically greater but more cohesive than the Liberal Press, so are the Conservative clubs—notwithstanding the present division of the Tory party on the fiscal question—more united in their political aim than those of the opposite school of thought. The reason, of course, is not far to seek, the unfortunate split of 1886 having, without a single exception, divided each Liberal club against itself. The division has happily become fainter of recent years, has indeed, so far as its original bitterness is concerned, ceased to exist ; but it has left behind it an anomalous condition of things that renders it possible for members of Liberal clubs—some of them occupying the position of Vice-President or Trustee—not only to sit on the Tory benches of the House of Commons, but to be active members of the Conservative Government, to fight constituencies in the “Unionist” interest, and perhaps even to contest a seat in Parliament against a fellow-member of a club having Liberalism as its root-principle.

I desire, as far as possible, to say nothing in this article calculated to wound the feelings of gentlemen who find themselves members of clubs which nominally exist for the furtherance of principles which these members feel constrained to oppose in the country and in Parliament. But such a state of things, it is obvious, is destructive of all party discipline. It reduces one of the two great parties in the State to the condition of an army in the field which is partly composed of

men and officers from the enemy's camp. Let us take as an example the two clubs that offer the most conspicuous evidence of this—the Reform and the Devonshire—the political influence of both of which, and notably of the latter, has been almost completely destroyed during the past twenty years, owing to their members being allowed, so long as they do not dub themselves Conservatives, but assume the label of Liberal Unionists, to oppose Liberals—and, as I have said, possibly fellow-members—at the polls, to sit on the Ministerial benches of the House of Commons, to act on all occasions with the Government, and even, as at the present moment, to hold high and lucrative posts in the most reactionary Tory Administration of modern times. The plain man, with no previous knowledge of the circumstances that gave rise to this tragi-farcical situation, would probably denounce it as a discreditable scandal, and might have even harsher things to say of the gentlemen who continue to enjoy the amenities provided by the club of their earlier choice, while rendering political services to, and perhaps taking emoluments from, the opposite side. But it is not difficult to find excuses for the politicians thus peculiarly situated. They have paid a substantial entrance fee and have presumably become attached to their club, and they have the sanction, explicit or implicit, of that club for their Jekyll and Hyde political existence. It was, I believe, confidently anticipated, even by those who took the gloomiest view of the revolt in 1886, that the breach would gradually close up, as its cause receded into the background and the original seceders died or retired from public life. Instead of this, “Liberal Unionism” has year by year become a more complete Parliamentary organisation, growing in numbers and in influence, and practically indistinguishable from Toryism. There is, of course, nothing immoral in any number of Parliamentarians changing their political allegiance when their motives are as honest as those which prompted the Duke of Devonshire and his followers to leave the Liberal camp. The mistake has been in allowing the abnormal state of things thus created to

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continue without making any real effort to unclasp the hand that was choking Liberalism.

Blame cannot justly be imputed to the governing bodies of the Liberal clubs for deciding that a member's views on Home Rule should not be allowed to prejudice his membership. So long as the Liberal Unionist M.P.s remained a quasi-independent body, co-operating with their former political friends whenever questions of Liberal principle were at stake, there was always some hope that the chasm might be bridged. The respective Club Committees, therefore, cannot, as I say, be blamed for letting things drift in the early days of the secession, even though they cannot have failed to see that with each succeeding Session of Parliament the prospect of reunion became fainter. It must, indeed, have been obvious to every politician, after the fall of the Rosebery Cabinet in 1895, that all hope of the Liberal Unionists rejoining the Liberal party as a body must be abandoned. And yet, in the intervening nine years, no attempt has been made by the Liberal clubs to regain their former freedom of action.

After all, with the exception of Brooks's, which, as already noted, is silent in its constitution on the question of politics, all the five remaining principal London Liberal clubs explicitly state their attachment to the Liberal cause. Let us take the next oldest to Brooks's—the Reform. Founded in 1837, the Reform, in its written constitution, lays down that its members must be "Reformers," equivalent, in the political language of the time, to saying that they must be Liberals, since the party divisions in the first reformed House of Commons (1833) were Tories, Reformers (who comprised some three-fifths of the whole House), Radicals, and Repealers (Irish), the description "Liberal," though it had come into use some years before, having been applied to those whose Parliamentary attitude was one of independence. One of the rules of the Reform Club—no doubt a subsequent interpolation—also provides for the selected election of candidates "who have proved their attachment to the Liberal cause by marked and obvious

services rendered to it." But the fact that members of the Reform Club are not required to subscribe to any special political formula, since as a party expression the term "Reformer" has become meaningless, may seem to tie the hands of the governing body in prohibiting members of the club from serving the party to which the club has always stood in official opposition. A similar condition of affairs, however, did not prevent the late Mr. Gladstone, after he had turned his back on Toryism, but was still a member of the Carlton, from having his expulsion from the club moved by an embittered Tory nobleman, though the club, I believe, declined to take action. At the same time he was made to feel that his continued presence was undesirable, and, on one occasion, in 1852, it is said that certain hot-headed young members used insulting language to him and vowed that he ought to be pitched headlong out of window into the Reform. Happily for their own credit and that of the club, the threat was not executed, and Mr. Gladstone resigned his membership in 1859.

It would be presumptuous of me to suggest, in the pages of this Review, how its former usefulness and importance should be reacquired by what was the first, and should still be the most influential, centre of Liberal political activity; but it is obvious that so long as its governing body includes gentlemen who are acting in complete union with a Conservative Government, the Reform is doomed to political sterility.

But if there is anomaly at the Reform, there is confusion worse confounded at the Devonshire, which, moreover, in the first of its rules, announces that the club is "in strict connection with, and designed to promote the objects of, the Liberal party. Those persons only are eligible for admission who, entertaining Liberal principles, recognise individual freedom of political opinion, combined with unity in party action." Even the qualification that the club is founded "on a broad basis" seems inadequate to justify so many of its members holding high office in the present Government, where it can

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hardly be their intention, whatever may be the result of their Parliamentary acts, "to promote the objects of the Liberal party." I do not believe that any Conservative club would tolerate for one moment a condition of things that renders it possible for any two of its members to oppose one another at the polls, or to sit on opposite sides of the House, each in complete loyalty to the two great parties of the State. The views of the non-Parliamentary member, or the member with no Parliamentary aspiration, may perhaps be ignored, but it is obvious that no political club can retain a vestige of usefulness if it admits to its innermost counsels members of the party to which it is officially opposed, or suffers them to stand as "Unionists" against Liberal candidates who may be—and in any case are politically eligible to become—members of the same club.

The "individual freedom of political opinion" gravely extended to its members by the Devonshire Club is exercised, though to a much less extent, by the members of the City Liberal Club and the National Liberal Club, and—to a still smaller extent—by the adherents of the Eighty Club, the finest fighting force that the Liberal Party possesses. The City Liberal, however, has, in spite of the immense number of "Liberal Unionists" among its members, never ceased to count as a valuable Liberal asset, thanks, in a great measure, to Lord Rosebery's close connection with it. The National Liberal, as befits a club that hallows the name of Gladstone, though it did not pass scathless through the fiery ordeal of 1886, has remained the great rallying-ground for the younger generation of Liberals and Radicals, and it is of incalculable benefit to the party at large. Its educative effect is considerable, and though its numbers—considerable though they be—are fewer than its great Conservative rivals in Northumberland Avenue and Piccadilly, its influence is probably farther reaching, as its political earnestness is undoubtedly greater. But the real missionary work of the Liberal party is done by the homeless Eighty Club, a body with which the Tories have

nothing to compare, though an attempt is now being made, under the name of the Compatriots' Club, to create a rival organisation. The object of the Eighty Club is, briefly stated, "the promotion of the Liberal cause in the House of Commons and at Parliamentary Elections," and with over eighty of its seven hundred members with seats in the House of Commons, and nearly two hundred of them candidates for Parliament, it cannot be reproached with being untrue to its professions. Ready at all times to send out speakers and workers, particularly at bye-elections, and admirably organised, it would not be easy to exaggerate the value of the Eighty Club to the Liberal party.

In the foregoing I have dealt exclusively with the London Liberal clubs of standing and of settled existence. To these may perhaps be added the New Reform Club, which, though of very recent growth, may yet become a useful addition to the Liberal forces of the metropolis. Originating in the divisions caused by the South African War in the ranks of the Liberal party, the New Reform Club directs its energies especially against aggression abroad and militarism at home. In its propaganda, which is carried on with considerable vigour, it is sectional rather than comprehensive, and perhaps as a result its condition at the time of writing is one of some financial embarrassment. A recent appeal, indeed, made it clear that unless funds were more liberally forthcoming its work would have to cease.

Needless to say, there are in addition several hundred political clubs attached to both parties scattered throughout the Parliamentary divisions of London and the provinces. Among the number are a few that approximate, in local importance and social standing, to some of the London clubs, and notably the Liverpool Reform, the Manchester Reform, and the Scottish Liberal. But, for the most part, the local or provincial political club, whether Liberal or Conservative, is a modest concern, usually with a nominal subscription; and the reproach is often—and not always unjustly—levelled against it

that it is little better than an unlicensed drinking-house. Certainly neither side has made the best use of this material, nor is free from responsibility for the undesirable state of many of these so-called political clubs. In the majority of cases they are nominally controlled by the local political association, when there is one; but, owing to the absence of real authority exercised by the latter, not infrequently the clubs are a source of weakness rather than of strength to the Liberals. The Conservative and Constitutional clubs are, to some extent, controlled and helped by the Association of Conservative Clubs; but although a few Liberal and Radical clubs are affiliated to the National Liberal Federation, which entitles them to send each a delegate to the annual conference, the clubs themselves are under no official control or supervision from headquarters. This absence of direct relationship may have contributed somewhat to cause the disparity in numbers between the clubs of the two parties, which, so far as can be gathered from imperfect data, is much the same in the provinces as it is in the metropolis. One cause that has undoubtedly checked their numerical development on the Liberal side is the very strong objection entertained by many leading local Liberals to the sale of intoxicating liquors in them. Some few provincial Liberal clubs contrive, it is true, to exist on strict teetotal lines, but apparently they do not grow in numbers or influence, and candour compels the admission that in the vast majority of instances the local members or the wealthier local Liberals have to be laid under contribution to keep them alive. No such disability seems to attach to the lesser Conservative clubs; and it is worthy of note that in most English provincial towns in which only one political club exists, that club is found to be Conservative, even though there may be no great disproportion in the local strength of the two political parties. It is, indeed, not to be disputed that the Conservatives have utilised for party ends, to a far greater extent than the Liberals, man's natural gregariousness, though in such educational work as is done by both sides—

unimportant as this is in extent—the advantage certainly lies with the Liberals. But no one can have familiarised himself with the working of the average local political club without being struck by its ineffectiveness. What should be a centre of political activity is too frequently a lounge—better than the public-house certainly, but filling no higher place in men's lives—where the drink is probably better, even if it is not cheaper, and cards, billiards, and smoking concerts are the chief attractions. It is, at present, open to any few residents to start a political club without reference to the leaders of the party and without giving any pledge to act in communion with them.

This is a matter that calls urgently for reform. The good work that such clubs could do under proper guidance is incalculable. Too often, at present, clubs that have been formed in a wave of Liberal enthusiasm have, from want of a guiding hand, drifted into a condition of political uselessness, and become mere unlicensed rivals to the local public-houses. This reproach might easily be removed if Parliament Street could arrange to exercise constant supervision over all clubs calling themselves Liberal or Radical. It should insist upon an annual return of receipts and expenditure, and of political work done, and should refuse recognition to those clubs which have no proved political utility. The work of supervision and local control could be best done by county committees, who would act under the central authority. The clubs themselves—those of them, that is to say, that are worth anything—would, I am convinced, welcome the establishment of closer relations with London, and, this accomplished, it would be an easy matter to arrange for political lectures and debates that would give these organisations what they now almost entirely lack, namely, a real educational value.

W. J. FISHER.

(Late Editor of the *Daily Chronicle*.)

MOUNTAINEERING ACCIDENTS

ANOTHER fine summer, though broken by spells of storm and snow, has, we fear, been mostly barren, except for accidents. As usual, the number of these has been greatly exaggerated. It must always be remembered that, in some foreign newspapers, the "butcher's bill" of the Alps plays the rôle of the gigantic gooseberry in our own "silly season." The craze for exaggeration has, in late years, reached colossal dimensions, the record being held at present by the *Journal de Bex*, which in 1899 announced six hundred and fifty-three deaths in the Alps! No such preposterous claim on the credulity of readers has, so far as we are aware, been made this year, but a statement that over three hundred persons have perished in the pursuit of mountaineering has found its way into the English Press. A careful examination of the official records of the Swiss, German, Austrian and French clubs shows that the true tale is very different. If we take the whole year, including the winter months, and if we allow as mountaineering accidents the loss of life on cliffs which, like the fatal Raxalpe, are under six thousand feet in height, the death-roll scarcely exceeds a hundred. Even from this lower figure there are substantial deductions to be made before we arrive at the tally of mountaineering accidents, properly so-called, accidents, that is, not necessarily on the high mountains, but to people endeavouring to climb some sort of a peak or ridge, or traverse some sort of a mountain pass. The number of these that we have to

exclude is really considerable. There are falls on safe and frequented mule-paths, and even in the vicinity of carriage-roads. There are slips of strollers, of botanists, of geologists, of edelweiss gatherers—this last class includes unfortunately many native children—of farm hands, and of soldiers leaving safe paths to make short cuts to their destination. Lastly, there are the most fatuous accidents of all, when perfectly ignorant trippers go playing about on a glacier, fall into a crevasse, and are killed or frozen to death. These really belong to the same category as street accidents in London. But, after all such have been eliminated, we think it is clearly established that the sport of climbing has this year been responsible for some sixty or seventy deaths, counting those which occurred last month. An enormous majority of these are signalled from the mountainous districts of Bavaria, Tirol, and Styria, loosely designated as the Eastern Alps. Very few occurred among the snow mountains at all. Not a dozen guides have been killed, a fact which by itself is eloquent. In fact, the climbers, who lost their lives, in the High Alps were less than twenty in number. Chief among these fatalities were those which occurred on the Doldenhorn, the Vorder Selbsanft, the Tödi, the Cimon della Pala, in the Laaser group of the Ortler, on the Gabelhorn, and the Grand Paradis. Practically all the other deaths occurred on minor peaks, at heights ranging from four to eight thousand feet, and, in an immense majority of cases, to solitary, unroped, or guideless climbers.

The most striking accidents were those of the Gabelhorn and the Grand Paradis. In the former case a German professor, with an excellent guide from the Sulden Thal, was climbing by the usual route from Zermatt. The rocks are not hard, though there are a few slabs or platten to be negotiated on the left-hand side of the arête, near the top. The guide followed some easier-looking rocks on the right hand, which turned out to be rotten. One of these came away, and both he and his Herr lost their lives. Though ignorance of local

conditions may have contributed, such an accident may fairly be regarded as ill-luck. We fear that we cannot say the same of the catastrophe on the Grand Paradis. This, the most terrible accident of the year, happened on September 2nd, to four guideless Englishmen, who all lost their lives. The party consisted of Messrs. Clay, Wright, Winterbotham, and Meryon. None of them were novices—we believe two were members of the English Club—and the leader, Mr. Clay, had many years' experience. The mountain, which is the culminating-point of the Graians, the group of elegant peaks which dominate Victor Emmanuel's famous ibex "forest," is not difficult. Under normal conditions, with the snow in good order, the ascent from the Val Savaranche is one that might reasonably be undertaken by a well-found party of amateurs. They had slept at the Victor Emmanuel Hut, at the southwest foot of the mountain, and started at 4 A.M. by the ordinary route, skirting the Roc du Grand Paradis. They gained the top, which is a moderately steep snow-crest, in good time. They did not, however, return by the same route, but started down the north arête, evidently bent on traversing the ridge which joins the Grand to the Petit Paradis. The smaller peak is only about five hundred feet lower than the higher, and the Col, or lowest point of the ridge between the two peaks, is not very deep. This was safely reached, and the party commenced the ascent of the Petit Paradis. They were seen on this ridge through a telescope from Cogne, and all seemed going well. After a certain time it was noticed that they had turned back and were descending again. They got back to the Col and recommenced the ascent of the steeper ridge to the top of the Grand Paradis. About half an hour from the summit they disappeared from view. Their bodies were found on the southern arm of the Lavetiau Glacier, about fifteen hundred feet below. As is commonly the case with ridges of this character, it is not practicable always to keep along the crest, but in places it is safer to cut steps a few feet on one side or the other. Apparently it was during a

traverse of this character, and at a spot where the ice-slope below falls sharply away, that they must have fallen. They had slipped right down the ice-slope and across some broken rocks, the bodies jumping the bergschrund and coming to rest on the ice, then covered with comparatively fresh snow. They were wearing crampons, were roped, and had cut steps in descending the arête two hours before.

It is, of course, impossible to speak positively of the immediate cause of this catastrophe. But the turning back when they were nearing the top of the Petit Paradis indicates that they had found the snow in a dangerous condition. In view of what the weather had been it could hardly have been otherwise. A month's long spell of hot and cloudless weather, that turned the rock mountains black, and made many snow slopes icy, had come to an end about ten days before. From August 20, when the break occurred, snow fell intermittently for two or three days. On the 26th it turned fair again; hot days succeeded, and the snow melted rapidly. But on the night of the 31st a great storm of rain, sleet, and snow burst over the Graians. Snow fell rapidly to the depth of ten inches or more on both sides of the Alps. At the height of the Paradis ridge this snow must have been powdery on September 2nd. Indeed, owing to the insufficient frosts, it remained at this height, "like sawdust," as late as the 7th of the month, or, where it lay on ice, had turned to a crust. Such snow on an icy ridge is exceedingly dangerous, and steps, to be safe, have to be cut right through into the hard surface below—a slow and laborious process which human nature is inclined to shirk. Two hours earlier, on that fatal morning, when they descended the ridge, there may have been just frost enough, on the western side, where the accident happened, to make the snow hold without deep cutting. Two hours later, when they re-ascended, the sun may have just melted it to the slipping-point and turned the staircase into a death-trap. It is in matters like this, in gauging the safety of the snow, or reading the signs of the weather, that the judgment of an experienced

guide, even if he be only second-rate, is more valuable than that of any amateur. After all, the amateur is only learning, for some six weeks or so, in those years in which he can climb steadily. The guide is at it for at least sixteen weeks in every summer, and in every year from his boyhood on. Even the winter teaches him something about snow.

Of late years a chapter or schedule of accidents has become an annual feature in most Alpine journals, although since 1900, the year of Mr. Cockin's death on the Weisshorn, this useful practice has been abandoned by the English Club. We have, however, tolerably complete records from 1860 to 1899 inclusive; nor do we find that the other sources of information available indicate any marked change during the last five years, either in the proportion of mountaineering fatalities, or in the causes of those fatalities, most of them having befallen guideless or unroped climbers. Exact statistics are wanting, but, subject to necessary qualifications, the following figures are approximately true:

In the twenty seasons from 1860 to 1879 (inclusive) there were sixty-five fatal mountaineering accidents; in the twenty seasons from 1880 to 1899 (inclusive) there were a hundred and seventy. The due proportion is remarkable because, in the earlier years of the first period, laws—which we now regard as axiomatic—were not universally accepted even by guides. Thus, in 1860, four lives were lost on the Col du Géant owing to the rope being held in the hands instead of tied round the bodies of the guides; while in 1862, Bennen (Tyndall's famous guide) was smothered by an avalanche on the Haut de Cry, through the party's wading across a steep slope of loose winter snow, and so letting the upper layer slide over the lower. Such accidents, we may say, are no longer possible. The average for the earlier period is, moreover, made abnormally high by the accidents which were largely due to bad weather. One such occurred in 1860 on Mont Blanc, when Captain Arkwright's party were swept away on the "Ancien passage," which, as Mr. Matthew's puts it, is, in bad weather, "the play-

ground of avalanches." Again, in 1870, eleven persons were frozen to death in a snowstorm, near the grand plateau. In fact, to three years of broken weather, in this period, eighteen out of the sixty-five deaths belong. One other fact is to be noted : only nine guideless climbers came to their deaths during this period.

When we come to the years from 1880 to 1899, not only does the death-rate rise, speaking roughly, from three to eight per annum for the whole period, but the years of bad weather, taken as a whole, are not the most fatal, and this though the period includes 1890, the year of storms, during which eleven men of the guide class lost their lives. But the accidents to guideless climbers have multiplied exceedingly. In 1895, of fourteen parties which met with fatal accidents, ten were without guides. In 1896, out of eight accidents five befell guideless parties. In 1897 six guideless climbers and in 1898 twenty-three came to their deaths, and the same cause accounts for fourteen fatalities in 1899. To these must be added the deaths due to the neglect of the rope, which, though fewer, are too numerous. The result of our inquiry is that, in the first half of the forty years under review, guideless climbing was responsible for barely one-fifth of the accidents, in the second half it was responsible for three-fifths. The facts speak for themselves.

Yet it must not be supposed that climbing without guides (of which solitary climbing is the most dangerous form) may not be perfectly reasonable. It is simply a question of competence. The pioneers of the practice were exceptional men, and they had been through a thorough apprenticeship under first-rate guides. The English section of them, at any rate, worked strictly within their powers. They were specially prudent in regard to the weather. So, too, the first solitary climbers were men of great experience and took extraordinary care. Of course it will not be denied that there have been, and are, amateurs as skilful as third-rate, or possibly as second-rate guides ; yet as a body they have not been fortunate

Dr. Emil Czizmondy was one of the best; he was killed on the Meije. M. Thorant was another brilliant climber, who alone had forced the Mauvais Pas on the southern Aiguille d'Arves; he was also killed, with a friend, on the Meije. Herr Winkler, the conqueror of the Cina della Madonna, was second to no cragsman in the Dolomites. In August 1888 he started for the Weisshorn from Zinal. He has never returned. If there has been this heavy death-roll among these highly qualified and exceptional climbers, is it surprising that among their heedless and ignorant imitators it should be more heavy still? It is a commonplace that a youth who has paid one or two visits to Switzerland, knows all that is worth knowing about it. If, with one guide in front and another behind, he has been up a big mountain or two, he knows more than all about it, though, in fact, wholly incapable of cutting a way up an elementary ice-fall, or finding a good line of descent down an easy broken cliff. It is his omniscience that the Alps make fun of. He goes out to play a game with the mountains, but they give no points, so he is beaten and killed. It is really a form of suicide, and if these cases of suicide be subtracted from the sum total, it will be found that the ratio of accidents to expeditions is little larger than formerly. It is only reasonable to expect some slight increase, having regard to the many factors that make for it.

Of course the enormously increased vogue of mountaineering counts for much. Climbing is no longer confined to those who love it, or have some aptitude for it. It is largely a fashion, and to picnic among seracs is *chic*. Then the multiplication of huts greatly encourages guideless parties, particularly Swiss and Germans. In fine weather they do exceedingly well, dodging from one hut to another over well-marked tracks; but occasionally they get caught, as on the terrible occasion on the Jungfrau, when six young Swiss perished on the Roththal Sattel. There is also the pernicious practice, long established in the Tirol, but now making its way in Switzerland, of marking the route up mountains or to the edge of a glacier,

by dabs of red paint. It is noteworthy that in the Eastern Alps, where this marking is customary, the accidents to guides, and particularly to solitary climbers, are most numerous; and, in fact, it will be found that quite thirty per cent. of these last occur on mountains which are *markirt*.

It is somewhat shocking to find ourselves in the present year of grace, with the Jubilee of the Alpine Club approaching, discussing the exact proportion which catastrophes in the Alps bear to Alpine expeditions. There was some excuse for the climbers forty years back, there is none for the climbers to-day. Then the rules of mountaineering had barely been accepted; they have, long since, become as well known and indisputable as the Ten Commandments. Yet a few years back Mr. C. E. Matthews, the most experienced amateur living, declared, that, of one hundred and fifty accidents, the details of which he had examined, nearly every one was traceable "to ignorance, rashness, and carelessness, or the culpable neglect of well-known precautions." This means that the rules of mountaineering had been systematically broken. Mountaineers, and those who are not mountaineers also, do well to admire the dash and skill exhibited by the modern school of climbers. A real advance has been made in the cragsman's art. Ice-craft has been more systematised, and this knowledge is more widely developed, though mostly among guides. But the modern climber seems to fail to take sufficiently to heart the golden maxim that the good climber is the safe climber. The notion that, nowadays, the dangers of mountaineering are materially lessened, or do not exist, is the most foolish and dangerous of paradoxes. Stones and ice-enamelled rocks, and avalanches, and tottering seracs, have still to be counted with as in the early days of mountaineering, and thin crusts of snow on sheets of ice still require care in the afternoon.

That climbing is attended with a certain amount of risk is undeniable; no amount of skill or daring can do away with this stubborn fact. All the grandest sports contain some element of danger. It is part of their charm. But prudence

and knowledge can reduce it to very small dimensions, and this is their justification. Still, as mountaineering is essentially a sport like hunting or polo, the limits of legitimate risk are easily reached. To be always taking your life in your hand for the fun of the thing, is worse than immoral—it is vulgar.

REGINALD HUGHES.

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THE LAW OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

SOME years ago a picture appeared in *Punch*, headed "Ibsen in Brixton," depicting a gaunt and unattractive lady leaving her home in that neighbourhood with all her luggage, while informing her diminutive husband (who has collapsed on a chair) that, after considering the situation carefully, she is resolved to be his "doll and dicky-bird" no longer. At the present time such an incident might not perhaps seem impossible, if the artist had selected rather different models; but if the picture had appeared forty years ago, and one of Mr. Leech's young ladies was seen leaving her whiskered husband on similar grounds, we should at once recognise an absurdity that was no longer even plausible. For this there may be a reason less obvious than the fact that Ibsen and similar writers were not read in the period in question. Seed cannot germinate in the wrong soil; and Ibsen's most caustic satires on the position of a middle-class married woman could hardly have induced even the lady at Brixton to desert her husband if she had to leave her luggage and her parrot behind, and remain away while he collected and spent her income. As the inhabitants of remoter places than Brixton have realised, the legal relations of husband and wife as regards property have been materially altered during the nineteenth century; but the legislative revolution in this respect has, perhaps, not yet been fully understood. In fact, so different are the marriage con-

tracts of now and a hundred years ago that it would require a fair casuist to defend their moral consistency.

This needs further explanation, for the outward indications of it are not very apparent. We see that even now husbands and wives usually contrive to live together in amity; and though a woman may have more voice in the disposition of her property than formerly, she could always have had a settlement insuring that she received her own income. Nor has the ideal founded on the Ecclesiastical Law of the permanent union of one man to one woman been abrogated. Provisions contemplating a future separation are still unlawful in ante-nuptial contracts; and an Englishman might give the same answer to an inquirer now as a hundred or a thousand years ago when catechised as to his domestic relations. He would say that his system was founded on the ancient law of Christendom; and he would probably use the word "monogamy" if his vocabulary contained it.

He would speak in good faith; but, to clear up misconception, it must be pointed out that the word "monogamy" merely misleads, for it has no exact meaning. To prove this, let us conceive of two states where different laws of marriage prevail. Suppose that in the first there is an enforceable and enforced law that conjugal unfaithfulness is punished by death, that widows and widowers are not allowed to remarry, and that all ante-nuptial immorality (we are apt to lose sight of the fact that this is a fundamental violation of any marriage law) is sternly suppressed by the same penalty; and that in the second nation immorality is not punished (which might almost be said to be the case in England, when both offenders are unmarried), and that, though a man may only marry one wife at a time, the marriage can instantly be dissolved at the wish of both parties, or even of either. To an inhabitant of the latter state, who called his law "monogamic," an Englishman might reply with some justice that "promiscuity" was an apter term for relations so elastic; but the dweller under the former laws might equally point out to our countryman some of his com-

patriots with one present and more than one former wife, all living, in addition to those with whom irregular unions might have been formed before or between the marriages, and insist that, whatever other word might be applicable to our marriage laws and customs, "monogamy" was not appropriate. It will thus be seen that between the strictest monogamy possible and the loosest to which the term can be applied there is so much difference that the word ceases to have any significance, except that it forbids one individual to have simultaneous contracts. If a man could marry one day and be divorced the next, it is hardly too much to say that he would be unfettered; and if a man can marry once a year, or oftener (as theoretically and in appropriate circumstances he can in England), we may mark a considerable step from a rigid and inflexible principle. As to what system is the best is for the moralist to determine by theory and the statesman (apparently) by experiment; the present object is merely to show the trend of modern legislation and the results that have accrued from grafting it on the ancient law.

Another point to be observed in considering different marriage laws (as we may briefly, if not quite accurately call the legal relations between husband and wife after the ceremony has been performed), is that any inequality or inconsistency in the restrictions imposed, logical neither from the point of view of the strict moralist nor the advocate of freedom, is often attended with results that are similarly unsatisfactory. If, for instance, a man could not lawfully insist on his wife living with him, but in no circumstances could deprive her of her right of support if she chose to come back, he might justly complain of a law which allowed a false friend to await his marriage, run away with his wife and leave her when he had tired of her with an undiminished right to her husband's society and protection. In this case the law-abiding man would be punished, the law-breaker rewarded; similarly, if the wife was bound and the husband free, and with no duty to support her, the position would be intolerable.

We can now investigate the changes in our English law more closely. A hundred years ago a wealthy lady usually made a settlement of her property before marriage, and the device of the "restraint on anticipation" which arose at the beginning of the nineteenth century ensured that she received her income herself—or at least that she had power to do so after she had lost confidence in her husband. But for one reason or another a settlement was not always possible; and if a wife came into property after marriage not settled to her "separate use" the husband received it. He was always bound to support her: but the measure of support being left to his own discretion, he might have spent a small fraction of her income on the joint establishment and gambled the rest away if he were so minded. If she objected to such treatment and left him she was liable to imprisonment; and, apart from this, as he received her income she became destitute if she deserted him so long as he was not guilty of such gross cruelty or misconduct as to bring him within the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Furthermore, it was generally supposed that he was entitled to restrain his wife's liberty if she contemplated leaving him; and well within the nineteenth century a gentleman was held perfectly within his rights in acting on this supposition. And in the eighteenth century a husband who promised his wife to allow her to live apart from him was not even bound to fulfil his promise, for deeds of separation were only beginning to be recognised as enforceable by law at about the beginning of the nineteenth.

A few gross instances of abuse led Parliament to recognise that these laws often dealt injustice to women and occasionally to men; the consequence being that the various Divorce and Married Women's Property Acts were passed, modifying the nuptial contract to that now prevailing. To understand the significance of the changes, let us now refer back to Mr. Punch's heroine, who read "Ibsen," and consider her position as a woman married at the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century.

A lady sufficiently advanced to read Norwegian drama would, no doubt, be well acquainted with the "Clitheroe Case"; and she therefore knows that she has a perfect right to leave her husband whenever she likes without any lawful interference by him. The parrot and portmanteau being her separate property, she lawfully takes with her. In the usual case that would conclude the situation; but we will suppose that the injured husband, remembering that there is no wrong without a remedy, goes to the Divorce Court to obtain one. Such as it is, it is forthcoming; and, armed with a decree for the "Restitution of Conjugal Rights," he has renewed hopes of making things unpleasant for his errant partner. But, alas! he can no longer have her put into prison; he cannot get a divorce for simple desertion; and when he tries to console himself for her loss by an order giving him a slice of her income, he finds that she has been prudent rather than precipitate in her departure, and has had it all settled on herself without allowing her to anticipate it, so that he cannot touch a penny. Whereupon he doubtless goes to the United States of America, gets domiciled and a lightning divorce in that enterprising republic, and eventually settles down in Turkey, where dicky-birds stay in their cages and dolls have no access to Scandinavian literature.

It must be admitted, on the other hand, that a husband can now desert his wife without being liable to go to prison if he will not return to her; but as she can at once get him deprived of a substantial portion of his income in her own favour—sometimes even of one-half—the law seems to ensure that he shall leave her for some better reason than mere caprice.

Now, the chief purposes of marriage, which are stated straightforwardly in the "Service for the Solemnisation of Matrimony" in our Prayer-books, and are recognised as such even if the ceremony is a civil one, are impossible of fulfilment if the parties live apart and never see each other, so that it is not too much to say that the contract is broken when this

happens. Hence we arrive at the conclusion that in an ordinary case a woman can now put an end to her marriage vows at any time she pleases, and while "faithful" to her husband (using this word in the narrow Divorce Court sense) can live apart from him indefinitely without inconvenient legal consequences; and that if she does go away the husband is left a widower, who may not remarry.

Before nineteenth-century legislation (which surely forms a graceful monument of chivalry to our masculine legislators), the fundamental conception underlying the legal aspect of marriage was the right of the husband to his wife's company in consideration of that of the wife to his support and protection. The former right was amply, or perhaps excessively, safeguarded by his powers over her unsettled property and ability to compel her to live with him by force, or even under fear of imprisonment. The wife's right to support, though not so well secured as her husband's rights over her, could not, however, be absolutely disregarded by him with impunity.

At the present time the safeguards of the husband's right to his wife's society have so completely vanished that the right may be said to be non-existent. But the wife's right to her husband's support is always enforceable so long as she does not voluntarily forfeit it.

We are thus left with an arrangement where one party is bound and the other is free, which, applied to other transactions, is sometimes called an "option." It may be said that legally the wife has an option to her husband's support if and so long as she fulfils the condition of living with him. The husband (in the case put) continues under liability as long as she pleases, but has no rights after she ceases to fulfil the condition.

At this point is it not justifiable to say that our law is not at present a strictly logical one, and that either we have gone too far in freedom or not far enough? The union of one man to one woman for better or for worse till death parts them is intelligible in logic and principle, and was fairly well ensured by the English laws of the eighteenth century, though in some

bygone ages and other climes the adulterer and adulteress and even the incontinent suffered far heavier punishment than we have ever meted out to them since we have become a civilised nation. But the essence of that law is that the parties must fulfil their duties to each other, and that one party must not be allowed at will to break so solemn a contract while the other remains ready and willing to perform it. Starting from such premises, it follows that the obvious difficulties of enforcing the specific performance of the marriage contract, and the repugnance of modern humanity to compel a woman to live with a man for whom she has ceased to feel affection, should not be allowed to override and defeat justice. If a husband is ready to fulfil the duties he has undertaken on marriage, and has done nothing to forfeit his rights, it seems reasonable that he should be able to enforce them. For this purpose, statutory power for him to receive the whole of her income if and so long as she ceases to reside with him might be effective, if less far-reaching than his former rights over her property. The ruling in the "Clitheroe Case" should be reversed by legislation if necessary; and for a very contumacious lady whose friends aided her in her transgression the power of imprisonment might be revived. A husband who left his wife or shut his door against her should be liable to imprisonment, as well as his present possibility of loss of income; and a covenant for mutual separation, which, of course, is only enforced by the law when one party is unwilling to keep it and desires reconciliation (putting aside legal fencing for alimony), should not be recognised. If two prize-fighters are not allowed to bargain away to each other their immunity from violence, on what grounds are the life-long rights of matrimony less sacred than the right to keep a quickly healing cuticle unabraded for a day or two?

Our divorce laws are inconsistent with our ancient ideals, and, if we are to preserve the latter, should be repealed. A court of law, where a man of average honour finds perjury more honourable than the truth, or even silence, can hardly be reckoned a very successful tribunal of justice. The disappear-

ance of scandalous newspaper reports would not seem the least of the gains to the moralist. With the power of divorce gone, adultery would, perhaps, more logically be treated as a criminal offence as well as a civil wrong, and the law should be given greater powers to deal with immorality.

An alteration of our present law on these lines might inflict considerable hardship in a few instances, though perhaps in not so many as some might expect. But any law which enforces contracts must recognise that its fixed principles must not be violated because in single instances they may cause hardship. And, on the principle that persons who marry have no right to contemplate any severance of their union, the proper legal consequences should follow. The mutual duty of husband and wife concerns not only themselves, but the nation; and the fact that one spouse illicitly violates his or her obligations is no sufficient reason why the other should be given a licence similarly to break a settled and fundamental principle by remarrying in the other's lifetime. Even the hardship of deprivation, which the action of the guilty spouse may have caused, is not sufficient to set free the wife of a felon condemned to penal servitude for life, or the husband of an incurable lunatic; it should be reckoned as one of the inevitable risks which both parties face when they undertake their duties.

But, on the other hand, if the Ecclesiastical Law has been found in practice too strict for our modern requirements, would it not be better and more honest to acknowledge the facts and to sweep away fetters which now seem to have little terror for the lawless, and chiefly to inflict hardship on the honourable and law-abiding? If a man can marry a new wife once a year on the ground of unfaithfulness, why not once a fortnight for the same reason, or even on a solemn declaration of intended unfaithfulness, which would save much time in the Divorce Court, and possibly, on principles which all bishops who have uttered their "*nolo episcopari*" will understand, might eventually be subscribed by my virtuous lady and then abolished? And when the law has once sanctioned divorce in such a manner,

and furthermore allows a wife to leave her husband when she likes, is not divorce by mutual consent, or even at the desire of one of the parties, within measurable distance, regard being had, of course, in granting such a divorce, to provisions for the issue, or a wife with no means, on the lines of the present practice ?

Revolutionary as such a system might seem, the English law is not so far off as it might be imagined, and the American law in many States approximates even more closely. It is probable that neither the loosest nor the strictest law would make the slightest difference to the great majority who live together without finding any special difficulty or inconvenience in doing so ; for instance, the ladies of England did not generally follow the example of the late Mrs. Jackson, and walk out of their stately homes on her justification. For another reason, a very small minority could hardly be demoralised by this greater freedom—those who find that our present law puts so little restraint on their liberty that they can afford to ignore it when it suits them to do so. An easy law properly administered would probably tend to more wholesome discipline in the latter cases than our own now ensures. And when the majority who would gladly observe the strictest laws, and the small minority who would disregard the loosest if they could do so with impunity, have been eliminated, there remain the few who are the crux of the problem—those anxious to obey the law, yet unable to do so without extreme misery, the hopelessly incompatible. At present we have the singular paradox that a man in such a position is more blessed with a faithless than a virtuous wife if he cannot agree with her. In the latter case she can condemn him to a perpetual celibacy at any moment she pleases ; in the former the law releases him, and he is allowed to tempt fortune with a fresh experiment.

Our law being thus rather nicely balanced between the two extremes, few changes would be needful either to tighten it or to loosen it on the lines suggested. It would be no great revolution to repeal a small Act of Parliament passed in 1884 and give a judge a discretion to send a contumaciously obsti-

nate gentleman or lady to prison, more especially as the power, though useful in reserve, would hardly ever be exercised in practice. To make an adulterer liable to imprisonment merely puts him on the same footing as a man who steals another's umbrella; and to deprive a woman who deserts her husband of her income would ensure a thorough trial on her part of any matrimonial experiment without gross injustice to her. It would, perhaps, be difficult now to repeal the divorce laws; but a longer interval between the decrees nisi and absolute might pave the way to this end. If a man had to wait five years instead of six months before he could remarry, a divorce might not be very attractive to him.

Taking the other view, if a decree of judicial separation (which can in effect be obtained for desertion only) was given the validity of a divorce, there would at once be a contract easily determinable, and without such disgrace as now attaches to one of the parties; in fact, very little more would be necessary to give a large degree of freedom. A long term of penal servitude or incurable insanity would be made sufficient reasons; and for a woman's freedom one other matter would be vital. The ancient law, logically and rightly applying its principles, used all means to keep a woman to her husband, including her love for her children, a divorced woman even now being seldom legally allowed access to them. On the new principles this method of compulsion would no longer be justifiable, therefore no woman would be denied access to her children. Antenuptial provisions for separation and divorce are probably still repugnant to our sense of delicacy as well as our laws; but all who marry now must know that an implied condition of their contract makes them amenable to the divorce laws, so that divorce is always possible. And if it is permissible and not disgraceful there seems no reason why it should not be provided for.

There is one matter that calls for reform, whichever view of our marriage law is taken. The "restraint on anticipation," usually attaching to a married woman's income, has survived from the eighteenth century, when its expediency

was unquestionable. As long as a husband had such large powers over his wife's person and her unsettled property she needed every protection against his extravagance and selfishness that the law could afford her, and the restraint served its purpose in not allowing him to cajole or intimidate her into parting with her income once for all, making the process of obtaining it troublesome when she was under his influence and impossible when she was not. But times have changed, and the proverbial club of the domestic tyrant is now as likely to be in Albemarle Street or Dover Street as in Piccadilly or St. James's. The "restraint on anticipation," an obedient and docile child of equity in the early part of the nineteenth century, has assimilated modern tendencies and revolted from its parent, becoming quite unmanageable in the process, though a few half-hearted sections in Acts of Parliament have attempted to deal with it. Created to defend married women against their husbands, it has fulfilled that duty with so much zeal that it not only deprives the latter of their last right in the wife's property, but enables an unscrupulous woman to defraud her own creditors or conspire with her husband to defraud his, as she pleases. If the marriage tie is to become looser, the time is ripe for the abolition of this anomalous fetter; if tighter, means should be found to prevent it becoming an engine of fraud or interfering with the just rights of the husband.

While the nineteenth century has added so largely to a married woman's freedom and independence, she has practically lost one prerogative that even those who think that the law has gone too far in her favour might willingly restore her. Her right of dower could, no doubt, be barred very long ago by appropriate methods; but the tendency of modern law has so contracted this anciently valuable right that she can no longer place any reliance on it as a provision for her widowhood. The freedom of a man of large fortune to leave his wife and family entirely unprovided for, while he leaves all his property to persons whose claims on him are remote, or even scandalous, is a liberty that has often been grossly misused and might reason-

ably be modified. Another right which sometimes leads to undesirable results is that of leaving a large income, which abates or ceases entirely on remarriage. A man's natural disinclination to put a stranger in his place is now so treated by the law that it indulges him at the expense of a virtuous woman and assists an unscrupulous one, offering her a direct premium to dispense with the marriage ceremony. It may be urged, in answer to the above objections to our present law, that while it is impossible under modern conditions to revert to the sterner law of the eighteenth century and repeal the legislation of the nineteenth, on the other hand we are not ready for a law which, pushed to a hard-and-fast conclusion, might break up family life and lead to a freedom of selection which would now seem intolerable (so far as any thing may be intolerable to a people which tolerates our West-End street pavements). That the subject bristles with difficulties is a truism ; but that greater liberty necessarily means licence (on the supposition that we cannot go back to the ancient law, however good and logical) may be open to doubt. Within very broad limits we have now the liberty of the Press, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion, all formerly mistrusted and hated, as our ancient Statute-book would show us ; and though Press censors and Test Acts are abolished, we have got means to deal with printed sedition or indecency and blasphemy. Similarly it must be possible to deal with the present anomalies in our marriage law without relieving men and women of their just responsibility to their spouses and to their children (the interests of the latter being hardly recognised in our present law) or giving undue freedom to those who would abuse liberty. The Ecclesiastical Law, which has stood the test of ages, may be a just and wholesome one ; the theories of our modern agnostic philosophers may be sound in principle and right in application ; but as the Ecclesiastical Law and modern agnostic philosophy are founded on entirely different views of life and human nature, it is not surprising that their fusion is not always satisfactory.

ALFRED FELLOWS.

ON THE LINE

THE world of novels nowadays is somewhat of a wilderness. In a wide expanse of barrenness we come across comparatively few—comparatively very few—works of fiction which do not bear the marks of hasty writing and inadequate thought. We are, therefore, all the more anxious to draw attention to *The Tavern Knight* (by Rafael Sabatini. Richards. 6s.), which is a very fine exciting romance of the stirring Stuart days; an admirably-constructed story, written in English so nervous and expressive that this author with the Italian name could teach many modern British novelists a lesson in the use of their language. Sir Crispin Galliard, the Tavern Knight, when the curtain of this story rises, is a cynical ne'er-do-well, gamester and desperado, who has sold his sword to the cause of the second Charles, and is able by pluck and splendid loyalty—his primary redeeming feature—to save the King from capture after the defeat at Worcester. The adventures of that night—as stirring and original a series of events, with some bonny fighting, as is to be found anywhere since the novels of Dumas—cement the union between Sir Crispin and his faint-hearted squire, Kenneth, and bring the ruffling knight to the home of the lad's ladylove, Cynthia Ashburn. There he meets, not for the first time, love and treachery, and faces ordeals which bring out the best and worst in his nature. It would be an ill-service to author and reader to give in detail more of the story, for as it proceeds it constantly bears out the truth of the dictum, "C'est toujours l'inattendu qui arrive."

• The unexpected, though never the impossible, is constantly

happening here. While we successfully resist the inclination to describe, we must indulge another desire and quote one of numerous well-told exciting scenes. A Cavalier is narrating an experience to a group of carousing comrades :

There we stood on Red Hill, trapped as ever fish in a net, with the whole of Lilburne's men rising out of the ground to enclose and destroy us. A living wall of steel it was, and on every hand the call to surrender. There was dismay in the heart of every man of us, and I make little doubt, gentlemen, that with but scant pressing we had thrown down our arms, so disheartened were we by that ambush. Then of a sudden there arose above the clatter of steel and Puritan cries a loud clear defiant shout of "Hey for Cavaliers!"

I turned, and there in his stirrups stood that mad man, Galliard, waving his sword and holding his company together with the power of his will, his courage, and his voice. The sight of him was like wine to our blood. "Into them, gentlemen! follow me!" he roared. And then, with a hurricane of oaths, he hurled his company against the pikemen. The blow was irresistible and above the din of it came that voice of his again, "Up, Cavaliers! Slash the cuckolds to ribbons, gentlemen!" The crop-ears gave way, and like a river that has burst its dam, we poured through the opening in their ranks and headed back for Worcester.

Not the least quality of this romance is the skilful way in which it is put together. The interest is sustained throughout, the excitement grows to the very end; not until the last page is the reader out of his pleasant suspense. "The Tavern Knight" deserves to be widely popular.

Letters of William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford. Edited by Wm. Holden Hutton, B.D. (London: Constable, 1904.)—Bishop Stubbs's letters, collected and well edited by Mr. W. H. Hutton, reveal something of the man, his warm heart and temper, his capacity for friendship, his humour and cleverness, his practical wisdom and sagacity, his caustic yet kindly wit. If Stubbs could be formidable to impertinence and unattractive to stupidity, he was to his friends the most genial of companions, a philosopher of whom it was hard to say whether he should be described as laughing or weeping; for human life and the record of it was in his view more full of sorrow than joy, and yet he lighted up all with flashes of wit and

humour, disconcerting sometimes to plain folk, who thought a Bishop should be always gaitered.

Stubbs was not a master of letter-writing, having, as it would seem, something of a contempt for that kind of composition, though when he set himself to it he could write an admirable letter, and his correspondence with J. R. Green, Freeman, and Church is another chapter in the history of friendship; hence this book will not, as collections of letters sometimes do, take the place of a biography. Mr. Hutton's "interchapters" are so excellent that we hope he may himself undertake a fuller biography of the enigmatic Bishop than that which can be seen by glimpses through and between the letters. It would not be an easy book to write; but, if done in the right spirit, it would be more entertaining than the "Constitutional History of England," the Lectures or the Letters, and it would tell us what we want to know, more about Stubbs's life in the country and at Chester and Oxford, about his historical work both as a writer and the founder of a school, and his position among the great lights of a century pre-eminently fruitful in historians.

These letters impress us, quite as much as his histories and historical lectures, with the immensity of Stubbs's learning. Whatever the subject in hand may be, whether it is to fix the date of Becket's chancellorship, or to estimate the character of Dunstan, or to call attention to Lord Coleridge's imperfect acquaintance with mediæval Church law, he has it perfectly in hand, or, if he needs authorities, knows exactly where to find them; having the rare capacity of combining knowledge of facts with the knowledge of their relations to each other and to the sum of historical knowledge. This is the capacity which Charles Darwin claimed as his own, and it is essential to the character of a learned man.

Besides this, the letters tell us, and Mr. Hutton's additions help to complete the story, how greatly the Church of England was benefited by having such a man as Stubbs on the bench of Bishops. "What a good layman I should have made!" he sighed; but he must have known that his lay characteristics

were not the last among those which made him invaluable as a bishop. He had a plain answer and a clear course of action in every crisis; he esteemed trifles as trifles and knew the weight of important things, no small praise in a cleric; his common sense was as trustworthy as his learning: and though in politics and theology he was and described himself as "a party man," his political and theological sympathies never made him unfair or intolerant.

To some people Stubbs was something of a profane jester. He certainly took liberties with accredited things and did not always express himself clerically. "Don't give up being shocked," he writes, "it is my only recreation." His good things were innumerable. His wit was never ill-natured or flippant, or elaborate; he never posed as a wit, and his wit was always spontaneous. Drollery and fun attracted him, as well as the higher forms of wit; and to some people no wiser than they should have been it may have looked like buffoonery; but his mind was always serious, notwithstanding "some large jests that he would make."

We conclude this imperfect appreciation of so estimable and lovable a character by again expressing a hope that we may hear more of him yet.

If ever a biography came to set at rest questions about the subject of it arising among friends who took delight in his stimulating conversation, it is the **Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton**, some time Bishop of London. By his Wife. (Longmans, 1904.) Mandell Creighton, bishop, historian, and statesman, was a representative Oxford man: the dialectics of Oxford common rooms fostered in him a love of paradox, whilst his letters reveal that he made it the first object of talk to draw out others and avoid the deep ruts of argument. Hence his friends were often puzzled as to his definite beliefs. But the volumes before us show that as Fellow and Tutor of Merton for ten years, as a candidate for Orders in what Canon Scott Holland names "the bad hour" (1870), *i.e.*, the time of the apparent victory of biblical criticism over

religion, as country parson for ten years more in Northumberland, and as Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge; he held Anglican forms and dogmas unquestioningly, and moulded to them his own individual passion for modernity.

In letters written to his wife before their marriage he defines his belief about religion as a standard of life; and this wisdom of conduct is his distinguishing characteristic. When he was called to Peterborough he made the final choice between the two paths of literature and practical life. On the day of his enthronement he made a greater sacrifice of what the world counts happiness than when he left Oxford for his rural Northumbrian parish. He had a brilliant and lucrative career open to him after the publication of his "History of the Popes," as a man of letters who held a canonry. The second volume shows us how the Bishop's power grew whilst building up Northamptonshire shoemakers, lecturing to the middle class, guarding old churches from ruin or too much restoration, and forming life friendships with persons of all ages in secluded rectories of his diocese. When a second call sent him to London, Bishop Creighton, never a politician, showed that a power of statesmanship was already formed in him. His first speech in the House of Lords on the Education Bill proves how apt and ready he was for the summons to determine the historical and actual position of the Church of England in her difficult compromise between old and new. This was at the time of the effort to return to old methods in the prosecution of Ritualists, an attempt which failed greatly on account of his influence.

Both his reason and his sentiment were absolutely opposed to prosecution . . . often during those weeks he would suddenly exclaim: "That I of all men should be forced to become a persecutor!" . . . He did not vacillate, he waited and observed. . . .

The "History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation" was written in the quiet of the Northumberland parish. In the opinion of Mark Pattison, to accomplish such a work away from libraries was an impossible feat. It was a more remarkable feat for an Englishman to write a history of

the fifteenth-century Popes which Roman Catholic historians did not consider shallow or inadequate. A cardinal spoke of the book as marked by "accuracy in dealing with ecclesiastical matters and by a calm judicial discernment." Lord Acton objected to too great leniency. The question was persecution. Lord Acton thought that Creighton compromised with criminal things by not laying the guilt on the authority permitting them. One of Creighton's replies in this piquant correspondence is :

I remember that in 1880 I met John Bright at dinner; he was very cross; apparently a Cabinet meeting had disagreed with him. Among other things he said: "If the people knew what sort of men statesmen were, they would rise and hang the whole lot of them." Next day I met a young man who had been talking to Gladstone, who urged him to Parliamentary life, saying: "Statesmanship is the noblest way to serve mankind." I am sufficient of a Hegelian to be able to combine both judgments. . . . You judge the whole question of persecution more rigorously than I do. . . . The men who conscientiously thought heresy a crime may be accused of an intellectual mistake, not necessarily of a moral crime. I can rarely follow the actions of contemporary statesmen with much moral satisfaction. In the past I find myself regarding them with pity. Surely they knew not what they did?

The portrait so truly drawn in Mrs. Creighton's important book is that of a preacher, lecturer, and intimate talker, who reached more hearts and brains than it is given to many men to do. Killed by work in the full vigour of his life, he had yet to fulfil the certain promise of even greater things. His natural impulses were as modern and living as ever, but controlled by that wisdom of conduct which was his genius.

A comprehensive and well-written little book of 198 pages, *Canada and the Empire* has been compiled by Messrs. Montague and Herbert, two young Englishmen who paid a brief visit to the Dominion of Canada, with the avowed object of searching for evidence of a strong anti-preferential party. There is a certain naïveté in the way in which they confirm their deeply-rooted belief that Canada does not wish for preferential reciprocity within the Empire, and persist in the theory that the preference given to British products by the

Liberal Government under Sir Wilfrid Laurier was merely a "step nearer free trade"; ignoring the fact that Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave what was tantamount to a refusal to open the question of reciprocity with the United States, which, from their point of view, would have undoubtedly meant a great impetus towards free trade in Canada.

These two young writers take themselves quite seriously, and appear satisfied that the opinions elicited from men of all classes within the Dominion were given without the influence of that curious hypersensitiveness which makes the average Canadian strive to impress upon travellers seeking information in Canada that she is perfectly well able to develop her export trade without the aid of the Motherland. Those who are familiar with the temperament of her people are perfectly well aware that, had Messrs. Montague and Herbert come from the United States on a similar mission, they would have left Canadian shores with a totally different impression. Canadians will read with some surprise, that among the enormous lists of those "interviewed" by the authors were members of the Government, for any one with the slightest experience of political life in the Dominion is aware that members of the Government are not inclined to give, almost on the eve of a General Election, definite opinions on a policy which is hardly as yet a live issue in Canadian politics. (The last General Election was fought mainly on the policy of building a new transcontinental line of railway.) It is also stated that opinions were given to the writers on this subject by "Deputy Ministers, Government officials and even Judges," of whom the two latter classes are not supposed to express opinions on subjects connected with a Government policy.

"Lawyers, soldiers, representative men connected with practically every large industrial concern in Eastern and Central Canada, officers of many of the Chambers of Commerce, manufacturers' associations, &c., heads of the largest wholesale importing and exporting firms, railway men, ship-owners, timber merchants, engineers, university professors, stockbrokers, divines, doctors, and artisans." Truly a formid-

able list! and the reader who has studied carefully the utterances of men who represent the manufacturers' associations and Chambers of Commerce will marvel that the writers took the trouble to interview members of bodies which have given such unmistakable evidences of their views on the subject.

And the wonder grows—among those who know something of the conversational powers of the Canadians comprising the classes enumerated by the authors—that they had sufficient vitality left after their exhausting experiences to compile what is in truth a valuable addition to emigration literature, all the more valuable from the fact that, for the first time in his life, Lord Rosebery has made a practical effort to help the emigration schemes of the Motherland by contributing a charming preface to the work, which, however, appears to the careful reader to have been written before the book was compiled, and stored away like the obituary notices of daily journals, awaiting the occasion for which it might be required!

The whole summary of the part which deals with the question of Preferential Tariffs within the Empire is based upon a deliberate misreading of the resolution submitted by the Premiers of the Colonies at the Conference held in London in 1902, which runs as follows:

That the Prime Ministers of the Colonies respectfully urge on his Majesty's Government the expediency of granting in the United Kingdom preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the Colonies, either by exemption from, or reduction of, duties now or hereafter imposed.

The authors undertake to point out that "the Colonies do not suggest the imposition of new duties with a view to reducing them for the benefit of the Colonies," and the lucid wording of the paragraph is not sufficient to indicate, according to their ideas, that the reduction of a duty which does not exist would "be a *reductio ad absurdum*"; they take it for granted that, had a genuine desire for preferential tariffs within the Empire existed, the Colonial Premiers would have taken upon themselves to propose to the Imperial Government the exact duties they desired to see imposed on foreign countries; while at the same time they assert that the mass of the Canadian people are

content that the Imperial Government should work out the details of the policy suggested on lines which would best suit the forty millions within the British Isles. There was a clear and definite proposition put before the Conference. Canada had already formulated and carried out a policy of preference in favour of the Motherland, and it was found that, unless that preference was in some degree reciprocal, its results would be inadequate and might possibly be mischievous. But it was neither fitting nor proper that the Colonies should do more than suggest upon what lines Great Britain should proceed to formulate a Tariff Reform which would meet the requirements of her own people and self-governing Colonies. The speeches of statesmen in every part of the Empire, and in particular the utterances of the Finance Minister of Canada, leave not a shadow of doubt that, as far as the Imperial Government have outlined their Tariff Reform policy, they have the sympathy of the Colonies. Mr. Fielding, the Minister of Finance in Canada, represents the Maritime Provinces, and the victory of the Liberal Party at the late General Election has been without precedent, particularly so in that portion of Canada represented by Mr. Fielding.

The word "friction" is constantly held up as a bugbear in connection with a readjustment of tariffs within the Empire; but Canada has achieved the notable feat of consolidation of an enormous area and diverse populations, two millions of whom are of the Latin race, and does not regard possible or even probable friction with the same dread as do the authors of "Canada and the Empire."

The history of legislation in Canada has been a constant adjustment and readjustment of her tariff, and there is a certain adaptability and pliability in colonial legislation which meets with admirable precision the exigencies of changing situations. As for the Imperial "Dole," which is also continually to the fore in Messrs. Montague and Herbert's work, intelligent Canadians are aware that the Imperial Government does not mete out "doles" to any of her Colonies at the expense of her forty millions in Great Britain. The British

are essentially a businesslike people, and self-interest actuates in a large measure their Colonial policy. Canadians of British origin have the same characteristics, and while undoubtedly fervent in their loyalty to the person of the British Sovereign, the choice they make in consolidating their interests with the British people is not actuated by sentiment alone. At this juncture in her history Canada looks for a wider expansion for her trade and produce. She is most tenacious of her political autonomy, and thoughtful men who have studied the question can easily perceive that if this expansion of trade is not directed towards the East it is bound to flow towards the South, which means political union with the United States. Once secure as an integral part of the British Empire, united by those so-called "sordid" ties of close commercial union, as well as sentiment and government, Canada will be in a much better position to dictate terms to the eighty million people in the United States. There is much more fear of absorption by a giant republic separated by a mere line on the map, than by a people of forty millions separated from her by some four thousand miles of ocean. The time has come when the United States is evolving an Imperialistic sentiment, and either by force of arms or purchase will undoubtedly strive to acquire new territory. Were Canadians to shirk the responsibility of Imperial Defence, and allow gradual absorption by the United States as a result of closer commercial union, they would probably find themselves involved in wars of a more or less fratricidal character; for the great struggle which is bound to arise between capital and labour, and the terrific "negro" problem, both point towards sanguinary conflicts in the not distant future. Great Britain is not likely to call upon her Colonies to assist her in wars unless in cases of dire necessity, and that would mean that the Colonies would fight from motives of self-interest as well as loyalty to the heart of the Empire.

Messrs. Montague and Herbert again and again use the word "sordid" in speaking of the forging of commercial ties between the Motherland and her Colonies, and in so doing

deride one of the greatest and most potent factors in modern civilisation, and stigmatise millions of loyal and patriotic citizens as being actuated by motives of self-interest and greed.

The writers have also made the mistake of traducing the great railway companies, who have performed such signal service in the consolidation of the Empire, for in speaking of the effects of the preferential policy on the morals of the people they write :

When Imperial preferences were formerly tried by Great Britain we know that smuggling in order to obtain the preference was extensive. If it was possible in 1842 to ship timber from Norway to Canada and back to England as Canadian timber, in 1904 it would be simple to smuggle United States produce over any part of the 4000 miles of frontier, to the great advantage of the railway companies concerned.

The "railway companies concerned" would, of course, be mainly the Government lines, the Intercolonial and the two great Transcontinental lines which will stretch along the boundary between Canada and the United States. The directors and managers of these lines will hardly appreciate the suggestion.