in a body to the Latin tradition after the brief and poetic enthusiasm for Greek by which they had been carried away for a moment.

Simultaneously, they feel the need of putting the solidity, gravity, and dignity of their matter on a level with the perfection of manner which they esteem they have achieved [Cf. Estienne Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, book vii, chap. 8, 9 and 10]. I see curious evidence of this desire, in the naive and pedantic coquetry with which they resort to inverted commas "..." to draw the reader's attention every time they express a general idea. The result is that while the Italians are already going astray prior to losing themselves entirely, as they will soon do, amid the subtleties of alexandrinism and become—according to the expression of one of the best historians of their literature [Cf. Francesco de Sanctis, serve so much enthusiasm];—there may be infinite art in them, but there is no great art where there is no great intention;—and there is nothing of the sort in a pot. —Literary interest of the distinction. —Life and adventures of Bernard Palissy. —The famous passage in the *Art de Terre* [Fillon's edition, ii., 206 and fol.];—and that there is a great deal of declamation in it [Cf. Benvenuto Cellini in his Memoirs];—but it is sincere "declamation" or declamation of which its author is himself the dupe;—and in this connection of Palissy as a writer.

That his self-opinionatedness is due to his ignorance;—and in this connection of a form of vanity peculiar to the self-taught. —The dedication of the *Discours admirables* to the Seigneur de Pons. —Palissy's work bears witness to the state of mind of a "poor artisan" of his time. —It is this that constitutes its singularity, originality and naturalness. —His talent as a tale-teller [Les ammonites de Marenc, ed. Fillon, i., 48, 49; —the *Débat des outils d'agriculture*, i., 106, 107. —The allegory *Essay de la teste des hommes*, i., 108 and fol.]. —His sentiment of nature. —In his writings, as in his enamels, Palissy is one of those artists whose characters are not merely lifelike, but lifelike to an extraordinary degree. —The observer and the experimenter.

Should he be regarded as a "man of science"? —For what reasons he cannot have had anything more than presentiments. —Testimony of
Storia della Lett. italiana, vol. ii., chap. ii.], almost "indifferent to the subject matter," whose form alone is capable of appealing to their senses, it is precisely with the "subject matter" or the essence of things that our writers are concerned; and it is to what they see, or think they see, to be the most durable and the most universal side of things that they endeavour to give expression. This liking for general ideas, or liking as it will shortly be called for the reduction to the Universal, is a second trait of the classic ideal that is beginning to take shape.

We touch here upon the explanation of the prodigious success of Amyot and his translations. His Plutarch is only a rhetorician; but this rhetorician has composed biographies which are perhaps the most interesting we know; and given the manner in which Amyot has trans-

Cuvier [Histoire des sciences naturelles] and of Isidore Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire [Histoire des règnes organiques].—His attacks on the Alchemists.—Importance of the form he has given his work [Dialogues between a Theorist, or the a priori idea, and a Practical Man, or experience].—It does not seem, however, that he made any important discovery;—or laid down any principle in the sphere of method;—or formed a single disciple.—That his great merit lies in his having emancipated himself from the servitude of the ancients general in his time.

3. The Works.—Recette véritable, "true recipe" by which all the men of France may learn to multiply and augment their treasures; 1563,—and Discours admirables de la nature des eaux et des fontaines; 1580.

• The best edition of Palissy’s Works is that of M. Benjamin Fillon Niort, 1888, Clouzet.

II.—François de la Noue [Fresnay-en-Retz (Loire-Inférieure) 1581 — 1591, Moncontour (Côtes-du-Nord)].

1. The Sources.—La Noue himself in his Mémoires;—Brantôme in his Hommes illustres;—Moïse Amyrault, Vie de François seigneur de la Noue, 1661;—Albert Desjardins, Les moralistes français au
lated them, it would be impossible to imagine more instructive object lessons. "If we feel a singular pleasure in listening to those who return from a distant journey, when they relate the things they have seen in strange countries, the manners of the inhabitants, the nature of the localities . . . and if we are sometimes so joyous and enraptured that we do not perceive the passing of the hours as we hearken to the discourse of a wise, fluent, and eloquent old man, when he is telling the adventures of his years of youth and vigour . . . how much greater should be the pleasure and rapture we should feel at seeing human examples vividly represented in a comely, vivid, and truthful picture." Thus he expresses himself in the preface to his *Vies parallèles*; and it would be impossible to state more aptly the nature of the teachings, or, as we should say to-day, of the


2. **THE MAN AND THE WRITER.**—As was Bodin, as was Palissy, he too is an "observer," though of a different kind.—His military career;—but his sobriquet of "Iron-Arm" must not be taken as evidence of his energy;—and that besides being a soldier he was something of a politician.—The scruples of conscience of a Protestant captain;—comparison between Montluc and De la Noue;—moral superiority of the latter.—His *Discours politiques et militaires*.—He composed this work in prison.—Curious points of contact between Bodin, Palissy, and La Noue.—Classification of La Noue's discourses: *Strictly Military Discourses* [11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18];—compare the manner in which he writes of war with a famous passage in the *Sourires de Saint-Pétersbourg*.—*Political Discourses* [1, 4, 6, 12, 20, 21, 22];—compare the political views of La Noue with the "great plan" of Henry IV.—But of most interest as regards the history of ideas are his *Moral Discourses* [9, 5, 6, 7, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25] and among them Discourse 23 on the philosopher's stone; 6 against the *Amadis*; and 24 against the Epicureans;—La Noue a predecessor of Bossuet [Maxims on comedy] in his Discourse against the *Amadis*;—and of Rousseau in his Discourse against the Epicureans.—This amounts to saying that
"documents," relating to man contained by his Vies. In strict truth the influence of Amyot has not been commendable in every respect; and if it be indeed his Plutarch that may be said to have imbued us with that vague ideal of heroism of the Greek or Roman pattern, which will become the ideal of our classic tragedy; if it be indeed his Agesilauses and his Thmoleons, his Coriolanuses and his Mariuses, that for two hundred and fifty years at a stretch will be the subject of French drama, or rather will encumber French drama without always providing it with adequate subjects;—then it is allowable to regret his influence. How would things stand after this if we were to enumerate here all our painters, from Poussin to David, who have borrowed off him? And are we to be asked to be grateful to him for that ideal of a false, sentimental, and declamatory virtue of which his

he is above everything else a "moralist."—The composition of La Noue's Discours;—their oratorical turn;—their vigour of language and style;—their impassionate patriotism.—Success of the Discours.—A few words as to La Noue's Mémores.—His death at the siege of Lamballe.

3. The Works.—Discours politiques et militaires du sceur François de la Noue; Bâle, 1587, François Forest.

There are no modern reprints of his works, and the most recent editions date from the beginning of the seventeenth century; but sundry of La Noue's Letters are to be found in a certain number of historical publications.

III. Guillaume de Saluste, Seigneur of Bartas [Montfort (Gers) 1544; † 1590, Montfort].


2. The Port.—His Protestant education;—and that while profiting by the example of Ronsard, he goes back beyond him, and must be
Lycurguses and his Philopæmens, his Catos and his Brutuses, have offered the model to our publicists or to the members of our revolutionary assemblies? [Cf. J. J. Rousseau, in his Confessions; and Mme Roland in her Mémoires and in her Correspondance.] On the other hand, however, it is unquestionably in his Vies parallèles that the great figures of that antiquity which previous to him had been shrouded in a sort of mythological or legendary mist, assumed what seems to be an air of reality and life. Whether they resemble the originals or not,—this is not the point,—his personages are substantial, have ceased to be vain phantoms; it seems that one touches them with the finger. Indeed his own expression deserves to be retained: it is exact that he offers us human examples vividly represented, whose description has enriched our knowledge of humanity. Absorbed by the

connected with the author of the Miroir de l'âme pécheresse.—The court of Jeanne d'Albret.—Popularity of Du Bartas among the Protestant community;—Goethe's estimate of him [Complete Works, Cotta, 1868, Stuttgart, vol. xxv., p. 261].—His avowed intention of combating the current Paganism of the time.—The Premiere Sepmaine, 1579, and the Seconde, 1584.—The Premiere has for theme the adoration of God in the marvels of nature;—the Seconde is a sort of universal history.—The descriptive and oratorical passages in the poems of Du Bartas.—Of the style of Du Bartas and of the absence of art that characterises it.—That together with Baif he is responsible for the neglect that overtook Ronsard.—Of Du Bartas as a caricature of Ronsard.—Unavailing efforts of the critics to restore him to favour.—It is very difficult to account for his influence, but his work was very popular in his time.—Explanation of this peculiarity.

3. THE WORKS —La Muse Chrétienne, 1574, containing the Triomphe de la foi, Judith and Uranie;—La Sepmaine ou création du monde, 1578;—La seconde sepmaine ou enfance du monde, 1584, comprising 1st Day (1) Eden; (2) The Imposure; (3) The Furies; (4) The Artifices; and 2nd Day: (1) The Ark; (2) Babylon; (3) The Colonies; (4) The Columns.

In addition to the above, in the posthumous edition published by
interest of the narrative, we compare his Lycurgus or his Sylla with ourselves rather than with each other, and without perceiving what we are about. An unconscious comparison is instituted, of which the effect, if it be on the one hand to abolish the historical sense in us,—I mean the sense of the diversity of epochs—is on the other hand to teach us the essential identity of human nature. None before Amyot had brought this truth into sight; and if it should be thought surprising that a mere translator should occupy so considerable a place in the literary history of his time, let it be remembered that his "comely, vivid, and truthful pictures" awakened the vocation of Michel de Montaigne.

For whence comes the interest we take in all these personages, and what is its true nature? Montaigne

Haultin at La Rochelle, 1590, 1591, are found: The Fathers, and the History of Jonas, fragments of the 3rd Day: The Trophies, the first part of the 4th Day; the Magnificence; and a translation in verse of the Lépanthe de Jacques VI., roi d’Écosse. The edition also contains the Cantique de la victoire d’Ivy.

IV. Michel Eyquem, Seigneur de Montaigne [Château of Montaigne, near Bergerac, 1583; | 1592, in the same place].

will tell us: it is "that every man carries in his own person the model of the human condition."

Humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti,
Sufficit una domus...

The lines are Juvenal's, and without a doubt Montaigne is sufficiently nourished on Latin, his book is sufficiently that of a "humanist," or even it may be of a pedant, for one to suspect him of having borrowed the aphorism from the Latin satirist. This great reader is a great pilferer, and he has not always indicated his larcenies, as if he feared in truth that were he to have done so there would remain nothing of his entire book. A very useless precaution, but an almost vainer fear! Were the Essais only a collection or, if I may risk the expression, a string, a chaplet of quotations, that would


(2) THE LIFE OF MONTAIGNE.—The origin of the Eyquem family and Montaigne's pretensions to nobility.—His studies at the college of Guyenne.—He is appointed Councillor of the Court of Aides at Périgueux in 1557;—and councillor to the Bordeaux Parliament in 1561.—His friendship with Estienne de la Boétie;—and in this connection of the Contr'un or Discours sur la servitude volontaire, which is nothing but purely rhetorical declamation.—Death of La Boétie, 1568.—Montaigne's marriage, 1565.—Death of his father, 1568.—In 1569 Montaigne publishes his translation of Raymond Sebon's Natural Theology.—Of Raymond Sebon and his Natural Theology;—and he must not be confused with another Spaniard, Raymond Martin, the author of the Pugio Fidei.—In 1570 Montaigne abandons law for the army;—but he does not see any fighting.—In 1580 he publishes the first edition of his Essays. Montaigne's travels [June 22, 1580—November 30, 1581]. He is made mayor of Bordeaux in 1581.—The plague of Bordeaux, and that Montaigne's conduct during it was the reverse of heroic.—He ceases to be mayor in 1585, and publishes in
not prevent them being all that they are in the history of our literature: the first book in which a man formed the project of depicting himself, considering himself as an example of average humanity, and of enriching the natural history of humanity with the discoveries he made in his own person. "Every one looks beyond himself, I look within myself, I am only concerned with myself, I reflect on myself, I examine myself, I take pleasure in myself. . . . Others are always harking elsewhere . . .

Nemo in se tentat descendere;

for my part I wrap myself up in myself." And by the comparison I make between others and myself, he might add, I not only know myself, I know others as well; I procure myself some notion of that general and common

1588 the real second edition of his Essays.—His relations with Henri IV.—His last years.—He dies September 13, 1592, leaving to his wife and his adopted daughter, Mlle le Jars de Gournay, the task of issuing the definite edition of the Essays, which is that of 1595.

(3) Composition and Character of the Essays.

A. The composition of the book.—A remark of Prévost-Paradol [Cf. Moralités françaises] on Montaigne’s quotations and the impossibility of separating them from the context.—But he has forgotten that the edition of 1595 contained more than "six hundred" additions to the text of 1588;—and, from a general point of view, that the distinctive character of the Essays is precisely their successive composition.—It is probable that the project of writing his Essays did not occur to Montaigne earlier than 1572 [Cf. book i. chap. xx.]. The edition of 1580;—and why good judges are of opinion that this edition is the truest reflection of Montaigne’s individuality;—it contains fewer quotations, and presents in consequence a less pedantic appearance;—the arguments, being interrupted by fewer digressions, are easier to follow in it;—and there is something livelier about its general tone and style.—Comparison between the chapter on the Education of Children in the first and second editions.—The way in which Monteaigne’s text is added to and often becomes overloaded in consequence
THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSIC IDEAL

humanity of which I form part with them, and to which they belong as I do.

Informed of the intentions of the author of the Essais, let us now picture him in his library in converse with his favourite authors. He has been reading his Tusculanes, and has been struck by a sentence or a saying of Cicero; he then remembers having read something similar in Seneca's Letters to Lucilius; he refers to the passage; and he proceeds to compare Cicero with Seneca, and both of them with his own experience, which sometimes confirms theirs and sometimes contradicts it. Or it may be that, reversing the process, having first observed the effects of pain or passion on himself, it happens that in searching his Plutarch or his Tacitus he finds corroboration of his own experience; and he is surprised and pleased to see that Cicero, for instance, or Agricola have

of his wide and varied reading;—that Montaigne rarely deletes but is always making corrections;—and that he is much given to making additions.—Comparison between the Apology for Raymond Sebon in the editions of 1580 and 1588;—entire absence of plan and composition.—The scruples of the stylist.—To what extent the additions made in the edition of 1585 ought to be adopted.

B. The inspiration of the book:—The chapter: "To study philosophy is to learn how to die";—and that the chief concern of Montaigne's life was to overcome his horror of death.—This preoccupation explains: his curiosity with regard to himself;—differences in manners and customs;—and history.—His Epicureanism, which has sometimes been termed his Christianity, is to be ascribed to the same cause;—Christianity being, in fact, merely a preparation for death;—but in reality there was nothing of the Christian about Montaigne.—How his preoccupation with death explains the depth and the fund of human feeling of his philosophy;—a remark of Schopenhauer [The World as Will and Idea, iii. chap. xli.].—It is on this head that Montaigne is distinguished from Rabelais.—There is something morbidly keen and in a certain sense something pessimistic about his curiosity.—This is just the characteristic too that gives the Essays their singular value:—they are a confession;—the effort of a
experienced before him what he has just perceived and noticed in his own person. In this way each successive edition of his book is augmented, enriched, and diversified with the material he lights on in his daily observations or in the course of his reading. It is in this way, too, that his pilferings reveal to us the very man himself, and that as he becomes a more critical reader and as his experience widens he perceives, and we perceive with him, that his nature is always his own,—but it is my nature and yours as well.

It is for this reason that, whereas "authors appeal to the public in virtue of some special and distinguishing quality," he is the first author to base his appeal on the characteristics he has in common with all humanity, to present himself "as Michel de Montaigne, not as a grammarian to make the knowledge of himself the basis of a knowledge of the human race;—and an attempt to deduce a rule of conduct from this knowledge.—That the Essays are a melancholy book.

C. Montaigne's style.—The way in which this melancholy is masked by the charm of the style.—What did Montesquieu mean when he called Montaigne "one of the four great poets"?—Montaigne's style is a "perpetual creation."—The metaphors of Shakespeare himself are not more numerous, more natural, or fresher;—and in this connection of the metaphor as a cause and mode of the "fructification of languages."—Universality of Montaigne's vocabulary.—Sainte-Beuve's judgment on Montaigne's style [Cf. Port-Royal, ii. p. 443, 450, edition of 1878].—Moreover it is Montaigne's style that atones for what would otherwise be the impertinence of his constant talk of himself.—Strange details furnished by Montaigne about himself.—But by the way in which he relates them, he contrives to express what is human about them, as much as or more than what is individual and singular.

(4) Influence and Significance of the Essays.—That "every man carries in his own person the model of the human condition";—and a comparison in this connection between Montaigne's Essays and Rousseau's Confessions;—the points of resemblance are external, but the differences relate to essentials.—Montaigne made moral and psychological observation the basis of French literature.—His
marian, poet, or jurist." What is to prevent him adopting this course? "Is not all philosophy contained in a humble and private life as well as in a life on more spacious lines?" Is it necessary to be Aristides to have known the ingratitude of men? Alexander or Caesar to have experienced the inconstancy of fortune? And thereupon he adds: "If people complain that I talk too much about myself, my complaint is that they do not even think about themselves." We are ignorant of our own nature; and we hide or disguise our ignorance beneath the raffle we mete out to those who study in their own persons what is in fact the history of humanity!

Shall I insist further, or is not the consequence clear as it is? Instead of plodding, as they had done hitherto, in the footsteps of the ancients, instead of trying to pass influence abroad: — on Bacon [Cf. his Essays, 1597]; — and on Shakespeare [Cf. Philarète Chasles, Études sur Shakespeare, Paris, s.d.]. — Shakespeare's numerous borrowings from Montaigne [Id. Ibid.].
— That in this respect Montaigne returns to the tradition of the European influence of French literature. — Certain matter in the Essays of a nature bound to be displeasing to another generation. — Testimony of Balzac [eighteenth Conversation]; — of Pascal [Pensées]; — of Bossuet [second sermon for All Saints' Day]; — of Malebranche [Recherche de la Vérité, ii., p. 3, ch. v.].

5. The Works. — Neglecting his translation of the Théologie naturelle de Raymond Sebon, 1569: — and the Journal de ses Voyages, which was first published in 1774; — Montaigne's works are confined to his Essays, of which it will suffice to note here the principal editions.

for, say, a Pindar or a Petrarch, our writers know for the future that they can find in themselves the material to put into and, as it were, sustain the literary forms of which they had previously done little more than imitate the outline. They will probe their own being. Should they fail to discover in it the reasons for self-satisfaction, a like inquiry afforded this Epicurean, their effort will not have been wholly vain, for its outcome will be the increase of the common treasure of humanity. And finally, since at all times and under all circumstances man’s most interesting, instructive, and useful subject of study is man, we find literature is based henceforth on moral and psychological observation.

At the same time, the condition is enforced that a code superior to that of nature shall serve as guide, or, as it

We may also cite P. Coste’s edition (it is P. Coste who is related to have blushed when Montaigne was mentioned in his presence), 8 vols. in 4to, London, 1724, to which is adjoined in the same format a volume containing the Voyages; Naigeon’s edition, 4 vols. in 8vo, Paris, 1802, Didot; —and J. V. Leclerc’s edition, 5 vols. in 8vo, Paris, 1826, Lefèvre.—This is the edition that has become the standard source of Montaigne’s text.

V.—The Satire Ménippée [1593–1594].

1. The Sources.—Almost all the more special documents necessary to or useful for the understanding of the Satire Ménippée have been collected in the Ratisbon edition, edited by Prosper Marchand, 3 vols. in 12mo, 1726, and published by the successors of Mathias Kerner.—In addition there is Charles Labitte’s introduction to his edition of the Satire, Paris, n.d.; —and Les Précificateurs de la Ligue, Paris, 1841, by the same writer.

2. The Pamphlet; —and that neither its merit, which is quite second-rate, nor its audacity, nor its consequences ought to be exaggerated.—It cannot be said that the Satire “gave France to Henri IV.,” since it was published in 1594, and the civil war did not end until 1598; —there is no audacity : (1) in five writers producing a book between them, since it is well known that it is precisely on
were, as a law to this observation of ourselves. We are to study nature in our own persons, but it will be with a view to its discipline. On this point both Catholics and Protestants will be quick to agree, and here, if we may venture on the expression, we have the net profit of the Reformation and the wars of religion. As we have said, France had shrunk from the gloomy and hopeless morality of Calvin. His teaching, however, had one result: it left men convinced of the utility, the necessity, and even the urgency of fighting against the growing licentiousness of morals. Read in this connection La Noue's *Discours politiques et militaires*; Charron's *Sagesse* and his *Trois Vérités*; or again Du Vair's *Philosophie stoïque*. By different roads, all these writings, varied as are their origin and characteristics, verge towards two or three

the division of risks that the principle of insurance is based;—
(2) further, there is no audacity in remaining anonymous;—and (3) in having published a pamphlet of this nature *nine months* after the *conversion* and *three months* after the re-entry into Paris of Henri IV.—The bravery of the authors wholly consists in consequence of having egregiously insulted men already vanquished, and in whose overthrow, moreover, they had had no hand.—The authors of the *Ménippée*: Pierre le Roy, Gillot, Nicolas Rapin, Jean Passerat, Florent Chrestien, and Pierre Pithou;—and that working together they have not displayed a talent that none of them possessed individually.—There is, however, a certain vigour of caricature in some passages of the *Satire*;—of satire even;—and almost of eloquence [Cf. the oft-quoted "Harangue" of the civic lieutenant, Dreux d'Aubray].

—But there is not a trace of elevation or nobleness of feeling in the work;—the writers are middle-class citizens infuriated at finding their pleasures interfered with;—they are also pronounced enemies of the Jesuits;—and they doubtless loved their country;—but nevertheless the *Satire Ménippée* must not be numbered among the "great monuments of the French genius."

VI.—**Pierre Charron** [Paris, 1541; † 1603, Paris].

1. **The Sources.**—Bayle, in his *Dictionnaire*, article Charron;—
common ends: the first of which is to restore to the morality of all time at least something of its former authority: the second to withdraw the French genius from foreign influences, which are looked on at the period far less as hindrances to its liberty than as the causes of its corruption; and the third to demand of the individual, in the common interest of society, the qualities or the virtues which, left to himself, he would be inclined to spurn.

Of these three intentions, the first is specially noticeable in the Discours of honest La Noue, for it would be difficult to display greater concern than this soldier does for purity of morals, the education of the young, and the future of his country. Identical is the attitude of Guillaume du Vair in his "Philosophy of the Stoics,"

Franck, Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques, article CHARRON; —l'oirson, Histoire du Règne d'Henri IV. [see above]; —Vinet, Moralistes française au XVIe siècle.

2 The Philosopher.—Enigmatical character of the personage;—he had been a priest;—he had even wished to enter the order of the Carthusian monks;—there were pious prelates among his protectors;—yet he had the reputation of being a "libertine,"—and the contradiction that seems to exist between his personality and his reputation reappears in his two principal works:—the Traité des Trois Vérités ("Treatise on the Three Truths"), which are: (1) that there is a God; (2) that this God is only known to the Christians; (3) that this God is only worshipped as he should be worshipped by the Roman Catholics;—and the Traité de la Sagesse, which has generally been looked upon as merely the systematisation of Montaigne's "scepticism."—That the order of publication of the works does not remove the difficulty, seeing that he was acquainted with Montaigne when he issued the Traité des Trois Vérités.

Examination of the Traité de la Sagesse.—Three contemporary, to say nothing of ancient, writers are copied unscrupulously in the work: Bodin [Cf. Sagesse, ii., ch. 44]; Montaigne [Cf. ii., chap. viii.]; and G. du Vair [Cf. iii., chap. xxviii.].—Meaning of these plagiarisms.—Charron's object is to make a synthesis of the ideas of his time;—as is
a work whose spirit is sufficiently indicated by its title. The writer, forestalling Pascal, already aims at opposing Epictetus to Montaigne, the teaching that prescribes an effort of the will to Epicurean indifference, the philosophy of reason to that of Nature! We must live in accordance with Nature; but our "nature" is determined by the end to which we have been created; and "the end of man, of all our thoughts and all our actions, is to lead a good life"; and "our good" consists merely in "the right use of reason, that is to say in virtue." How different already is this teaching from that of Rabelais, or even of Montaigne! And, admitting that Du Vair is here only paraphrasing Epictetus, the choice of Epictetus as guide is in itself a symptom of importance. Experience has demonstrated the necessity of a

proved by the attention he pays to composition, a preoccupation that is the chief originality of his book.—The three central ideas of the work: (1) the goodness of nature [Cf. u., ch. iii.];—and yet (2) the infinite wretchedness of man [Cf. i., passim];—which should breed (3) a sovereign contempt for death [Cf. ii., ch. ii.].—Connection Charron establishes between these three ideas;—his confidence in human reason;—in the power of the will;—in the universality of moral law.

That after this examination we are disposed to regard him as a "transitional type";—a forerunner of Descartes,—and of Pascal,—as much as a disciple and continuator of Montaigne.—Had Descartes read him?—In any case, it is certain that Pascal was very familiar with his works;—and in this connection that Pascal's annotators have been too neglectful of Charron.—It is generally recognised how easy, and at the same time how difficult, it is to bridge over the distance between Montaigne and Pascal;—but in reality the connecting link is afforded by Charron.—Moreover, he did not believe that it could possibly harm religion to establish its authority on a rational basis;—which is what he loyally attempted to accomplish;—and in this way his contradictions result from his having failed to grasp the significance of certain of his assertions.

8. The Works.—Les Trois Vérités contre les athées, idolâtres, juifs, hérétiques et schismatiques, Bordeaux, 1593;—Discours
moral directing force. The crimes of Catherine, the
debauchery of Henri III., the corruption of the court,
have filled the cup to overflowing. There must be an
end to this state of things! And while waiting for the
movement to terminate in a religious revival, an effort is
made to establish on a rational basis, to secularise or to
"layicise," the teachings which religion had inculcated in
the past solely on its own authority.

To attain this end, our writers endeavour at the same
time to escape from the pressure, the besetting pressure,
of foreign influences. There are two such influences:
first, the Italian, which during the long reign of the
mother of three kings has spread from literature to the
language, and from the language to manners; and in the
second place the Spanish influence, the progress of which

*chrétiens de la Divinité, Création, Rédemption*, Bordeaux, 1600;—
*Traité de la Sagesse*, Bordeaux, 1601.

The last of these works is the only one of the three that has often
been reprinted.

VII.—*Guillaume du Vair* [Paris, 1556; † 1621, Tonneins].

1. The Sources.—Richelieu, in his *Mémoires*;—Niceron, in his
*Hommes illustres*, vol. xliii.;—C. Sapey, *Essai sur la vie et les
ouvrages de G. du Vair*, Paris, 1847;—E. Cougny, *Guillaume du
Vair*, a study based upon new documents, Paris, 1857.

2. The Man and the Writer.—Undeserved oblivion into which
Du Vair has fallen;—although he was bishop and Count of Lisieux;—
First President of the Parliament of Provence;—and twice Keeper of
the Seals of France;—or perhaps it is because he held these offices
that he is forgotten.—The truth is, his political career does not seem
to have added greatly to his reputation [Cf. Bazin, *Histoire de France
sous le règne de Louis XIII.*]—Moreover, he has not left his mark on
the history of the Church;—having only been appointed bishop of
Lisieux when over sixty years old;—but he was a great lover of
literature;—and he did more for French oratory than any of his
predecessors;—by his translations of Aeschines, Demosthenes and
Cicero [*Pour and Contre Citésiphon and Pour Milon*];—by the series
throughout Europe has kept pace with the political or military successes achieved by Charles V. and Philip II. While the women of France were bestowing their admiration on the romantic qualities of the Amadis, the language of current use was becoming loaded and disfigured by Italianisms. Henry Estienne has drawn up a list of the military terms and the terms in vogue at court, of the terms relating to the arts and those relating to debauchery that invaded our vocabulary, and all, or almost all, of which have since retained their place there. The protest of La Noue, in his Discours sur les Amadis, against the taste for romances and against the imitation of Spanish manners was equally unavailing. It might seem at first sight that the authors of the Satire Ménippée were more successful, but has not the political importance

of his Arrêts rendus en robe rouge;—and by his very delicate perception of the qualities the language was still wanting in [Cf. his Traité de l'Eloquence française, et des raisons pour quoi elle est demeurée si basse].

Furthermore, he exerted a really important influence as a philosopher.—Of his translation of the Manual of Epictetus and of his Traité de la philosophie des Stoïques.—In what respect his work is related to and throws light on that of Charron;—but he was mixed up in public affairs to a greater extent than Charron, and in consequence he has the advantage of the latter as regards experience;—his field of psychological and moral observation is proportionately wider.—His conception, too, of the dignity of reason and of the power of the will is more "Stoic";—and in consequence loftier in the measure in which the Stoic point of view is loftier than that of the Epicureans.—And to conclude, in his Traité de la santé philosophique he takes the final step:—after having essayed to secularise morality, he renounces the effort;—and failing to see a remedy for the prevailing corruption except in a return to Christian morality, he asserts the necessity of this return.—Analogy between this evolution and that of the thought of Pascal.—The Traités philosophiques of Du Vair are as necessary as La Sagesse to an understanding of the movement from which Jansenism is to be evolved.
of this celebrated pamphlet been somewhat exaggerated? In any case, and supposing it to have been as effective as several armies, its literary importance is not much more considerable on that account. But here again, as above, the symptom is significant. There has been brought into being a spirit of resistance against the enthusiasm of the Pleiad and the infatuation of the courtiers for everything Italian or Spanish. Moreover, a goal has come into view: a goal which, though it will not be reached at once, will not be lost sight of for the future. The “nationalisation” of French literature, impossible as circumstances for the time being may render its realisation, has become the object at which writers, society and even royalty, are about to aim; in a word, the classic ideal may be only vaguely self-conscious as yet.

3. The Works.—There being very many editions of Du Vair, in enumerating his works here we follow the order observed in what has seemed to us the most complete edition, that published at Cologne by Pierre Aubert in 1617. — (1) Actiones et Traites oratoires, 1586-1614, among which are to be noted: L'Exhortation à la paix adressée a cœur de la Ligue and Saison de l'arrêt pour la loi salique au Parlement; — (2) De l'Eloquence française, including the treatise properly so called and the three translations cited above; — (3) Arrêts prononcés en robe rouge, of which there are three more in the folio edition of 1641 than in the edition of 1617, or in all eight; — (4) Philosophic treatises, including, in addition to the works already cited, a Traité de la Constance and an Exhortation à la vie civile; — (5) Treatises on pieté and Meditations, including the Traité de la sainte philosophic and Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, the Canticle of Ezekiel, the Psalms of Penitence, etc. etc.

We do not know of a modern edition of Du Vair.

VIII.—François de Sales [Château of Thorens, in Savoy, 1567; † Lyons, 1622].

† We have been unable to fix the exact dates of the first publication of the separate works of Du Vair; and we would remark, for instance, that the date assigned to his Traites philosophiques, 1606, is certainly erroneous, since entire passages from it are found in La Sagesse of Charron, who died in 1608.
but nevertheless it is already in existence. Similarly, a man of genius or talent may spend his youth in confused agitation, may appear to fritter away or even to dissipate his energy, whereas all the while an inner force keeps him from straying and directs him to his goal; and his originality only gains by the chequered nature of his experiences.

Again Guillaume du Vair has written in one of his works: "Of all the benefits procured us by civil society, there is none we should rate more highly or set greater store on than the friendship of honourable men; for it is the foundation and pivot of our felicity. It shapes our whole existence, it sweetens the bitterness of life, it gives savour to the pleasant experiences that befall us. In prosperity it gives us persons to whom we may render


2. The Controversialist, the Writer, the Orator.—François de Sales has his place in literary history as a controversialist, an “ascetic” writer and a preacher.—His family and education.—The college of Clermont and the university of Padua [Cf. Antonio Favaro: Galileo Galilei et lo studio di Padova, Florence, 1883]. Thé early career of François de Sales.—His meeting with Théodore de Bèze.—The mission to Chablais [1594–1598];—and the first writings of François de Sales: Les Controverses and the Défense de l’étendard de la Croix.—The keen perspicacity and clearness of argument with which he reduces the essentials of the controversy between Protestants

† We naturally do not feel called upon to enumerate here the very numerous publications belonging rather to hagiography than to literary history.
service and with whom we may rejoice at our good fortune, in affliction persons to aid and console us, in our youth persons to advise and instruct us, in old age persons to help us and reason with us, and in manhood persons to assist and second us.” At first sight one is tempted to consider these words merely as the expression of a commonplace of morality. But when one weighs them “as with the scales of the goldsmiths”; and further when one considers them in connection with the historical events of the period; when one reflects, in fact, that they were penned at a time when the pacific policy inseparably connected with the most glorious years of the reign of Henri IV. was yielding its results, they seem to acquire fresh significance. While suffering from the combined evils of foreign and civil war, people learned and Catholics to the matter of the unity of Church.—His sojourn in Paris in 1602;—and the Oraison funèbre du duc de Mercœur.—He is ordained bishop of Geneva, 1602.

Of the Introduction à la vie dèvote [Cf. Jules Very, La Philothée de St. François de Sales, Geneva, 1878];—and in what respect François de Sales continues the work of Du Vair in this book.—Charm and seduction of the book.—The “harmonies of nature” in François de Sales’ book.—He is the first of the several Savoyards who will contribute to the glory of French literature [Cf. Sayous, Littérature française à l’étranger].—How far can he be said to have rendered piety accessible, fashionable, and attractive?—In reality his doctrine is severe;—and that had he presented it in a different manner it would no longer have been Christianity, but Stoicism.—The Traité de l’amour de Dieu.

Of François de Sales as a preacher;—and why has he been omitted from among the “forerunners of Bossuet” [Cf. Jacquinet: Les prédicateurs du XVII° siècle avant Bossuet;—and Freppel: Bossuet et l eloquence sacrée au XVII° siècle].—Comparison between the “Sermon for the Fête of the Assumption” and Bossuet’s sermon, on the same subject.—Utility of comparisons of this kind, and that there is no surer method of characterising the different preachers.—Another comparison between the “Sermon for Twelfth Night” and
to appreciate the incomparable importance of the social fabric; and awoke to the fact that its destruction or weakening is the direst of misfortunes. The belief that the aim of the individual should be the free development of the forces with which nature has endowed him, falls into disrepute; and the belief is abandoned too, of the author of the *Essais*, that men, like nuts in a sack, always end by "making a heap" by settling down in a sort of inertia born of habit, that bears a resemblance to order. But just as bodily health, which is thought to be a gift of nature, is really the outcome of adherence to a system of hygiene, and, in consequence, of an appropriate "effort," so to enable society to maintain its equilibrium, it is not sufficient that it be left to itself, but on the contrary this stability demands

Fenelon's sermon on the same subject.—The *Traité de la prédication* and the rhetoric of François de Sales.—"The sovereign artifice is to dispense with artifice."—Whether François de Sales has always observed his own precept?—That there is a certain affectation, a certain striving after "prettiness" and intentional simplicity in his manner.

3. THE WORKS.—They fall into two groups: Polemical Works and Ascetic Works. The first includes: *Les Controverses,*—the *Défense de l'estendard de la Croix,*—and some shorter works of less importance.—The second group includes the *Introduction à la vie dévote,* 1608;—the *Traité de l'Amour de Dieu,* 1612;—and the *Entretiens spirituels,* which were not published until 1629.—To these works must be added a few opuscules, notably the opuscule *Degrès d'oraison,* the *Lettres Spirituelles ou de direction* and the *Sermons.*—The lay correspondence of the Saint also deserves to be read.

Few books have had so many editions as the *Introduction à la vie dévote.*—There are two good editions of the complete works, but they will be superseded henceforth by an edition at present in course of publication "under the supervision of the nuns of the Visitation of the first monastery of Annecy," and under the direction of the Reverend dom Mackey, O.S.B. Eight volumes of this edition have already appeared; Annecy, printed by Niérat.
a constant personal effort on the part of each one of us.

Such is the meaning of the excellent Du Vair, and of a like way of feeling and thinking are the Canon of Condom, Pierre Charron, author of the *Traité de la Sagesse*; Honoré d'Urfé, the Forezian gentleman, the unhappy husband of the beautiful Diane de Chateaumorand, and the author of that *Astrée* which is about to become the code of polite society; and François de Sales as we see from his *Introduction à la vie dévote*. We do not exist for ourselves alone, but for other men as well; and what is more, we can only reach our full development as the result of commerce with our fellows. In consequence, in the interest of human society, and therefore in our own individual and personal interest, let each of us

IX.—Mathurin Regnier [Chartres, 1573; † 1613, Rouen].


2. **The Man and the Poet.**—That Regnier, even when he begins to write, is already behind his time,—as a libertine, who is bent on keeping up the licentious traditions of another age;—and as a disciple of Ronsard, whom he copies outrageously.—His qualities:—a freedom of expression and plainness of language that often degenerate into grossness [Cf. *Satire* xiii.];—the gift of observing, depicting, and satirising [Cf. *Satire* viii.];—at least apparent if not always real ease and naturalness [Cf. *Satires* iii. and vii.].—His defects:—solecisms and proximity [Cf. *Satire* i.];—want of taste and inartisticness [Cf. *Satire* x.]:

His carelessness is his chief artifice.

—lack of invention and of ideas.—What is the reason of his
renounce in a measure that egoism that comes, it must be confessed, so natural to us! We shall be more than repaid for the sacrifices we may have to make by the pleasures the increased amenity of life will offer. Since we all of us stand in continual need of one another, let us arrange to live on a footing of "honourable friendship," of friendship which, from being a service or a help, will become sooner or later a pleasure. Let us organise our life on a social basis, and in such a way that, in addition to an habitual exchange of services, it shall embrace an exchange of sentiments or ideas. Let us multiply our occasions of meeting, since to do so will be to multiply the means of arriving at a mutual understanding; and from each of us will be evolved, as it were, a social type without any distin-

reputation?—It is due to the fact that Boileau was pleased to drag him from obscurity;—to the fact that he is a Gaul;—and to the fact that in a certain sense, on account of the vigour of some of his lines, he is one of the links between Rabelais, for instance, and Molère.

8. THE Works.—Putting aside some epigrams,—two éloges;—and a few obscene pieces that have found their way into the Cabinet satyrique;—the works of Hegner are restricted to his Satires, of which there are in all nineteen.

The best edition is that of Courbet, Paris, 1875, Lemerie;—in which two opuscules of M. Dezeimeris, Bordeaux, 1876 and 1880;—and the researches of M. Vianey [1896] would permit of numerous improvements still being made.

X.—Honôrè d'Urfé [Marseilles, 1568; † 1625, Villefranche, Alpes-Maritimes].

1. THE Sources.—D'Urfé himself in several episodes of his Astrée, which are merely incidents of his life "put into a romance";—Patru, Éclaircissemens sur l'histoire de l'Astrée in the Plaidoyers et œuvres diverses de M. Patru, Paris, 1881, Mabre-Cramoisy;—Auguste Bernard, Les d'Urfé, Paris, 1839;—Norbert Bonafous, Études sur l'Astrée et Honoré d'Urfé, Paris, 1846;—Louis de Loménie, L'Astrée et le roman pastoral in the Revue des Deux Mondes for July 15,
guising "sign," or, as would be said at the present day, without any "speciality." We touch here on the fundamental idea of classicism, and for one hundred and fifty or two hundred years the history of French literature will be merely the history of the transformations or the development of this governing idea.

Thus, when we come to determine in a few words the progress made, we are offered the spectacle, during the last years of the reign of Henri IV., of an original and national literature endeavouring to emancipate itself from the imitation of foreign literatures. To judge from the most characteristic of the symptoms we have enumerated, this literature will prove more especially "social", by which is meant that it will set itself the task of preserving, developing, and perfecting the social


2. The Source of the Astreë.—Biography of Honoré d'Urfé;—his first work: *The Epistres Morales*, 1598;—his marriage with Diane de Chateaumorand;—his conjugal misfortunes;—his poem *Le Streiné*, 1606.—The framework of the Astreë.—The mingling of fiction and reality [Cf. Patru, *Éclairissements*, etc.]—The background of the narrative and the *Diana enamorada* of Georges de Montemayor.—The tone of the narration and the pastoral romance;—the European vogue of the pastoral romance;—the *Arcadia* of Sannazar and of Sydney;—the descriptions of Forcz in d'Urfé's romance [Cf. Montégut, *En Bourbonnais*, etc.];—the anecdotes of the court;—the symbolical intention [Cf. the dedication of the Astreë].—Connection between the *Introduction à la vie dévote* and the romance of the Astreë.

8. The Character of the Astreë.—General features of the work;—and that far from the episodes in it being hors-d'œuvre as compared with the main plot, as is the case in other romances of the same type, it is on the contrary the main plot that is the pretext or the opportunity for the episodes.—Varied interest of the book in consequence:—(1) Historical episodes [*Eudoxe et Valentinian*, part ii., book 12];—(2) Contemporary allusions [*Euric, Daphnide et Alcidon*, part iii.,
edifice. Since it is to be social, it will be general, which amounts to saying that it will not be, or that it will rarely be, the expression of the personality of the writer, but rather that of the relations of the individual with the requirements of an ideal humanity, always and everywhere analogous to or identical with itself, subsisting eternally, so to speak, and offering on that account immutable characteristics. Social in its aims and general in regard to its modes of expression, this literature will also be moral to the exact extent to which morality is indispensable to the existence of society. We would convey by this restriction that the literature we are about to deal with will be less concerned with embodying in its works the absolute side contained in the principle of every morality, than with rendering the relative element that is

book 8]; —(3) Personal inventions [Damon et Madonthe, part ii., book 6].—The form of the narrative is no less varied:—descriptions [part ii., book 5]; —conversations [part ii., book 12]; —narrations [part iii., book 7]; —examples of every kind of composition are found in the work, including letters and love sonnets; —to say nothing of passages of a more realistic or more brutal stamp. —Of the style of the Astrée: —its elegance and clearness; —it is smooth and flowing; —it combines precision with copiousness; —its psychological value; —and in this connection of the sketches of the different varieties of love in the Astrée. —Sensual and brutal love [Eudoxe et Valentinian, part ii., book 12]; —fickle and capricious love [Hylas, part i., passim]; —young and passionate love [Chryséide et Arimant, part iii., books 7 and 8]; —chivalrous love [Rosanvre, Célédante et Rosiléon, part iv., book 10]; —mystic love [Céladon et Astrée]. —Variety of the characters. —That the book as a whole leaves an impression of charm and gracefulness to which there had been nothing analogous previously in French literature; —a fact that explains the success of the book, a success as prodigious as almost any in literary history: and the duration of its influence.

4. The Influence of the Astrée. —Ought it to be ascribed a share in the formation of "precious" society? —That in any case the work will shape the destiny of the drama for more than twenty years; —and
always to hand in its applications. In consequence, the morality in question will be neither the Christian morality of renunciation and sacrifice, nor even the Stoic morality of effort: it will be a morality for the use of good society. In the last place, this literature will not fail to attach great importance to the charms of style; first, because to persuade it will need to please; secondly, because style alone is able to save generalities from the danger they are always exposed to of degenerating into "commonplaces"; and thirdly, because it has already fashioned its rules of poetry and rhetoric on the Latin model. Let us now proceed to consider its performances and so follow its development.

of the romance for more than fifty years;—supposing that the Princesse de Clèves is, properly speaking, only an episode of the Astrée.—It is possible to go still further [Cf. Montégut, En Bourbonsais, etc.], and to trace something of the inspiration of the Astrée;—in Racine’s tragedies;—in Marivaux’ comédies;—in Prévost’s novels;—in J. J. Rousseau;—and perhaps even among contemporary writers in certain of the novels of George Sand.—What precedes amounts to saying that the success of the Astrée determined the direction taken by an entire and important current in our literature.

5. THE WORKS.—We have already mentioned the Epistres Morales, 1598;—and le Sirrince, 1606.—There must be added Sylvainic, a woodland fable, 1827, and the Amours de Floridon.

As to the Astrée, the two first volumes appeared in 1610 or perhaps in 1608; the two following volumes in 1616; and the fifth and sixth volumes in 1619. The four others are posthumous, and it is scarcely possible to distinguish between what of them should be attributed to d’Urfé and what of them is the work of Baro, his continuator. It is for this reason that we have not referred to them in our analysis of the romance.

The best edition of the Astrée is that of 1847, published by Toussaint Quinet and Antoine de Sommaville.
CHAPTER II

THE NATIONALIZATION OF FRENCH LITERATURE

I

I do not know whether war is "divine," but a state of conflict certainly seems "a law of the world"; no triumph is really peaceful, and even ideas rarely assert their empire except at the expense and on the ruins of other ideas whose place they take. Several con-

THE AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS

Fourth Period

From the formation of the "precious" society to the first representation of the "Précieuses Ridicules"

1610-1659

I.—The Hotel Rambouillet.

1. The Sources.—The Historiettes of Tallement des Réaux;—the letters of Balzac and Voiture;—Madeleine de Scudéry's Artamène, ou le Grand Cyrus;—Bodeau de Somaize, Le Grand dictionnaire des Précieuses, 1661;—Fléchier's funeral orations in honour of the Duke and Duchess of Montausier.


A. Of preciousity as a literary conception.—It consists in believing (1) that there is something specific or unique in its class about the pleasure derived from literature as about that derived from music or
ditions, in consequence, had still to obtain, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to permit of French literature completely realising its true character; and first of all it was necessary that public opinion should master or stay the progress of that individualist, unruly, and licentious spirit, which had not been entirely subdued by Henri IV. even in the sphere of politics. A book which is at once one of the most enigmatical, and one of the foulest in our literature, Béroulde de Verville's *Moyen de Parvenir*, is contemporary with the *Astrée*, which itself is not exempt from a certain shamelessness of language and grossness of sentiment; while the obscene collection of the *Parnasse satyrique*, of which one scarcely from the picturesque,—and this is the truth;—(2) that the essential cause of this pleasure is style, that is the turn the writer gives what he says, the manner in which he expresses himself,—which is already less true;—and (3) that the pleasure is in proportion to the effort that has been expended or to the difficulties that have been surmounted in hitting upon this mode of expression,—which is not true at all.—Analogies and differences between this conception and the conception of "art for art."—The principal of them is that preciosity aimed at the realisation of the "fashion" instead of at that of "beauty."—The resulting consequences are:—(1) A horror of pedantry, erudition and even of tradition;—(2) That in intellectual matters as in conversation and in clothes, store is only set on an air of modernity;—(3) A tendency, the outcome of this latter disposition, to exaggerate the distance that separates polite society from the vulgar herd.

B. Of preciosity as a disease of language.—That it consists in treating language no longer as a "work of art" even;—but as a pretext for the writer himself to make a display of virtuosity.

E del poeta fin la maraviglia
Chi non sa far stupir, vada alla striglia. [MARINO.]

[Cf. de Sanctis: *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. ii.; Menendez y Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, vol. ii.; and Mézières, *Prédecéseurs et contemporains de Shakespeare.*]—Some characteristics of the disease:—Never to call anything by its name, but always to have recourse to paraphrase, allusion or *sous-entendu*;
ventures to cite the title, would alone suffice to illustrate the state of morals towards 1610.

Further testimony is offered by the *Satires* of Mathurin Regnier. Often quoted, on account of some few happy lines,—which prior to those of Boileau became proverbs directly they were published,—little read, but only the more vaunted, the *Satires* of Regnier are as it were the protest of the Gallic genius against the new ideal. Instinctively hostile, not only to all restraint, but to every rule or every law, Regnier defends and upholds in his *Satires*, not dogmatically, but with that nonchalance which is "his greatest artifice" and his charm, the entire and absolute liberty of the individual. Each of us is very

—to lend an exaggerated and jesting importance to trifles and to treat matters of moment in a conversational tone;—to play upon words, to make *points*, *conceits*, *agudezas*.

Ne dis plus qu'il est amarante
Dis plutôt qu'il est de ma rente,

to draw unexpected comparisons;—to force metaphors [Cf. *Les Femmes savantes*]; in a word, to couch all one says in a language only comprehensible to the initiated;—and in this connection that slang and jargon are to some extent the same thing.

C. *Of preciosity as a turn or disposition of mind.*—It consists in a natural or acquired dislike for the commonplace;—danger of this dislike;—but, on the other hand, its advantages;—and that its counterpart is a taste for what is refined, delicate, subtle and complex.—The way in which this disposition of mind tends to make affairs of love and gallantry the constant preoccupation of those who possess it.—Great resulting advantage to: conversation,—polite manners;—and social relations in general.—Women make their entry into literature—and with them make their appearance the qualities more peculiar to women;—qualities of which neither Montaigne nor Rabelais had had an idea;—and as much may perhaps be said of some of the greatest of the ancient writers.

8. THE HOTEL RAMBOUILLET.

A. Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet [1588, † 1665].—Her family;—and her father, although the Marquis de Pisani, must
well as he is; has the right to remain as he is; and whoever would interfere with this right deserves the name of pedant. At any rate, I know of no idea on which he harps in his verses more often or more complaisantly than the idea that everything is relative; which clearly is another way of expressing what I have just said. Around him is a numerous school that thinks and feels as he does, that is not properly speaking a school, in the sense that it is not inspired by him or by anybody it is possible to call its chief, but a school that along with him represents this spirit or rather this instinct of resistance: vulgar Epicureans of the type of the Motins, the Sigognes and the

not be taken to have been an Italian nobleman;—her marriage with Charles d’Angennes, Marquis de Rambouillet.—Tallemant’s portrait of her [Historiettes, Paulin Paris’ edition, in 8vo, ii., 488];—Mlle de Scudéry’s portrait of her [Le Grand Cyrus, edition of 1654, vol. viii., 480];—Fléchier’s portrait in his Oraison funèbre.—She hit upon the idea of genius of assembling in her “ruelle” or private circle noblemen and men of letters on a footing of temporary equality. —The part played by the Salons in the history of French literature.—That it is strange that it should still be at the expense of Mme de Rambouillet that jests are made—while Mme Geoffrin is spoken of with admiration.

B. Vincent Voiture, the living incarnation of Preciosity [Amiens, 1598; † 1648].—His Poems,—and that among them there are many that are very insipid;—but there are a few that are exquisite;—and very superior to many of those of Cl. Marot;—and that can be compared with the most vaunted poems of Voltaire [Cf. Stances à Silvie, —Epître à Condé;—Impromptu pour Anne d’Autriche].—His Letters;—and whether it be true, as Voltaire has declared, that they are the mere “triflings of a rope-dancer”?—Boileau’s estimate was juster.—Voiture’s love-letters have the obvious fault of being too witty;—but among his miscellaneous letters there are many that are quite admirable [Cf. Nos. 128, 109, 101, 88, 90 in Ubicini’s edition];—and a few that are distinguished by real emotion.

C. Julie d’Angennes, Duchesse de Montausier [1607, † 1671].—That she contributed more than any one else to render the Hotel
Berthelots; irregulars and libertines, such as the Théophile against whom Father Garasse will write his *Doctrine curieuse des beaux esprits*; daring and cynical free-thinkers of the kind that will be found depicted by the dozen in the *Historiettes* of Tallemant des Réaux. It may be worth while to note in passing that writers of a similar stamp have been seen or will be seen to arise during all the "regencies" of our history: the regency of Catherine, the regency of Marie de Médicis, the regency of Anne of Austria, and the regency of Philippe d'Orléans.

To whom must be attributed the honour of having, to begin with, checked and interrupted, and finally of having

Rambouillet ridiculous;—and that at any rate all that we know of her from contemporary testimony shows her in a sufficiently disagreeable light.—She was spoiled by too much homage;—her suitors or her "dying admirers" gave too much encouragement to her pretensions to wit;—she seems to have been far vainer than her mother of her good birth and high rank;—and finally the length of time she made Montausier wait before she accorded him her hand has invested them both with a certain amount of ridicule. [Cf. for Montausier, *Montausier et son temps*, by Amédée Roux, Paris, 1860.]

4. THE INFLUENCE OF PRECIOUSITY.

A. On the Language.—It refined, enriched, and elevated the language.—Pecuniosity cleared the language of a certain pedantic over-growth which encumbered it even in Montaigne;—and also of a coarseness that disgraced it [Cf. Béroalde de Verville's *Moyen de parvenir* and Tallemant des Réaux' *Historiettes*].—It enriched the language:—by determining the exact meaning of words;—by adopting, inventing or creating new turns of speech;—and above all by inculcating "the force a word acquires when put in its right place."—Finally, precisiosity elevated the language;—though it is true that in elevating it, it drew too deep a dividing line between the speech of the vulgar and that of polite society.

B. On Manners.—Ræderer's exaggeration on this head;—and V. Cousine guilty of the same fault;—in their studies of the polite society of the period.—A saying of Pascal as to the malignity and kindliness of people in general, "which is always the same";—still, the names
stepped this current? And shall we exclaim once more with Boileau:

At last Malherbe came? . . .

Doubtless no, if four or five very beautiful *Odes* and some paraphrases of the Psalms are, after all, nothing more than rhetoric; and further, if Malherbe himself, while not making a display of licentiousness or incredulity, was utterly wanting nevertheless both as a writer and as a man in distinction and true intellectual nobility. To take another point, it is not easy to see how his influence should have made itself felt, since his finest poems, which during his lifetime were scattered

by which things are designated have great importance.—The way in which preciosity raised the tone of conversation;—and improved the position of women. [Cf. Huet, *Sur l'origine des Romans*.]—On the other hand, preciosity accustomed the French intellect to treat serious matters too frivolously;—and by binding it down to the observation of good society, kept it from a wider and more sincere observation of reality.

C. *On the direction taken by literature.*—By establishing the predominance of the manners of good society, preciosity completed the downfall of lyricism;—since people do not frequent society with a view to making a display of their inmost feelings;—and still less with the intention of contradicting those they meet;—indeed, it may perhaps be said that nothing is more obligatory in society than the avoidance of "originality;—and all these rules of society run exactly counter to lyricism or personal literature. Again, while preciosity furthered the development of the "universal branches" of literature—oration and the drama,—its influence even in this direction was not without its drawbacks;—admitting that it was with a view to content the Précieuses that our drama, in a general way, has refrained from too spirited an imitation of reality;—has deserved to be styled "a conversation beneath a chandelier";—and that gallantry instead of passion has become its mainspring?—On the other hand, preciosity aided the development to a notable extent of letter writing;—of books of *Maxims* and *Characters*;—and of the psychological romance.
through and to some extent lost in the anthologies of the period, did not appear in collected form until 1630, two years after his death. Moreover, if we are to believe the memoirs of his faithful Racan, he was almost without ideas except on the subject of his art. These various considerations will lead us to seek elsewhere than in his influence the causes of a transformation, of which he experienced the consequences far more than he brought it about or even conceived it. The transformation which is effected in French literary history between 1610 and 1630,—let us say 1636, so as to reach the Cid at one step,—is the work of the Précieuses.

All that is remembered in general of the Précieuses is

II.—Irregulars and Libertines.

1. The Sources.—Leonardi Lessii, De providentia numinis et animi Immortalitate libri duo adversus atheos et politicis, Antwerp, 1613;—Garasse, La doctrine curieuse des Beaux Ésprits de ce temps, Paris, 1623;—Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, articles Des Barreaux, Luillier, Princesse Palatine, etc.;—Bossuet, Oraison funèbre d'Anne de Gonzague;—Bayle’s Dictionnaire, articles Des Barreaux, Hesnault, and passim;—the works of Théophile de Viau, Saint-Evremond, and La Motte le Vayer;—the Caractères of La Bruyère.


2. Of the Libertines in General.—Signification of this name in the seventeenth century;—and that it applies as much to “freedom of thinking” as to “license of morals.” That from both a philosophical and a literary point of view the libertines are belated survivors of Montaigne’s century;—and the “Bohemians” of their time;—but that this in no way prevents them professing very pronounced
the characteristics by which they lend themselves to ridicule, and it must be owned that they had many such, on which Molière's comedies and Boileau's satires will dispense us from dilating here. They might be reproached more especially with having again brought French literature under the influence of the Spanish and Italian schools,—the influence of Antonio Perez and the Chevalier Marin, of Guarini and Gongora,—always supposing, however, that it would have been possible for them to avoid this result, at a Court wholly Italian, and at a time when the influence of Spain was reappearing in France across a frontier open to its inroads at every point. Nevertheless, the Précieuses rendered us great

principles;—and that if they had lacked the formula for these principles it would have been supplied them by Lessius in his de Providentia, and by Garasse, Doctrine curiuse des Beaux Esprits.—That as disciples of Montaigne and even of Rabelais, they were naturally hostile to almost all the projects of the Précieuses;—which were directed indeed against the libertines.

3. Théophile de Viau [Clairac, 1590; † 1626, Paris].—His early education;—his relations with des Barreaux and Balzac;—his tragedy Pyrame et Tisbé, 1617;—and that it is a better work than the two lines which have immortalised it might seem to indicate:

Ah! behold the dagger which with the blood of its owner
Was stained in cowardly fashion; the traitor blushes at it!

There are lyric passages of singular vigour in this tragedy;—and parts of the dialogue are already almost in the style of Corneille.—Other works of his deserve to be remembered;—for their animation ['The Ode du Roi, ed. Alleaume, i., 135] ;—for the keen feeling for nature they evince [The Lettre à son frère (in verse) ii. 178] ;—for a certain sensual or Epicurean grace [La Solitude, vol. i., 176].—It is a pity that his works are spoiled by lapses into the most offensive vulgarity.—See too his Satires [vol. ii., pp. 238 and 241].—Whether it was his Satires or his Traité de l'Immortalité de l'âme and his Parnasse that brought about his first banishment in 1619?—Henceforth the poet's life is entirely upset;—the publication of the book
services, which cannot be forgotten, slighted, or overlooked without falsifying the history during twenty or thirty years of manners and literature. For instance, because they were women, and women of social standing, they rid literature of the pedantry which hampers the works of Ronsard and even of Montaigne. One would be tempted to say at times that Ronsard and Montaigne only wrote for scholars. Their injudicious, or rather their complacent display of erudition; their perpetual allusions to an antiquity with whose scholiasts and grammarians we are not familiar as they were; their naive, and sometimes indeed their rather suspicious, admiration for the “false beauties” of Cicero or Seneca; their

of Father Garasse, which was aimed against him, deals him the final blow;—he is put on his trial;—he is sentenced to perpetual banishment by a decree dated September 1, 1625.

4. The New Tactics of the Libertines.—From this moment the Libertines change their tactics.—They keep their opinions;—but henceforth they abstain from expressing them in public; or if they express them, they moderate and disguise them, as did Saint Evremont and La Mothe le Vayer.—Their convictions are not deep enough for them to endeavour to assure their triumph in opposition to public opinion;—and provided they are allowed to live as they think fit, they will not ask for more. This attitude is the indirect cause of the discredit into which they fell;—and from which they will scarcely recover until half a century later with Bayle.

5. The Works.—Of Théophile we have: his Poems [Odes, Stanzas, Élegies, Sonnets, Satires];—a tragedy: Pyrame et Thisbé;—his Letters;—and the Traité de l’Immortalité de l’Ame, a paraphrase of Phédon in prose interspersed with verse. In addition, there are a few detached pieces relating to his trial. The best and most complete edition is that to which we have referred of M. Alleaume in the Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, Paris, 1896.

The best edition of Saint-Evremond is the Amsterdam edition, 1739, Covens and Mortier, 7 vols. in 8vo; and of La Mothe le Vayer, the Dresden edition, 1749, published by Michel Groell, 7 vols. in 8vo, issued in fourteen volumes.
habit of never making an assertion without supporting it on the authority of an ancient writer; these various practices, while they may dazzle our ignorance for a time, end before very long in tiring us, in trying our patience, and, to be frank, in boring us. It is disagreeable to us that a poet should bind himself down to a perpetual commentary of Mark Antony Muret or of Peter Marcassus; and we do not wish to have to learn Latin as a preliminary to understanding a French book. Such, at any rate, was the feeling of the Précieuses, and their attitude explains how it was, that by merely playing their part and taking an interest in literature, they at once obliged the writer to shake off the dust of his library. They

III.—Alexandre Hardy [Paris, 1570; † 1631, Paris].


2. The Second Period of French Drama.—Alexandre Hardy may be accounted one of the “irregular” or “belated” writers who continue the literary traditions of the preceding age.—The “strolling player” at the beginning of the seventeenth century [Cf. Scarron’s Roman comique; S. Chappuzeau, Le théâtre français; and H. Chardon, La Troupe du Roman comique, Le Mans, 1876].—The state of the theatre towards 1610.—Material organisation, actors and spectators [Cf. especially Eugène Rigal, loc. cit. and his brochure: Esquisse d’une histoire des Théâtres de Paris de 1548 à 1653, Paris, 1887].—The incredible fertility of Alexandre Hardy.—Of the struggle for predominance between the different forms of drama as seen in the pieces of Alexandre Hardy.—The saying of Aristotle: ἤραγῶθι, πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλόμενα, ἵπτει αὐτής τὴν φύσιν ἡσαχ, ἵπτασει.—Pastorals, tragedies and tragi-comedies.—That in literary history as in nature, the competition is the keener in proportion as the species are more nearly related.—Growing confusion between the art of the drama and the art of romance;—and that the “father of the French drama”
THE NATIONALIZATION OF FRENCH LITERATURE

compelled him to comply with some of the exigencies of their sex, and the result was that a literature, which before had been purely erudite, adopted forthwith the tone of polite society.

This change was consummated, almost simultaneously and again in consequence of the influence of the Précieuses, by literature acquiring an air, it had hitherto lacked, of decency and politeness. Besides claiming the liberty of indulging their humour without restraint, the libertines and irregulars of the regency had asserted no less stoutly their right to remain faithful to the worst traditions and habits of the Gallic genius. They wished to be coarse, cynical, and shameless to the top of their

entirely failed to make for clearness;—if in all respects save one his tragedies are less modern than those of Robert Garnier.—Their utter lack of literary merit.—They bear about the same relation to classic tragedy as the melodramas of Guilbert de Pixérécourt will one day bear to the romantic drama of 1830.—That to see any interest in his plays they must be considered as "experimental" efforts to determine the laws or conditions of the drama of the future;—and also as evidence of the recrudescence of Spanish and Italian influences.

That from this standpoint, Alexandre Hardy must be allowed the merit, and it is a real merit, of having transformed a college amusement into a public representation.—He also essayed to differentiate tragi-comedy from tragedy.—Digression in this connection: on what depends the difference between the two branches?—It would seem to depend on the social status of the personages;—on the nature of the dénouement;—and of the reality of the personages taken from history.—Was Hardy alive to the importance of history in tragedy?

8. THE WORKS.—We know of forty-one plays by Hardy. They include: an interminable tragi-comedy, Théagène et Charicléa, based upon the romance of Heliodorus, in eight "days";—eleven tragedies borrowed from antiquity, with among them a Didon, a Marianne and an Alexandre;—twelve tragi-comedies, on ancient and modern subjects, imitated from the Spanish or Italian, Gésyppe, Phraarte, Cornélia, La Force du sang, Félimène, La Belle Égyptienne;—and finally five Pastorals;—and five mythological pieces, including an Alceste and an Ariane.
bent. There were to be no concessions to woman, whose mission, as in the case of Mme de Montaigne, was held to be limited to keeping house for her husband, to bearing him children, to perpetuating his race or—as happened to the Cassandre and the Marie of Ronsard, the Francine of Baïf, the Hippolyte of Desportes—to serving as an instrument of pleasure or a stepping-stone to literary fame. The Précieuses demanded that men should accord them the respect to which every woman, as a woman, is entitled in civilised society; and they gained their end. No doubt it would be easy to point to passages even in Balzac or Voiture of which the indecency, the naïve crudity and the bad taste are astonishing. Still, in a

The best and only modern edition of Alexandre Hardy's plays is M. Stengel's, 5 vols. in 18mo, Marburg, 1883, 1884, Elwert.

IV.—François de Malherbe [Caen, 1555; † 1628, Paris].


2. The Man, the Poet, and the Reformer.

A. That Malherbe, in spite of the disdain with which he affected to regard his predecessors, did not differ from them to the extent that has been alleged.—His general conception of poetry is that of Ronsard;—and the resemblance between them extends to matters of detail;—he makes "conceits" as Ronsard did;—like Ronsard, he draws upon mythology and to an abusive extent [Cf. Stances à M. du Perier;—Ode à Marie de Médicis;—Stances sur le départ de Louis XIII.] ;—and finally his sentiments, as were those of Ronsard, are often Pagan [Cf. Consolation à Caritée].—Of some anecdotes told of him, which support this latter assertion [Cf. Tallement des Réaux, i., 297, 290, 284].

B. That he lacks, or only possesses in an indifferent degree, the
general way, the influence of the Précieuses tended to purify, or if the expression be preferred, to polish literature and even manners. Neither Mme de Rambouillet, "the incomparable Arthénice," nor her daughter Julie d'Angennes, so patiently wooed by Montausier, nor the many gracious women whose training was effected by the conversations of the famous "blue chamber," permit the naked image to be thrust on them, in social converse or in books, of what each of us endeavours to hide in real, everyday life. There are acts that cannot be talked of, and not all that is talked of can be written about. For the future it is incumbent on men to have regard to social considerations, to the season or the circumstances, to age

qualities which make the poet, but he has the qualities of an excellent versifier.—It would be impossible to be more deficient than he is in enthusiasm; —the saying of Cavalier Marin.— His want of imagination.—Mythology, which with Ronsard is still instinct with life, becomes a mere "tool" with Malherbe; —and the metaphors he derives from it are not the expression of his emotion, but simply serve as ornaments to his theme.—His want of sensibility.—It is the life and still more the variety imparted by sensibility, when it is keen, that is lacking in his Odes.—Finally his want of naturalness.—On the other hand, he possesses the sense of logical development; —that of oratorical harmony; —a taste for work well done.—His theories as to the importance and the "richness" of rhyme: —his strict regard for grammar [Cf. Racan, Vie de Malherbe]; —and that in view of this characteristic it is strange that the Banvilles and Gautiers of contemporary French poetry should not have recognised that he is their true ancestor.

C. That while the very nature of the lessons inculcated by Malherbe explains their influence, he is none the greater as a writer on that account.—His ideal, as was the case with that of Ronsard as he grew older, tended towards the entire elimination of the personal element from lyricism; —and in consequence to transform lyricism into oratorical verse [Cf. Stances au roi Henri le Grand partant pour le Limousin].—This transformation responded exactly to the taste of the time; —and it had been effected, moreover, by Bertaut and the Cardinal du Perron in some of their poems [Cf. the Recueil
and to sex. As a consequence, the situation of women is at once improved to a notable extent. Henceforth they will have to be taken into account, their modesty will be respected, they will be treated as equals. And should any belated survivor of another century be incapable of this self-restraint, he may fall back upon the taverns, and rhyme his Bacchic verses and his coarse songs amid men companions at the Pomme de Pin or the Mouton Blanc.

The refinement of language accompanies the polishing of manners, and were I not afraid of seeming to play upon words, I should be disposed to say that "politeness" and "polish" are matters that go naturally together.

des plus beaux vers de ce temps, 1606] ;—Malherbe accomplished nothing else, but he did the work better. [Cf. the Sonnet sur la Mort de son fils ;—the Ode sur l'attentat de 1605 ;—the Ode à M. de Belle-garde.]—That in consequence it should rather be said that he witnessed than that he realised the reform with which his name is connected ;—besides, the first collected edition of his poems, which had been scattered previously, did not appear until 1630 ;—that he does not appear to have left any disciples rightly so-called, if the only two that can be named are Maynard and Racan ;—and that the budding Academy criticised his masterpiece, the Stances de 1605, as severely as it did the Cid itself.

3. The Works.—The works of Malherbe are composed : (1) of his Poems, in all 125 pieces, the first of which : Les Larmes de saint Pierre, appeared in 1587 ; and the last, Les Vers funèbres sur la mort d'Henri le Grand, and the Invective contre le maréchal d'Ancre :

V'a-t-en à la malheure, excrément de la terre,

not until the edition of 1630 ;—(2) of his Commentaire sur Desportes, which was not published until 1825 ;—(3) of his translations of the 23rd Book of Livy. 1621 ; of the De beneficiis ; and of Seneca's letters to Lucilius, 1637, 1638, 1639 ;—(4) of his Correspondence, of great interest for the history of Marie de Médicis' regency.

We may mention among the editions of Malherbe subsequent to the first, which was issued in 1630 by Charles Chappelain ;—the
Refinement in words follows on that in habits, and the choice of ideas induces the choice of terms. In consequence, the triumph of preciosity was the starting point of a linguistic revolution; a result, indeed, to which all that was achieved by preciosity has been too often and wrongly restricted. Many historians of literature would confine the rôle of the Précieuses to having struck certain words out of the vocabulary, to having introduced others, and more especially to having replaced the habitual use of the proper, straightforward, and exact term by the employment of the metaphor. And I admit that they accomplished all this! But what is perhaps more interesting, and in any case more important, than to


V.—Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac [Angoulême, 1594; † 1654, Angoulême].

1. The Sources.—Ogier, Apologie pour M. de Balzac, 1627;—Goulu, Lettres de Phyliarque à Ariste, 1628;—Balzac himself "pro domo suâ" in his Entretiens: Relation à Ménandre (Maynard), and the Passages défendus;—Cassagne's preface to the great edition of Balzac's works, 1665;—Niceron, Hommes illustres, vol. xxiii.;—Bayle's Dictionnaire;—d'Olivet, Histoire de l'Académie.


2. Balzac's Influence.—Of the privilege of poetry, and that it is the sole explanation of the fact that Malherbe's reputation has outlasted that of Balzac.—Admiration of his contemporaries: testimony of Descartes [V. Cousin's edition, vol. vi., p. 189];—of Bossuet [Sur le style et la lecture des écrivains pour former un orateur, in Floquet's Études, vol. ii.];—of Boileau [Réflexions sur Longin, vol. vii.].—The influence of Balzac was far more considerable than that of Malherbe,
enumerate here the sundry words or locutions for whose introduction they were responsible, is to arrive at the reasons which determined the choice of these particular words and locutions. We referred to them above. There are acts which are ignoble in themselves, and of this nature are in general all of our acts that are to be traced to our animal origin: the words that serve to designate them share their ignominy and baseness, or it should rather be said, perhaps, that they heighten these characteristics, owing to the debasing intention that attaches to their use. There are other acts, walking or sitting down for example, that have no significance good or bad, and in consequence the terms that render them are equally

with which it was almost contemporary:—in a certain sense too it was happier, as it had not been forced to accomplish a work of destruction to enable it to exert itself.—At the same time it tended in the same direction;—and though they may mutually have spoken ill of one another, they nevertheless had the same disciples and the same admirers.

Of the principal qualities which his contemporaries admired in Balzac;—(1) The purity of his elocution;—definition of this word, and that it implies the choice, the appropriateness, and the charm of terms.—(2) The harmony of his phraseology and sentences [Cf. Cassagne’s Preface and Godeau’s Discours sur Malherbe].—The boldness, appositeness, and abundance of his metaphors.—Whether Balzac was in this respect an imitator of the Spaniards;—and in this connection of the influence of Antonio Perez [Cf. Philarète Chasles, Études sur le XVIe siècle, and de Puibusque, Histoire comparée des Littératures française et espagnole].—A remark of Cassagne: “M. de Balzac,” he says, “is always happy in the choice of his metaphors, and having chosen them he does not fail to abide by them.”—To these natural or acquired qualities must be added that of never neglecting to turn them to account [Cf. the letter to Costar on the subject of “the higher eloquence”].

That the principal defect which spoils Balzac’s qualities is due less to their exaggeration than to his lack of ideas.—A just remark of Boileau,—to the effect that in giving his attention more particularly to letter writing, Balzac erred as to the suitability of the epistolary
wanting in significance. On the other hand there are noble acts, such as that of self-sacrifice, or, without going so far, such as all acts which constitute a victory of the mind over the body, of the will over instinct, of civilisation over nature; and the nobility of these acts is communicated to the words, and so to speak to the very syllables that express them. There is therefore a standard by which even custom is judged, whatever may have been said to the contrary. Our character is revealed by our manners, which in turn are betokened by our words even more than by our actions; a race or a nation betrays itself by the character of the language it speaks; and finally a period

style to his talent.—This mistake is clearly seen when his Treatises or his Dissertations are compared with the Letters proper.—That even in these Treatises themselves he lacks experience to some extent of the matter he discusses;—his politics are essentially "bookish";—and his philosophy was forged entirely in his study.—Still, neither Pascal [Cf. Le Prince, p. 27, in the edition of 1665], nor Bossuet [Cf. Socrate Chrétien, pp. 239, 240], seems to have read him without profit.—But it was more particularly by Corneille that he was studied [Cf. the four Dissertations politiques addressed to Mme de Rambouillet, sur les Romains and sur la gloire].

In consequence, in spite of all his defects, he may be said to have done something more for the French genius than to "coach it in rhetoric," according to Sainte-Beuve's expression.—He was acquainted with the sources and, as the ancients said, with the "topics" of lofty eloquence;—on more than one occasion he displayed a sufficiently exact and practised critical sense [Cf. his estimates of Ronsard and Montaigne];—and finally he always strove after elevation.—That for all these reasons his personality is a considerable one in our literary history.—He has had many followers and many imitators,—the transformation of lyricism into oratorical prose was completed in his writings;—and his chief error, which he shared with all his contemporaries, merely consisted in his having believed that the object of art is to adorn nature with a view to making it more beautiful.—The means by which this end may be attained ought to be studied, but with the intention of having recourse to them as little as
is characterised by the choice of its words and the turn of its phrases.

The merit of the Précieuses is to have been conscious of these truths. Their mode of expression was the exact counterpart of their manner of thinking; and they ought to be judged from the psychological rather than from the linguistic or philological point of view. Their efforts to refine or to reform the language were not, as was the case with the poets of the Plied, their principal concern, but were only a secondary undertaking entered on because they had perceived that the reform of literary habitudes could only be effected by the reform of the language. Doubtless while endeavouring to attain their end by all possible;—and taking care to adapt them to the theme and to circumstances.

3. The Works.—The works of Balzac are composed: (1) of 27 books of Letters, of which the earlier appeared in 1624, and the last after his death. Six books of these Letters are addressed to Chappelain and four to Corrart. All or almost all of them are of great interest for the literary history of the period.—(2) Of his Entretiens or Dissertations, of which there are 67, divided into: Christian and Moral Dissertations, 25;—Political Dissertations, 14;—Critical Dissertations, 28. [The Relation à Monandre and Les Passages défendus, in which he defends himself against the attacks of Father Goulu, the author of the Lettres de Phyllarque à Aristé, form part of the Christian Dissertations. The three dissertations on the Romans form the first three Political Dissertations.]—In addition there are: (3) The Treatises, that is: Le Prince, 1631;—Le Barbou, 1648;—Socrate Chrétien, 1652;—and Aristippe, 1658. And in conclusion: (4) a series of letters in Latin.

The best editions of Balzac's works are:—the edition formed by combining the six volumes printed by the Elzeviers either at Leyden or at Amsterdam, and adding Socrate Chrétien;—and the standard edition of 1665, in 2 vols. in folio, Paris, published by Louis Billaine.

There are no modern editions, unless a "selection" of Balzac's writings, edited by M. Moreau, Paris, 1854, Lecoffre, be counted as such.
the means at their disposal, they did not resist the desire or the temptation to distinguish themselves from the crowd, to form coteries amongst themselves, and, as the saying is, to be "peculiar." However, if among the ways of being peculiar there be one that is assuredly excusable, and even in some respects legitimate, is it not that which consists in desiring to feel, think, and act more nobly, more delicately, and with more refinement than other people? To this ambition is to be ascribed the vogue of such very different productions as the trifling verse of Voiture, among which there is much that is charming; the Letters or the Treatises of Balzac; and the romances of Gomberville and Gombaud, *Endymion* and *Polexandre*.

VI.—Claude Favre de Vaugelas [Meximieux (Ain), 1585; † 1650, Paris].


2. The Rôle of Vaugelas.—Vaugelas' birth and early surroundings;—and in this connection a few remarks on the subject of the Academy of Florimont.—Vaugelas' father: Antoine Favre:—his relation with François de Sales and Honoré d'Urfé.—Vaugelas, a tutor to the Carignan family.

Importance of his book *Remarques sur la langue française*.—By affirming that language is governed by usage, Vaugelas shielded the evolution of language from the caprices of individual taste;—by drawing a distinction between good and bad usage, he divided off the language of the "court" from that of the "street-porters of the Port au foin";—and by making the usage prevailing in the spoken language the standard of usage in the written language, he gave the classic language its essential character, which is that of being a
for example. A further reason of this vogue is that while the great letter writer is at pains to hit on expressions and turns of phrase the grandiloquence of which shall be in keeping with what is termed around him the "grand goût" (or it may perhaps be translated the "best taste"), his fellow writers, the novelists, attempt psychological observation and analysis in their interminable narratives.

- We are under yet another obligation to the Précieuses: the conversation cultivated in their salons, besides increasing the suppleness and fluency of the language, made for intellectual refinement. The evolution of the sentiments or the passions is studied with closer attention spoken language.—Digression in this connection;—and that Bossuet, Molière, Saint-Simon, and how many others will write as "they will speak."—This being the case, the greater part of the blunders and licenses with which grammarians reproach them cease at once to be of any account;—this circumstance also explains the inner qualities of the classic language;—its vivacious clearness;—its briskness and naturalness.—The scruples of Vaugelas;—and that they concord with those of Balzac;—and with the teachings of Malherbe.—Bossuet's saying to the effect "that nothing eternal is entrusted to the keeping of languages that are always changing";—and, in this connection, of the comparison between a language and an organism.

- That there is a distinction between "immobilising" a language (or shutting the door against all change) and "fixing" it (or giving it stability as far as essentials are concerned);—that Vaugelas' object was to "fix" the current usage;—and in what measure he was successful [Cf. Haase, Obert's trans., Syntaxe du XVIIe siècle, Paris, 1898].

Vaugelas at the Hôtel Rambouillet,—and at the French Academy. Rejoinders provoked by his Remarques.—La Mothe le Vayer's opuscle dealing with the Remarques sur la langue française.—P. Bouhours' estimate of Vaugelas [Cf. Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène].


We have referred above to the excellent modern edition of the Remarques edited by M. A. Chassang (1880).
till an inkling is obtained of a number of their finer shades, of which there is no indication that the "ancients" had any idea, nor even the writers of the preceding generation. Is it not essential that the notions conveyed by these nice distinctions should be analysed or, to use a better expression, be "dissected," if only with a view to an improved classification of the terms of politeness and good manners? What constitutes elevation? To decide the matter it must be carefully examined. The result is that, thanks to preciosity, appropriate expression and delicate analysis are introduced simultaneously into conversation. The interest of society in grammar and politeness has extended imperceptibly to psychology.

VII.—Pierre Corneille [Rouen, 1606; † 1685, Paris].


Corneille: Discours and his "Examinations" of his own tragedies.

The enumeration of the sources, complete up to the date of issue of the work (1875), will be found in M. Emile Picot's Bibliographie Cornélienne. In the case of Corneille and in that of the great writers generally, we shall only mention the sources a knowledge of which appears to us indispensable.
The effort to express old ideas in a novel, original, and, on occasion, eccentric manner has led to the discovery of new ideas, the search for which will now become the general ambition and will soon be the chief concern of the makers of Maxims;—and in the end La Roche-foucauld, if he be given his proper place, will be merely the last of the illustrious Precieux.

We should add that this movement was the outcome of the efforts, made in common, not only of the men of letters, but also of the "honnêtes gens" or the members of good society; and it is doubtless due to this fact that "preciosity," speaking generally, did not meet with the same fate in France as in England, Spain, and Italy.

Frédéric Godefroy, Lexique de la langue de Corneille, Paris, 1862; Marty-Laveaux, Lexique, etc., Paris, 1888, forming the two last volumes of the edition of Corneille in the collection "Les Grands Ecrivains."

2. The Man and the Poet.

A. Corneille's emulators;—and in this connection, that it is urgent to "disenumber" the history of literature;—and that only the name but not the work of Mairet, or even Rotrou, having survived, they are only worth attention in so far as they are a "function" of Corneille. —In what way and to what extent they paved the way for him. —Mairet's Sophonisbe and that Corneille was well acquainted with it, since he borrowed from it the imprecations he puts in the mouth of his Camille.—Predominance of the romantic element in Mairet's dramas.—The preface to Silvaine, 1625, and the rule of the three unities [Cf. Breitinger, Les unités avant le Cid de Corneille, Zurich, 1883].—General tendency of the writers of tragedy to treat subjects already dealt with.—The four Sophonisbe [Trissino, 1515; Mellin de Saint-Gelais, 1559; Claude Hermel, 1593; Moncrastien, 1596].—Backwardness of comedy in comparison with tragedy.—The Galanteries du duc d'Osone.—The imitation of the Spanish drama in the dramas of Rotrou [Cf. Puibusque, Histoire comparée des littératures française et espagnole, Paris, 1842; and Jarry, Essai sur les œuvres dramatiques de Rotrou, Paris, 1858].—How the romantic element in Rotrou's dramas perpetually tends towards extravagance;—and the sentiment in them towards bombast.—The traces of Rotrou's influence
For why is it that Euphuism in England, Marinism in Italy, or Gongorism in Spain did not exert the same influence as was exercised among us by preciosity? The reason is that the purely literary side of the movement was overruled in France by its social side, the desire to be peculiar by the need that this peculiarity should find a host of admirers. Our Précieuses never forgot that the adversaries they had to combat in the first instance were the enemies of all order and discipline. In consequence, while in Spain or in Italy, Gongorism or Marinism led up to fresh excesses on the part of individualism, in France, on the contrary, it was the social ideal that came victorious out of the

in the history of French drama:—on Corneille, on Mohèrè, on Racine.

B. Corneille's early years.—The false idea that is commonly entertained that Corneille was throughout an “heroic” writer; —and that on the contrary he began as a writer of comedy. —Melite, 1629; Clitandre, 1632; La Veuve, 1633; La Galerie du Palais, 1633; La Suivante, 1634; La Place Royale, 1634; L'Illusion comique, 1636.—Literary interest of the comedies of Corneille's youth. —They owe nothing to the imitation of foreign writers; —they consist of incidents taken from ordinary life and but very slightly “romanced”; —and then personages are already of middle-class rank. —The scenes of gallantry in Corneille's comedies; —and that the language in which they are written is a perfect imitation of that of the Précieuses; —and, in this connection, that there is a Louis XIII. style in literature as in architecture. —The “young girl” in Corneille's comedies; —the style of the comedies. —Singular character of the Illusion comique; —and why, towards 1635, there were so many comedies turning on actors and stage life. —Médée, Corneille's first tragedy. —What reasons induced Corneille to turn his attention to tragedy [Cf. Hatzfeld, Les commencements de Corneille, 1857; —P. Vavasseur, Corneille poète comique, 1884; —and F. Hémon, Étude sur les comédies de Corneille preceding his edition of the Works, 1886].

C. The masterpieces.—The Cid, 1637; Horace, 1640; Cinna, 1640; Polyeucte, 1642; Pompée, 1643; the Menteur, 1643; La Suite du Menteur, 1643; Théodore, 1645; Rodogune, 1646; Heraclius, 1647;
crisis in the end. It was the Précieuses who developed, strengthened, and consolidated that deep-lying tendency in French literature to give expression to "common" or general ideas rather than to particular opinions—a tendency already foreshadowed in certain of the writers of the preceding age. By their attitude, the Précieuses assured the vogue of those branches of literature which are termed "universal," and whose essential characteristic lies in the circumstance that their very existence depends upon the existence of a public to encourage them. Our meaning is that it is quite conceivable that a writer should compose an "elegy" or even

*Andromède*, 1650; *Don Sanche d'Aragon*, 1650; *Nicomède*, 1651; *Pertharite*, 1652.—Of some influences that have unquestionably left their mark on Corneille:—and, in this connection, of the allusions to current events in Corneille's dramas;—the *Cid* and the duelling question;—the influence of Balzac and of his *Entretiens sur les Romains* [Cf. his letter to Corneille on the subject of *Cinna*];—the plots against Richelieu and the tragedy of *Cinna*;—*Polyeucte* and *Jansenism* [Cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*].—Corneille's genius suffers when he deals with subjects of pure "invention."—The complicated plots of *Rodogune* and *Héraclius*.—But here again his intention is to vie with the romance writers of his time: La Calprenède and Scudéry.—The sketches of the manners of the time of the Fronde in Corneille's masterpieces.—He exaggerates what is already too "high flown" in his Roman and Spanish models.—He essays for an instant, in *Don Sanche* and *Nicomède*, a more sober form of comedy;—but he is quick to renounce this effort as is seen in his *Pertharite*;—in consequence of the failure of which he leaves off writing for the stage for seven years.

D. The genius and the dramatic system of Corneille;—and that his *Discours* and his *Examen* should only be consulted on this point with much precaution;—because they are scarcely and only indirectly dogmatic and explanatory, but rather apologetic and polemical;—the abbé d'Aubignac and his *Pratique du théâtre* [Cf. Arnaud, *Théories dramatiques au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1886].—The characteristics of Corneille's imagination.—In the first place his imagination was strong and daring;—that is to say it was di-
THE NATIONALIZATION OF FRENCH LITERATURE

a "satire" and keep it to himself, that he should write a novel and lock it up in his desk, that he should note down in secret the chronicles of his time; on the other hand it has never occurred to any one to prepare a "discourse" or to write a tragedy in five acts and in verse solely for his own personal satisfaction.

It is these various influences that paved the way for, determined, and gave final sanction to the success of the "great" Corneille. For nothing is less like the real Corneille than the easy-going man of genius whose heroic figure is placed before us in all our histories, the truth being that the poet followed the veering of opinion with

tinguished by a leaning, at once natural and the outcome of circumstances, towards the extraordinary and the improbable;—hence his theory that the subject of a fine tragedy ought to be improbable [See Marty-Laveaux' edition, i., 147];—hence his theory as to the use to be made of history in drama [Marty-Laveaux' edition, i., 15],—hence his theory of heroism:

When fate allows us to pursue a career of honour,
It affords us a glorious opportunity to display our fortitude.

—Hence, too, the epic character of the personages in his dramas [Cf. an admirable passage on this point in Hene's La France];—the comparative absence of analysis and psychology;—the subordination of the characters to the situations [Cf. Saint-Evremond's study of Racine's Alexandre].—Comparison in this connection between Rodogune and Ruy Blas, or between Cynna and Hernani.—That Corneille's taste for complications of plot grafted on these tendencies, would have landed him in melodrama.

But while his imagination was strong and daring, it was at the same time noble and lofty;—that is to say he prefers what is noble to what is base in the domain of the extraordinary and the romantic;—what elevates the soul to what deems it;—and in general heroes to monsters.—Still it is not true as has been said [Cf. V. de Laprade, Essais de critique idéaliste] that his drama represents the triumph of duty over passion;—it represents the triumph of the will [Cf. J. Lemaître, Corneille et Aristote] over the obstacles that interfere with its development;—and hence, in his drama:—his liking for
unrivalled acumen, and guided his supple talent in accordance with his observations. Quite rightly, he is given an important place, a place of honour, in the *Grand Dictionnaire des Prétieuses*, of Bodeau de Somaize, where he is termed "the greatest man who has ever written pieces for the playhouse." The appreciation is just; and the chief preoccupation of Corneille, both in the comedies of his youth, in *Mélie*, the *Veuve* or the *Galerie du Palais*, and in the masterpieces of his maturity, was to win the approbation of the Précieuses.

In his *Examen de Mélie*, he himself claims with pride that his earliest achievement was to establish the reign of political tragedy, which is pre-eminently the field for the exercise of the will;—his contempt for the passions of love, which he regards as being too "encumbered with weakness";—the moral purpose or rather the apparent moral purpose;— hence, too, the highly-strung sentiments;—and hence, finally, the art with which he exhausts the subjects he treats [Cf. *Examen de Rodogune*, Marty-Laveaux' edition, iv., 421].—"The second act surpasses the first; the third is superior to the second; and the last act throws all the others into the shade."

—He is the master of his subjects just as his heroes are the masters of their fate. [Compare the contrary state of things in the Romantic drama.]

It is a pity, after this, that his imagination should be tortuous and quibbling;—which amounts to saying that he partakes to some extent if not of the lawyer at any rate of the casuist.——The "cases of conscience" in Corneille's tragedies;—and that they constitute their greatness;—but they also give them a certain tortuousness.——Hence the actions in his drama which he terms "implex" [Cf. the character of Sabine in *Horace* and that of Sévère in *Polyeucte*];—analysis of *Héraclius*;—admissions of Corneille on this subject.——To complication of plot he adds complication of motives;—Schlegel's observations on this point [Cf. *Littérature dramatique*, Saussure's translation. ii., p. 41].—Corneille's Machiavellism, —and that it would be possible to extract as many immoral maxims from his work as from the *Prince*.

All those State crimes committed to wear a crown,
Heaven absolves us of them, when it gives us the crown.
decency and morality on a stage whose license previous to his time had kept women away from the theatre. We find then that if he borrows a subject from Spain,—since Spain is the fashion,—he imparts to his personages in the Cid the quality of humanity, in the Menteur the quality of polish, and in both the quality of generality that are the characteristics of the polite society around him, and as it were the signs by which its members recognise one another. Similarly, when in Horace, Cinna, or Rodogune, he mingles politics and gallantry, it must not be supposed that he is imitating Justinus, Seneca, or Livy: he is sketching from the life the

Corneille's pretensions to a knowledge of politics;—the remark of Condé, cited in this connection, after the representation of Sertorius: "When did Corneille learn the art of war?"—and of Grammont after that of Othon.

E. The old age of Corneille.—Ædipe, 1659; Sertorius, 1662; Sophonisbe, 1663; Othon, 1664; Agésilas, 1666; Attila, 1667; Tite et Bérénice, 1670; Pulcherie, 1672; Surèna, 1674;—Corneille as a delineator of history;—and of the falseness of the paradox of Desjardins in his Grand Corneille historien.—Local colour in the work of Corneille.

—That the defects of his last plays proceed from the same causes as the qualities of his masterpieces.—That they are mere special pleadings written in support of a thesis.—The Machiavellism of the motives [Cf. Perthuis, vol. vi., p. 571;—Othon, vol. vi., p. 632;—Attilla, vol. vii., pp. 107, 162].—That the author's nobleness and elevation degenerate in them:—into affectation [Nicomedé, vol. vi., p. 581];—into bombast [Don Sanche, vol. vi., p. 458];—into inhumanity [Attila, vol. vii., p. 172];—and finally that the bent of his imagination takes the changed shape of a mania for unreasoned inventions, innovations, and complications.—It is for this reason that "he now loads his subjects with matter": that after having banished love from his plays he reintroduces it in the guise of the most frigid gallantry [Cf. Othon, vol. vi., p. 587; Attila, vol. vii., p. 140, 141];—and that he puts history to a false use in tragedy.

F. The language and style of Corneille.—That the poet amid this shipwreck of the qualities of his prime retains one gift to the end—for nobody, perhaps, has ever written better in verse than Corneille.
manner and personages of his time. Who is the Précieuse of whom Somaize tells us that "not only was she much esteemed for her beauty, but as well for the loftiness of her soul, while her intelligence was not solely preoccupied with trifles, but rose to the consideration of matters of the first importance"? This Précieuse is familiar to us; and before being called Emilie in Corneille's Cinna, or Cléopâtre in his Rodogune, she had more than once in actual history been a source of uneasiness to the great Cardinal under her real name of the Duchesse de Chevreuse. Numerous are the parallels it would be possible to draw of a like nature. When Corneille compli-

—[Cf. the speech of Auguste in Cinna and the narrative passages of the Menteur.]—Qualities of his style;—and to appreciate them, a comparison between the style of Polyenect and that of Andromaque;—or between the comic style of Corneille and that of Molière and of Regnard.—Appropriateness and vigour of his language.—Richness and harmony of his verse.—Amplitude and vigour of his periods.—In what sense Corneille remains natural and consistent with himself even when he is guilty of incoherence and preciosity.—Of certain points which Corneille has in common with the Romanticists;—and in consequence of the points in common between Romantic literature and the literature of the time of Louis XIII.

3. The Works.—Apart from his tragedies and comedies, the only work of Corneille of any importance is his translation in verse of the Initiatio Christi.

We shall content ourselves with citing here among the editions of his works:—the edition of 1660 in 3 vols.;—that of 1664 in two folio volumes, which is the most monumental, but unfortunately it lacks the plays of his later years—the edition of 1738 with Joly's commentaries;—the edition of 1738 which is the first that contains Voltaire's commentaries and Gravelot's illustrations;—finally, among modern editions, to say nothing of very many others, that of Marty-Laveaux in the collection of the Grands Écrivains de la France, Paris, 1862–1868, Hachette.

VIII.—The Foundation of the French Academy, 1635.

1. The Origin of the Academy.—The Italian academies of the
cates, embroils, and entangles his plots to the utmost in his *Sertorius*, his *Othon*, his *Attila*, he does so less in response to his own inspiration than with a view to vying as a romantic writer with the Gombervilles, the La Calprenèdes, and the Scudérirs!

And his genius is not diminished on this account! His superiority is unaffected by his compliances with the variations and exigencies of the taste of his time, since the numerous writers who surround him,—Mauret, Rotrou, du Ryer, Scudéri, La Calprenède,—though they follow the fashion as he did, produced nothing of the stamp of the *Cid*, of *Polyeucte*, of *Pompée*, or of *Héraclius*.

time of the Renaissance [Cf. Pellisson, *Histoire de l'Académie*];—the academy of the last of the Valois [Cf. on this head M. Edouard Frenay’s book, Paris, n.d.];—the Florentine Academy.—A remark of the Abbé d’Olivet on Balzac: “Up to that time,” he says, “men of letters had formed a republic of which the dignities were divided between a number of persons, but this republic suddenly became a monarchy to the throne of which Balzac was raised by an unanimous vote.”—That Conrart’s original scheme for the Academy [Cf. his *Mémoires*] was devised precisely with a view to introducing an ordered hierarchy into the world of letters.—This purpose coincided with the wishes of the Précieuses of the *Hôtel Rambouillet*;—with the general desire of men of letters;—and with the more far-reaching plans of Cardinal Richelieu.—The “Letters Patent of January 29, 1635.”—Why did the Parliament refuse to ratify them for two years?—It may be that established bodies dislike to see other bodies organised around them.—But Richelieu effected his purpose in the end.—The first academicians.—[Cf. Pellisson and d’Olivet, *Histoire de l’Académie française*, Lavet’s edition, Paris, 1858;—Paul Mesnard, *Histoire de l’Académie*, Paris, 1857;—The successive prefaces of the Dictionary of the Academy;—A. Bourgoin, *Valentin Conrart*, Paris, 1888;—and the Abbé A. Fabre, *Chaplain et nos deux premières Académies*, Paris, 1890.]

2. The Object of the Academy.—That it did not differ in principle from that which had been projected by the Précieuses, Malherbe, Balzac, and Vaugelas:—it was proposed to raise the French language to the dignity of Latin and Greek;—and in consequence to the un-
I merely contend that his greatness is not dependent on his isolation, and that though he towers above his rivals he is bound to them nevertheless by ties of relationship. But he belongs essentially to that Precious society, which recognised and applauded itself in his works, which will remain faithful to him to the end, and will defend him against young and audacious rivals; and the consequence is, that although the Précieuses may have had their faults and even have exposed themselves to ridicule, the drama of Corneille is lasting testimony to the nobility, loftiness, and generosity of their artistic ideal.

There is a man who made no mistake on this score.

versatility they had formerly enjoyed.—Conformity of this very clearly defined intention with the intentions of Ronsard and the Pleiad.—Why was it that all the translators who enjoyed a reputation at the time were members of the Academy?—Because the sole object of their translations was to spread and, as it were, to incorporate with the substance of the French genius an exhaustive knowledge of antiquity.—The “belles infidèles” of Perrot d’Ablancourt.—Why all the grammarians?—Because it lay with them to set forth and to catalogue the riches, the resources, and the “possibilities” of the language.—And why all the critics?—Because it was believed at the time that there exists a necessary relation between the perfection of literary works and the observance of the rules or laws that govern the branch of literature to which they belong.—Chapelain’s Prefaces.—Controversies as to “the excellence of the French language” [Cf. Goujet, Bibliothèque française, vol. 1].—The early labours of the Academy;—services rendered in general by the French Academy;—and in what sense it may be said of the Academy that it really fixed the language.

* 8. **The Immediate Influence of the Academy.**—In the first place it substituted a central literary authority for the influence of dispersed coteries;—and in this way, it was due to the Academy, and in the works of its members, that individual efforts began to converge towards a common goal.—Advantages and disadvantages of this literary centralisation. The establishment of the Academy enforced the conviction that literary glory is an integral and necessary part of the greatness of a nation [Cf. Du Bellay, Défense et Illustration, etc.].—
I refer to Richelieu, whose perception of the truth is the secret motive of his attitude, now friendly, now hostile, towards Corneille. The moment the writer and the poet, instead of keeping to themselves, began to mix in society, and to submit, as an earnest of their intention to please, to the discipline society imposed on them, Richelieu conceived the idea of making this new-born docility serve his political designs. It seemed to him that it would surely be a master stroke to turn to account the power of the intelligence, to make it an instrument of his authority; or, to put the matter a little differently, to interest men of letters in the realisation of his ambitious plans without

In this way it raised the status of the man of letters;—in the State;—and in his own eyes.—Finally, when the Academy set itself the task of "fixing" the language, it seemed at first as if the effort were destined to be successful;—and in any case, by enforcing respect for the language, it paved the way for what foreigners themselves will speak of a hundred and fifty years later as the universality of French [Cf. Rivarot, *Discours sur l'universalité de la langue française. in answer to the question raised by the Berlin Academy*].

IX.—The Origin of Jansenism.


2. The Formation of the Doctrine.—The importance of Jansenism
acquainting them with the secret of his intentions; and he fancied he saw the means of effecting his purpose in the movement in progress around him. All the small literary coteries that had come into existence in imitation of the Hôtel Rambouillet,—of which in reality they were only the caricature,—were evidence of a desire to see reign, even in intellectual matters, a measure of order and discipline. There seemed to be a tendency, operating on different lines to those he was following, in favour of that unity or, to use a stronger expression, that homogeneousness which was the principal or the unique object of his home policy. Just as he wished to

in the history of religious ideas;—of French literature;—and of politics.—The still existing hostility against Jansenism of an entire party.

The movement of the Counter-Reformation [Cf. Ranke, Histoire de la Papauté];—Self-concentration of Catholicism;—the revival of religious fervour during the last years of the sixteenth century.—Molinism [which must not be confounded with Molinism];—and how it seems to have accredited the idea that we are masters of our destiny.—Du Vergier de Hauranne, Abbé of Saint-Cyrain [1581; 1638] and Jansénius or Janssen [1585; 1638] combat this “corruption” of Christianity.—Early writings of Saint-Cyrain.—The Question royale, 1609;—Apologie pour Henri... de la Rochepouy évêque de Poitiers, 1615.—Meeting between Saint-Cyrain and Arnauld d’Andilly, 1620;—their relations with the Fathers of the Oratory;—the Réfutation de la Somme du Père Garasse, 1626;—the publication of the Petrus Aurelius, 1631;—The Port-Royal des Champs is transferred to Paris, 1628;—Saint-Cyrain, director of the Port-Royal;—his imprisonment in the Bastille, 1638;—Publication of the Augustinianus in 1640.

Analysis of the Augustinianus.—The five propositions [Cf. the Abbé Fuzet, Les Janséniastes et leur dernier historien; and with regard to the essence of the question of grace, C. Mazella, De Gratia Christi praelectiones scholastico-dogmaticae].—That the points at issue in this controversy are:—free will;—the definition of human nature;—and, finally, the entire question of conduct.—Further, from the point of view of the history of literature, an acquaintance with the con-
make the French monarchy the type in some sort of the modern State, a veritable whole, really living and really organised, so literature also seemed to be tending towards the same ideal of organisation and common life. In the same way, while the object of his foreign policy was to make France the regulator of European politics, the secret ambition of the grammarians and critics—of Vaugelas, for instance, or of Chapelain—was to insure the French language inheriting the proud position of the Latin and Greek languages. A mutual understanding should be easy; and it took shape after some tentative essays in the conception of the French Academy. The French

troversy is necessary to an understanding of the Provinciales and of the Pensées.

X.—René Descartes [la Haye (in Touraine), 1596; † 1650, Stockholm].


A. Baillet, La vie de Monsieur Descartes, Paris, 1691.


2. The Man, the Philosopher, and the Writer.—What was the conception of science and philosophy in vogue before Descartes?—and that to attribute him the honour of having overthrown the philosophy of Aristotle is to make an error of something like a hundred years.—The rôle of Italy in the formation of the idea of science.—Galileo [Cf.
Academy was created for no other purpose than to bind up the destinies of literature with those of France itself; and that it might not happen that a social force so considerable as was already that of the intelligence should entirely escape the action of the central authority.

It remained to be seen under what conditions the understanding would be completed. For on several occasions, and even on the morrow of the foundation of his Academy, Richelieu had been brought to perceive —by the incident of Corneille and the critics of the Cid, —that he would not govern men of letters as he did his "intendants." Men of letters are lacking at times in that esprit de suite, which the cardinal demanded from

Fiorentino *op. cit.*, and J. Bertrand, *Les fondateurs de l'astronomie moderne*, Paris, 1865].—A few words as to Bacon and as to the slightness of his influence [Cf. Liebig, *Bacon*, Paris, 1866; and Claude Bernard, *Introduction à la médecine expérimentale*, Paris, 1865].—Of the learned ignorance of Descartes; —and how much he was indebted to his predecessors.—That he had certainly read Charron's *Traité de la Sagesse*; —the *Doctrine curvæuse* of Father Garasse; —and, on his own admission, the Letters of Balzac.—Whether, as Huyghens believed, he was "very jealous of the renown of Galileo."

Descartes’ education; —his early studies at the College of La Flèche, 1604–1612; —his early career in Paris and his passion for gambling [Cf. Baillet, ch. 8]; —his military career, 1617–1621; —he is present at the battle of Prague, 1620.—His journey to Italy and his pilgrimage to Notre-Dame de-Lorette, 1624–1625; —his sojourn in Paris, 1625–1629; —where it is probable that he wrote his *Regulae ad directionem ingenii*.—The mythological allusions and the precisiosity of expression in the *Regulae*; —one is reminded of the Latin style of Bacon.—That these details reveal a Descartes who is an entirely different man from the speculative genius of legend.—No philosopher has seen more of the world; —has obtained an acquaintance at first hand with more varied social conditions; —which he studied with the express intention of learning "to know the human race."—He drew from life and from the observation of mankind what Montaigne sought in the observation of himself and in books.—He decides to settle in Holland, and takes
those he took under his protection; and though their obedience is quite capable of going to the length of servility, still it is always to a certain extent capricious and intermittent.

It is at this juncture that the historians of French literature place the influence of Descartes and of his *Discours de la méthode*, the date of publication of which is 1637. "The influence of Descartes," wrote Désiré Nisard, "was that of a man of genius who taught men their true nature, and together with the art of attaining to a knowledge and control of their intelligence, the art of employing it to the best purpose." In another passage he says: "This is the reason why

up his residence in Amsterdam, 1629.—His romance: *Hélène et Francine*.

Some peculiarities of Descartes' character,—and how is it his biographers have not given greater attention to them?—The wide scope of his interests.—What has become of his verses on the "Peace of Munster"?—and of the comedy "in prose interspersed with verse," of which mention is made in the list of his manuscripts?—His habitual state of uneasiness;—his absentmindedness;—his changes of residence;—his mysterious existence;—his "fads."—Some curious fragments of his *Journal*;—his hallucinations and his dreams;—the memorable night of November 10, 1619, when "it seemed to him that the spirit of truth descended into him from heaven and possessed him."—Nothing similar is found in the life of Corneille;—and still less in that of Malherbe.—That it is time that a place should be given these peculiarities in the historical character of Descartes;—and that they should be kept in view in passing judgment on his philosophy.

The publication of the *Essais de philosophie* [in 4to, Leyden, 1637] comprising: the *Discours sur la méthode*, the *Dioptrique*, the *Traité des météores* and the *Géométrie*.—His controversy with Voet [Cf. J. Bertrand, *Rouve des Deux Mondes*, 1891].—He publishes his *Méditations métaphysiques*, 1641;—his *Principes de philosophie*, 1644.—"He takes a dislike to the function of author, that deprives him of all desire to publish anything" [Cf. Bailliet, *Vie de Descartes*].—His taste for the study of natural history and physiology.—His last
the writers who came immediately after Descartes . . . are almost all his disciples. They are his disciples by the doctrines they adopt wholly or in part, and by the systematic treatment they apply to every order of ideas, and every branch of literature." Nisard also says in praise of Descartes that "he reached perfection in the art of writing French"; and he adds that this perfection consisted "in the perfect conformity between the language of Descartes and the French genius." I am of opinion, however, that it would be impossible to be more utterly mistaken; and without referring to the "perfection of Descartes' style,"—of which I should be disposed to remark, to borrow a well-known

journey to France, 1648.—The disappointment he experiences in his country [Cf. his Letters at this date].—That, in any case, the troubles of the Fronde would have sufficed to drive him out of France.—He takes up his residence in Stockholm, October, 1649;—where he dies [February 11, 1650].

Whether Descartes' style deserves the praise that has been bestowed on it by some critics?—If his style be considered impartially, it seems that he wrote clearly;—and that he expresses well enough what he wishes to express;—but there is nothing very superior in his style to that of Arnauld in his Fréquente communion. —Its principal merit is that it is free from those "ornaments" and "embellishments" with which Voiture and Balzac "enriched" their style.—On the other hand, for his style to be perfectly "natural," it would have to be a reflection of his true character, which it is not;—it is only his reason that finds expression in his prose;—and yet imagination played a greater part in his life than in that of any other philosopher.

8. THE WORKS.—They consist of the Essais de philosophie, published in 1637;—of the Méditations métaphysiques, 1641;—of the Réponses aux objections, 1641-42;—of the Lettre à Gisbert Voet, 1643;—of the Principes de philosophie, 1644;—and of the posthumous works:—Traité des passions, 1650;—Traité de l'homme, 1662;—Traité du faitus, 1662;—and Traité du monde.—To these works is to be added a voluminous Correspondence, published for the first time in 1657 by Clerelier.
saying, that it may be likened "to pure water, which has no special flavour,"—the influence of Descartes, as will be seen further on, was not exerted in the direction that is alleged, and still less at the precise moment at which it is said to have taken effect. The truth is, that the publication of the Discours sur la méthode, far from having been followed by any progress in the domain of reason or good sense, was merely followed chronologically by a resumption of the offensive on the part of foreign influences: of Spanish influence to start with, then of Italian influence, and before long of both influences combined. The explanation of this circumstance is easy. Richelieu's work has been interrupted by his

Add also the Regula ad directionem ingenii and the Inquisitio veritatis per lumen naturae, 1701.


M. Foucher de Careil has published two volumes of a Supplement to the works of Descartes, Paris, 1859–1860, Durand.

XI.—Port-Royal and the Arnaulds.


2. The Arnaulds, and in particular Antoiné Arnauld [Paris, 1612; † 1694, Brussels].—A letter of Balzac on the subject of the Arnaulds: "The entire household argues, preaches, persuades . . . and one Arnauld is worth a dozen Epictetuses."—The history of the family.—Soldiers, civil servants, courtiers, priests and nuns.—Arnauld d'Andilly, the father of Pouponne, the Minster, and the
death before he has been able to complete it; the Fronde has broken out; and for eighteen years the sovereignty is wielded by a Spanish Queen and an Italian Minister: Anne of Austria and Mazarin.

It is customary to date the Spanish influence from the great success of the Cid and the Menteur; but if something more be in view than a mere exchange of subjects between the two literatures, this is placing the date too late or too early. It is too late, since long before Corneille the Astrée, as we have seen, was nothing more than an adaptation in the French spirit of Montemayor's Diane; since Hardy, Mairet, and Rotrou had done little else than imitate or translate

author of the Mémoires [1588; † 1674];—Angélique Arnauld, who reformed the Port-Royal [1591; † 1661];—Agnès Arnauld, the authoress of the Lettres [1598, † 1671];—Antoine Arnauld, who shared with Louis XIV. the honour of having been called the Great by his contemporaries.

The publication of his book La Fréquente communion, 1643.—History of the book [Cf. Rapin, Mémoires, i. 22, and Sainte-Beuve, Port-Royal, vol. ii.].—Whether it be true, as Rapin asserts, that no better written work had previously appeared in French;—and does he not overlook the Introduction à la vie dévote?—In what respect the book was really an innovation;—because it brought theology properly so called within reach of the lay public.—As to the authority of laymen in the matter of religion.—The Prince of Condé [father of the Great Condé] refutes Arnauld's first book in his Remarques chrétiennes et catholiques, 1644;—another refutation by the learned Father L'Etteau: De la pénitence publique, 1644.—The fortunes of Arnauld's book come to be bound up with those of the Augustinus, for which work Arnauld writes an apology in answer to the bull of Urban VIII.;—and in this way the Port-Royal becomes the fortress of Jansenism.—Arnauld's conflicts with the Sorbonne;—his condemnation;—appearance on the scene of Pascal.

Jansenism becomes a definitely organised party;—its numerous adherents;—the "Mothers of the Church": Mme de Guénénéé, Mme du Plessis-Guénégand, Mme de Sablé, the Duchesse de Luynes, the Duchesse de Longueville;—and in this connection, of the
Cervantes, Lopez de Vega, and Rojas; since the Précieuses, as has been said, confined their efforts at first to acclimatising Gongorism in France. But it is too early if the object in view be to fix the moment when this Spanish influence became a real menace to the development of our national literature, as the Italian influence had been in the past. In point of fact it is scarcely prior to the period between 1645 and 1660 that our dramatic authors, Thomas Corneille, Quinault, or Scarron—to mention but those whose names are not entirely forgotten—wholly restrict their activity to imitating the Spanish drama, and that they arrive at last at such a pitch that they are even unable to write a play

imprudence of the abbé Fuzet’s scoffs [Cf. Les premiers Jansénistes, p. 164 and following pages].—Growing progress of the party under the Fronde.—Alliance between Jansenism and Gallicanism. —A pronouncement of Ranke on the subject of Jansenism: “While the Jesuits were plugging up erudition in enormous folios, or were losing themselves in the labyrinth of scholastic systems of morals and dogma, the Jansenists addressed themselves to the nation.” [Histoire de la Papauté, French translation, vol. iii., p. 307].

8. The Works.—Of Arnauld d’Andilly we have his Mémoires; a translation of the Confessions of St. Augustin; the Vie des Pères du désert, without omitting other translations and a considerable number of shorter works of edification or controversy;—(2) Of Agnès Arnauld, the Lettres published or rather collected by M. Faugère;—(3) Of Antoine Arnauld, “the Doctor,” one hundred and forty volumes of works, the list of which is to be found in the Dictionnaire de Moréri.

We are not aware that more than two or three have been reprinted; and the only work of his that is still read is his Logique de Port-Royal [written in collaboration with Nicole], 1662.

XII.—The Novel since The “Astree.”

1. The Sources.—Huet, De l’origine des romans, preceding Mme de Lafayette’s Zayde, Paris, 1671;—Gordon de Percel [Lenglet-Dufresnoy], De l’usage des romans, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1734;—G. Körting, Geschichte des französischen Romans im XVII. Jahrhundert, Oppeln and Leipsic, 1885–1887;—A. Lebreton Le roman au XVIIe
on a subject of their own, without placing the scene of it in Lisbon or Salamanca. At this juncture, there becomes rampant in every branch of literature a sort of exaltation, a predilection for the high-flown that amounts to extravagance. The great Corneille in person persuades himself, and proclaims in his preface to *Héraclius*, "that the subject of a fine tragedy ought to be improbable." The Gascon Gautier de Costes de la Calprenède—his name deserves to be printed in full—and Scudéry, who is from Normandy, and who, moreover, in this matter only lends his name to his sister Madeleine, are writing their *Ibrahim* and their *Cassandre*, their *Cléopâtre* and their *Artamène*, genuine novels of adventure, which stir the


2. **The Evolution of the Novel.**—That the influence of Descartes is no more to be discerned in the novel than in the drama;—and that it hindered the novelists and their readers from adopting the *Astrée* as their standard, as little as it had affected the literary career of Corneille.—Can it be said that there is such a thing as a Cartesian system of *Ästhetics*? [Cf. Emile Krantz, *L'Esthétique de Descartes*, Paris, 1882];—and, in any case, the reading of the *Grand Cyrus* or of *Faramond* would never lead one to suppose that such a system exists.—It is the influence of preciosity that continues to make itself felt in these works.

The idealist tendency of the novel in the seventeenth century;—and that parodies, such as that by Sorel in his *Francia*, only confirm its existence;—since it is only what is in fashion that is parodied.—The complicated plots of these works;—and, in this connection, as to the connection between Corneille's tragic drama and the novels of La Calprenède and Mlle de Scudéry.—In both cases history is put to the same use, and in both cases there is the same preoccupation with current events.—The novelists, however, ascribe to hazard what Corneille attributed to the action of the will.—The epical structure and the impersonal character of the novel in the seven-
imaginations of all their contemporaries, while the
Picarésque literature is giving birth, so to speak, to
burlesque under the auspices of the Scarrons, the
d’Assoucis, and the Saint-Amants. The Italian in-
fluence comes into play side by side with the Spanish.
Robortelli or Castelvetro is cited in justification of
criticisms on Corneille. The writers of epopees, ren-
dered prudent for half a century by the failure of
the Franciade, take courage again in consequence of
Tasso and his Gerusalemme. Mazarin acclimatises the
opera in France. La Fontaine, who is beginning his
career, completes his literary education by the study of
the Decameron; Molière produces the Etourdi; Boileau
teenth century.—Its “documentary” interest and its psychological
value.

A. Marin Le Roy de Gomberville. [Chevreuse or Étampes, 1599,
or 1600; † 1674, Paris].—His Polexandre [1629–1637].—In this
novel the kind of interest found in the Amadis is combined with a
gеographical interest:—the adventure of Prince Zelnatale and the
history of Mexico;—the story of Almanzarre, Queen of Senegal;—
the adventure of the Prince Persëhde and the court of Morocco;—
Analogy between the sort of interest offered by Polexandre and that
of certain “exotic” novels of our own time.

B. Gautier de Costes de la Calprenède [Cahors, 1609 or 1610; † 1663,
Andely-sur-Seine].—A few words as to La Calprenède’s dramatic
writings: his Mithridate, 1635; his Essex, 1639; his Herménégilde,
1648.—His effort to combine the sort of interest he sees is taken on
the one hand in Corneille’s and on the other in Du Ryer’s translations.
—The use to which history is put in La Calprenède’s novels:—and
the sub-titles that might be given them;—Cléopâtre, or the dissolution
of the Roman Empire;—Faramond, or the foundation of the French
monarchy.—The declarations of Mme de Sévigné on the subject of
La Calprenède.—“The beauty of the sentiments, the violence of the
passions, the magnitude of the events, and the miraculous efficacy
of their redoubtable sword, all these features entrance me as they
might a young girl” [letter of July 12, 1671]; and in a letter of
July 15: “As to the sentiments . . . I confess that they please me
and that their perfection is such as to satisfy my ideal of what the
chides and exclaims in a tirade that will afterwards disappear from his first satire:

Who can to-day, without just scorn,
See Italy in France, and Rome in Paris!
. . . I cannot without horror and without pain
See the Tiber mingling its swollen waters with the Seine,
And flooding Paris with its children, its mountebanks,
Its language, its poisons, its crimes and its manners.

Where is a trace to be found in all this of the influence of Descartes and Cartesianism? 'No! it is entirely untrue that the publication of the Discours de la méthode was an epoch-making event in the history of our literature. The contemporaries of Descartes, while full of admiration for

sentiments of noble characters ought to be.'—Whether, too, La Calprenède’s style is as bad as Mme de Sévigné alleges it to be in the same passage.—That its qualities do not stand comparison with those of Corneille’s style;—but that the defects of both styles are identical or at any rate kindred.—La Calprenède’s abundant imagination.—The whole of his art consists in exciting “astonishment,” which he does with success.—Distant but indisputable analogy between the novels of La Calprenède and those of Alexandre Dumas.

C. Madeleine de Scudéry [Le Havre, 1607 : † 1701, Paris].—Whether her rôle does not consist in her having adapted preciosity to the requirements of the middle classes?—In any case, it is a fact that she vulgarised preciosity by superadding, in her Artamène, to the adventures in Polexandre and to the historical details in Cléopâtre:

—(1) allusions to and portraits of the men and women of “precious” society [Cf. Cousin, Société française au XVIIe siècle];—(2) contemporary episodes; for example, the story of Scarranty and Lydiane (Scarron and Françoise d’Aubigné) in her Clélia; Hesiod’s dream (a picture of the literature of the period); the description of the “country of the Tender Passion” (the “Pays de Tendre”);—and (3) a politeness or a gallantry very superior to anything of the kind to be found in La Calprenède or de Gomberville.—Perspicacity of some of her analysis of character.—Mlle de Scudéry’s novels are “psychological” novels.

The success of all these novels was considerable.—For example, there were four or five editions in less than twenty years of La
him as a mathematician, almost ignored him as a philosopher. And if literature finally threw off the yoke of all the influences that seemed in league to prevent its becoming purely French, it owes its release to entirely different causes, of which the first and most important was the revival of the Christian idea under the guise of the Jansenist idea.

For whatever difference there may be—and such a difference doubtless exists—between the Christian and the Jansenist idea, it was not detected at the outset; and while to-day it is no longer allowable for us to confound the two ideas, it is a fact that they were confounded for a time. It never occurred to Jansenius,

Calprenède's Cassandre.—His Cléopâtre was printed by the Elzevirs, a circumstance that was in itself a first step towards fame [Cf. Balzac's letter to the Elzevirs reproduced in A. Willem's book, Les Elzevier, Brussels, 1880].—There are German and Italian translations of these novels;—English imitations;—and, if Pradon is to be believed, there was even a version in Arabic of the Grand Cyrus [Remarques sur tous les ouvrages du sieur Despréaux, The Hague, 1685].—The reasons of this success are to be sought for in the fact that the romantic tone of the works was in accordance with the spirit of the time;—these novels did as much as or more than more vaunted works to establish the supremacy of the French language and of French literature.

3. The Works.—(1) Of Gomberville:—Curithèe, 1621;—Polexandrie, 1629–1637;—Cythérie, 1640 and following years [2nd edition of the earlier volumes in 1642];—La Jeune Alcide, 1651: “This is a Jansenist novel,” wrote Tallemant, “for its heroes are preaching sermons and offering up prayers at every turn” [Histoires, iv. 467].—There is also a collection of verses by Gomberville.

(2) Of La Calprenède:—Cassandre, 1642;—Cléopâtre, 1647;—Faramond, 1661, only the first three parts of which are by La Calprenède. The novel was finished by P. de Vaunompré, 1665. We have already mentioned that La Calprenède wrote several tragedies.

(3) Of Madeleine de Soudéri:—Ibrahim ou l'illustre Busra, 1641;—Artamene ou le Grand Cyrus, 1649–1653;—Clélie, histoire romaine, 1654–1661. There is no doubt as to the authorship of these three
Saint-Cyran, Saci, Arnauld and their followers that they were engaged on a different work from that of a Vincent de Paul, an Olier, a Bérulle, or a François de Sales; and it was not till later that their initial emulation in promoting the good of mankind was transformed into mutual hostility. If, moreover, as is proper in the history of ideas, we understand by Jansenism less a rigorously defined theological doctrine than a general manner of feeling and thinking, it will be found that Jansenism is not confined to the Port-Royal writers, but is also a characteristic of some of their most illustrious adversaries. The style that will most closely resemble that of Nicole, "a grave, serious, scrupulous style," will be the novels, which, although they purport to be by Georges, are certainly the works of Madeleine.—It is less certain that she is also the authoress of _Almahide ou l'esclave reine_, 1660–1663 [which, moreover, is unfinished];—but she certainly wrote _Mathilde d'Agualar_, 1667, a short novel which,—with those by Segrays, published under the title _Les divertissements de la princesse Aurelie_, forms the link between the long novels of this period and _Zayde_ and the _Princesse de Clèves_.

Mlle A. Scudéry has also left a work entitled _Conversations morales_, Paris, 1880;—and an interesting Correspondence.

XIII.—The Heroic Poem.

1. The Sources. —The Prefaces to _Adone_, 1623; —_Alaric_, 1654; —_La Pucelle_, 1656; —_Saint Louys_, 1658; —Boileau, _Art poétique_, "chant" ii., 1674; —Voltaire, _Essai sur la poésie épique_, 1728.


Théophile Gautier, article on _Scudéri_ in his _Grotesques_.—Rathery, _Mlle de Scudéri_ [Cf. above].


* Racine borrowed the subject of _Bajazet_ from one of these short novels.
style of Father Bourdaloue. And supposing Jansenism, after all, as was the case with Protestantism before it, to have done the Christian idea no other service than that of forcing it on the attention of polite society, the achievement would be sufficient for our purpose. We are not entitled to appeal from the decisions of Rome in a matter of faith, nor to reopen the quarrel, nor to allege that in default of Jansenism another cause would not have produced its effects; but we have the right to ascribe these effects to Jansenism if it were indeed responsible for them; and to affirm that in the history of our literature the victory of the Jansenist idea was the triumph of the Christian idea.


2. The Authors.—Of the natural relationship between the novel and the epopee;—and, in this connection, of the histories of Herodotus and of Homer's Odyssey.—The seventeenth century was well aware of this relationship [Cf. the preface to Póлексandr and Ibraхm, and Boileau, Réflexions sur Longin].—On the other hand, the Heroic Poems of the period are not the outcome of a natural communication between the two branches;—all their authors did was to follow in the footsteps of Ronsard;—it was also their ambition to emulate the European success of Tasso's Gerusalemme liberata;—and, in this connection, of Tasso's influence on French literature.—Finally, it was the current opinion that the dignity of France demanded that the country should possess its Virgils and Homers.—The double error of classicism:—as to the necessary condition of the epopee;—and as to the efficacy of rules.—This double error is nowhere more apparent than in the history of such efforts as Alaric or La Puellé. Another kind of interest presented by these works, failures and unreadable though they be:—they raised the question of the utilisation in literature of themes drawn from Christianity; and in this way, as will be seen, they started the quarrel between the ancients and moderns.

A. Georges de Scudéry [Havre, 1601; † 1667, Paris].—The first line of his Alaric:

I sing the conqueror of the earth's conquerors.
It is in view of these considerations that the appearance in 1643 of Arnauld’s book *La Fréquente Communion* marks a date of importance. "No devotional book, it has been said, exerted a greater influence," was more read, more discussed, even by women, and for this reason, while the work did not take the direction of literary opinion out of the hands of the Précieuses, it contributed more than any other book to divert their attention from merely agreeable questions towards questions of a more serious character. It appeared, too, at precisely the right moment to bar the possible progress of Cartesianism by renewing the authority of "tradition" the strength of which might

*A mixture of history, fiction, and the marvellous;—the table of contents of the poem *Alaric*: list of the "descriptions" and list of the "comparisons."—The unfailing bad taste of Scudéri;—it reaches such a pitch that it almost renders him witty, by leaving the impression on the reader that he is parodying himself.

B. Jean Chapelain [Paris, 1595; | 1674, Paris].—It would be impossible to be less "Parisian" and less "Gallic" than Chapelain, though he was born in Paris, lived in Paris for eighty years, and died in Paris.—It is strange that anybody should have wished to revive his reputation [Cf. V. Cousin, *La Société française*, vol. u., p. 159].—His admiration for the Chevalier Marin and his preface to *Adone*, 1629;—his translation of *Guzman d’Alfarache*, 1631;—his reputation as a critic;—and as a prose writer.—His rôle in the quarrel over the *Cid*;—and that *Les Sentiments de l’Académie sur le Cid* is in any case his best work.—The character of the man;—and that he was one of the most commonplace of individuals, and one of the most rancorous as well.

The theme of *La Pucelle*;—and whether it be true, as Cousin asserts, that a finer theme does not exist.—Patriotism and aesthetics ought not to be mixed up uselessly;—and that what Cousin admires in the "plan" of *La Pucelle* is precisely what constitutes its inferiority.—Logic and Poetry.—Chapelain’s chief pretension:—he desired that his poem should be at once history, poetry, and a moral allegory [Cf. his preface].—"In order to consider action under its Universal aspect, in accordance with the precepts, and so as not to deprive it of the allegorical sense by which Poetry is made one of the in-
have been singularly weakened had there been nothing to counterbalance the influence of the Discours de la méthode. Shall we add that the book was written in French? In 1643, however, this circumstance, whatever may have been said to the contrary, was only a novelty when taken in connection with the Augustinus of Jansenius; and unhappily, as Sainte-Beuve has remarked, the method adopted in the book was still wholly scholastic or theological. It was reserved for Pascal to have done with this method, and to bring into existence a prose that should be purely French, by ranging talent or genius on the side of Jansenism in his Lettres provinciales. [In 

struments of architectonics, I have arranged my matter in such sort that . . . France represents the Soul of man, . . . King Charles the Will, . . . the Englishman and the Burgundian the transports of the irascible appetite, . . . Amaury and Agnès the concupiscence appetite, . . . Tannefoy the Understanding, . . . the Pucelle (Joan of Arc) Divine Grace,” etc. — That preoccupations such as these might have cooled a more ardent imagination than Chapelain’s. — Prosaic character of his verse [Cf. his Vère éternel, ch. i.; his portrait of Agnès Sorel, ch. v.; the description of the burning of Joan of Arc, ch. xxiii.].

That it must be well understood that in spite of the legend—the publication of the Pucelle in no way diminished the reputation or the literary authority of Chapelain. — There were six editions of his Pucelle in less than two years. — The work was praised in high-flown terms by Godeau, Ménage, Gassendi, Huet, and Montausier [Cf. Goujet, Bibliothèque française, vol. xvii., p. 378, etc.]. — It is Chapelain who is chosen by Colbert in 1661 for a part that may be described as “superintendent of letters”; — and the truth is that, until the time of Boileau, the only reproach made the Pucelle is that it is tedious; — a criticism of which Polyeucte had also been the object.

C. Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin [Paris, 1595; + 1676, Paris]. He attempted every branch of literature: — the novel, in his Ariane, 1692; — comedy, in his Visionnaires, 1687; — tragedy, in his Erigone, 1688; — in his Scipion, 1690; — lyric poetry, in his Office de la Vierge, 1645; — epic, in his Clovis, 1657. — Moreover the sole interest of Clovis lies in the preface to the edition of 1678, in which Desmarets, almost
this work, and in it alone, are found united all the qualities to attain to which had been the incessant effort of the writers of the previous fifty years. For almost the first time, the Provinciales brought within reach of whoever could read those great problems, of which it really seemed as if the theologians had desired to deprive us of a knowledge or to hide from us the interest, by overloading them with the weight of their erudition and dialectics. Even that air of fashion, that ease and distinction of manner, that sprightly and graceful wit to which so much importance and so much mystery were attached by the Précieuses, peeped forth from

for the first time, sets forth clearly the theory of "the literary uses of Christianity."

There is no occasion to allude to the writers of epopee who were the rivals of Desmarests and Chapelain.—The Saint-Louys of Père Le Moyne has fallen into utter oblivion,—and this in spite of the efforts that have been made to resuscitate it.—The century was already too reasonable,—and above all too ordered for the writing of an epopee to have been possible at the period.—Nevertheless, from a feeling of national pride, Frenchmen will obstinately continue to produce epopees from generation to generation;—and while it is the habit to talk of the continuity of dramatic production;—that of pseudo-epic production will remain no less regular in France.

XIV.—Comedy from 1640 to 1658.


2. The Transition from Corneille to Molière.—Of the utility of statistics;—and that they prove better than anything else that the history of literature and literary history are two different matters.—
THE NATIONALIZATION OF FRENCH LITERATURE 155

among the theology of the Lettres Provinciales. The tone varied from letter to letter in accordance with the changing necessities of the controversy, and great as might be the gulf between direct and personal satire and the highest eloquence, the author bridged it with a successful mastery, of which it is no exaggeration to say that it enraptured the reader. No comedy that had ever been put on the stage had produced so delightful an impression. No more eloquent utterance had ever been made even from the pulpit. Moreover, if the necessity were felt of opposing to the corruption of manners, to the growing relaxation of the discipline formerly in force, not

During the twenty years, 1640-1660, there were played or printed more than two hundred tragedies, tragi-comedies, comedies or pastoral plays;—how many of them have survived?—or of how many of the authors are the names remembered?—It would seem, then, that between the Menteur and Les Précieuses ridicules there was nothing but ... a void;—which accounts for the honour that is accorded the Menteur of having paved the way for the comedy of Molière.—What is to be thought of this allegation [Cf. Les époques du théâtre français].—That in reality something did take place between 1640 and 1660;—and that what it was may be gathered from the statistics themselves.

Tragedy continues to gain ground;—and of the two hundred plays referred to it claims scarcely less than a half;—among which are included Horace, Cinna, Polyècte, Pompeïc, Rodogune, Héraclius, to say nothing of Théodore or Perthus;—and much below these, but still of a certain rank, the Saint-Genest, 1646; the Wenceslas, 1647; the Cosroès, 1649, of Rotrou;—the Saul, 1639, and the Sévacle, 1646, of Du Ryer;—the Mort de Sénèque, 1644;—the Mort de Crispe, 1645; and the Mort du Grand Osman, 1647, of Tristan l’Hermite.—Tragi-comedy, on the other hand, with only fifty plays during the same period, loses ground;—while it is comedy that makes progress at its expense.—According to the exact figures given by the brothers Parfait, from thirty-nine plays [1639-1640] tragi-comedy falls to sixteen [1646-1658] and then to twelve [1658-1660], while comedy advances from eighteen to twenty-five and from twenty-five to twenty-eight.—Conclusion: plays of a clearly defined order are ousting and will soon entirely supplant those of a hybrid or doubtful kind.
indeed a new morality, but rather a morality of which some even of those whose mission it was to teach it were oblivious, it was just this morality that was contained in the Provinciales. And finally and above all—I only speak from the point of view of literature—if the aspiration of the moment was to be natural, and the efforts in this direction had as yet been unavailing; if a mistake had been made hitherto as to the means by which this end was to be attained, the Provinciales were at once the signal and the model that had been awaited. “The first book of genius to appear in prose, Voltaire has said, was the collection of the Lettres provinciales”; and

But while the true nature of tragedy has been determined by the masterpieces of Corneille, comedy is hesitating between two or three directions;—writers have discovered the art of drawing tears;—they are still in search of that of provoking laughter.—Thomas Corneille [1625; † 1709] endeavours to solve the problem by putting on the stage romantic and complicated adventures;—Philippe Quinault [1635; † 1688] by combining a realism of detail that is suggestive of the humbleness of his birth;—with an insipid gallantry that gives a foretaste of his operas; Paul Scarron [1610; † 1660] by what Mohére will term his “buffoonery,” that is by the most exaggerated caricature, when he does not have recourse to obscenity.—Moreover all three writers continue to go to Spain for their models.—Dom Japhet d'Arménac, 1652, is an adaptation of a comedy by Moreto.—Les Rivaux, 1653, is merely a fresh version of Rotrou's Pucelles, which itself is said to have been borrowed from Lope de Vega;—Le charme de la voir, 1653, is an imitation of a comedy by Moreto.—It seems as if all these authors had "eyes that see not" and "ears that hear not"; and hence it is that, in a certain sense, all these dramas are merely of interest to the curious.

Still they accustom the public to distinguish between the elements of its pleasure, with a view to experiencing a pleasure that shall be keener and more complete;—and the fact is it is only Rabelais that makes us laugh and cry at the same time.—The public is about to set its face against the mixing up of the different branches of the drama;—an attitude that constitutes a first step towards naturalness.—The language also becomes more natural;—it grows more supple, more
a little further on he makes "the fixing of the language" coincide with the issue of this work. This assertion is excellent as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. Another and still more important period dates from the issue of the Provinciales—that of the determination of the characteristics of classic literature and of the classic ideal.

The sun has arisen, let the stars retire!

Were it not that this line of Scudéri’s is slightly ridiculous, this would be the appropriate time and place to cite it. The "naturalness" of the Provinciales made no im-

diversified;—the vocabulary of Thomas Corneille is copious; Quinault is fluent; Scarron is often spirited;—and, in this connection, a comparison between the comedy of L’Ecolier de Salamanque or of Dom Japhet d’Arménie and that of Ray Blas or of Tragaldabas.—Finally even a taste for the burlesque necessitates a measure of observation;—since a caricature is only good when it offers a resemblance with what is caricatured.


The best edition of Scarron is that published by Welstein in seven volumes, Amsterdam, 1752;—of Thomas Corneille, that by David in five volumes, Paris, 1748;—and of Quinault, that by Duchesne in five volumes, Paris, 1778.

XV.—Burlesque.

It would be sufficient to mention burlesque and then to refer the reader to Boileau, were there not three remarks to be made with
pression upon the men of the preceding generation, upon
the aged Corneille, for example; and when the author of
the Cid, after having stood aloof from the theatre for six
years, resumes writing for the stage in 1659, it will be
with his Edipe, to be followed shortly afterwards by his
Sertorius or lus Othon! On the other hand, to all the
young and ardent writers the Lettres Provinciales were a
revelation.

Shall I say that Bossuet himself was, as it were,
transformed by the work? The expression might seem
somewhat strong; and yet, seeing that his eloquence
never made greater progress than in passing from his first

respect to the origin of this branch of literature;—its true character;
—and its consequences:

(1) It is of neither French nor Gallic origin;—and Saint-Amant,
Scarron and d’Assouci in no wise continued the tradition of Rabelais.
—It is in the main of Italian [Cf. Vianey, Mathurin Regnier, Paris,
1896];—and in part of Spanish origin [Cf. the entire series of the
Picaresque Romances].

With regard to its true character, one is tempted to connect it with
precocity.—Vouette in his “petty” verse [Cf. A une demoiselle qui
avait les manches de sa chemise retroussées et sales, and the verses
A Mlle de Bourbon qui avait pris médecine], displayed a tendency
towards burlesque;—while Saint-Amant and Scarron were members
of “precious” society.—The Précieux aimed at being more refined
than nature and truth;—the writers of burlesque at exaggerating
nature and truth;—but both classes of writers belong to the school
whose motto we quoted above:

Chi non sa far stipir, vada alla striglia . . .

Their object is to excite admiration;—and the means all of them
employ to this end is to excite astonishment.

Finally, an important consequence of burlesque was to break up
the party of the libertines into two groups:—on the one side the
Scarrons or the Saint-Amants, who will put up with anything pro-
vided they be free to follow their humour;—on the other those who
care less for being at liberty to live as they choose, than for the right
to think as they please.
manner to his second, between 1653 and 1658—from the *Sermon sur la bonté et la rigueur de Dieu* to the *Panégyrique de saint Paul*—how can one refrain from noting that this progress coincides exactly with the moment at which the *Lettres Provinciales* were at the height of their vogue? It was the example of Pascal, too, that liberated the genius of Boileau, since, as we are aware, his first *Satires* were composed between 1658 and 1660, while, in addition, the admiration Boileau will entertain for the *Provinciales* throughout his life is no secret. The truth is, it is this book that will convert him in the end to Jansenism! In the meantime, however, it is also the *Provinciales* that

XVI.—Blaise Pascal [Clermont-Ferrand, 1623; † 1662 Paris].


open, or unseal, so to speak, the eyes of Molière. For the date of the *Etourdi* is 1653, and that of the *Dépit amoureux* 1655; but by what masterpiece in its class were these imbroglios in the Italian manner followed in their turn? It is clear that Molière, Boileau and Bossuet read the *Lettres provinciales*. But supposing we had no proof of this, there would remain the fact that the *Provinciales*, by completing the purification of the literary atmosphere of the time, and sweeping from it the last obscuring clouds, at any rate, by rendering them possible, paved the way for almost all the masterpieces that are about to succeed the work of Pascal. The *Provinciales* founded a


2. THE MAN AND THE WRITER.—Diversity of the opinions that have been formed on Pascal.—Some [Voltaire and Condorcet] have regarded him as a mere “fanatic,” or at least as a “sectary”;—others have made him out to be a “mystic”;—others [Sainte-Beuve] a semi-Romanticist, by fits and starts a believer and an unbeliever.—There have also been critics who have reproached him with “skepticism” [Cf. V. Cousin, *Études sur Pascal*; and in the contrary sense, Droz, *Étude sur le scepticisme de Pascal*, p. 18, etq.],—and, in this connection, of the numerous false ideas on literary questions put in circulation by V. Cousin.—That this diversity of interpretation is solely due:—to the mutilated state in which the *Pensées* have come down to us;—to the mistaken view according to which the *Pensées* are regarded as Pascal’s “confession,” whereas they are only the material for a work of Christian apologetics;—and to the insufficient attention that has been given to the fact that Pascal’s life was broken up into several successive periods.

Pascal’s birth.—His family;—his education;—precociousness of