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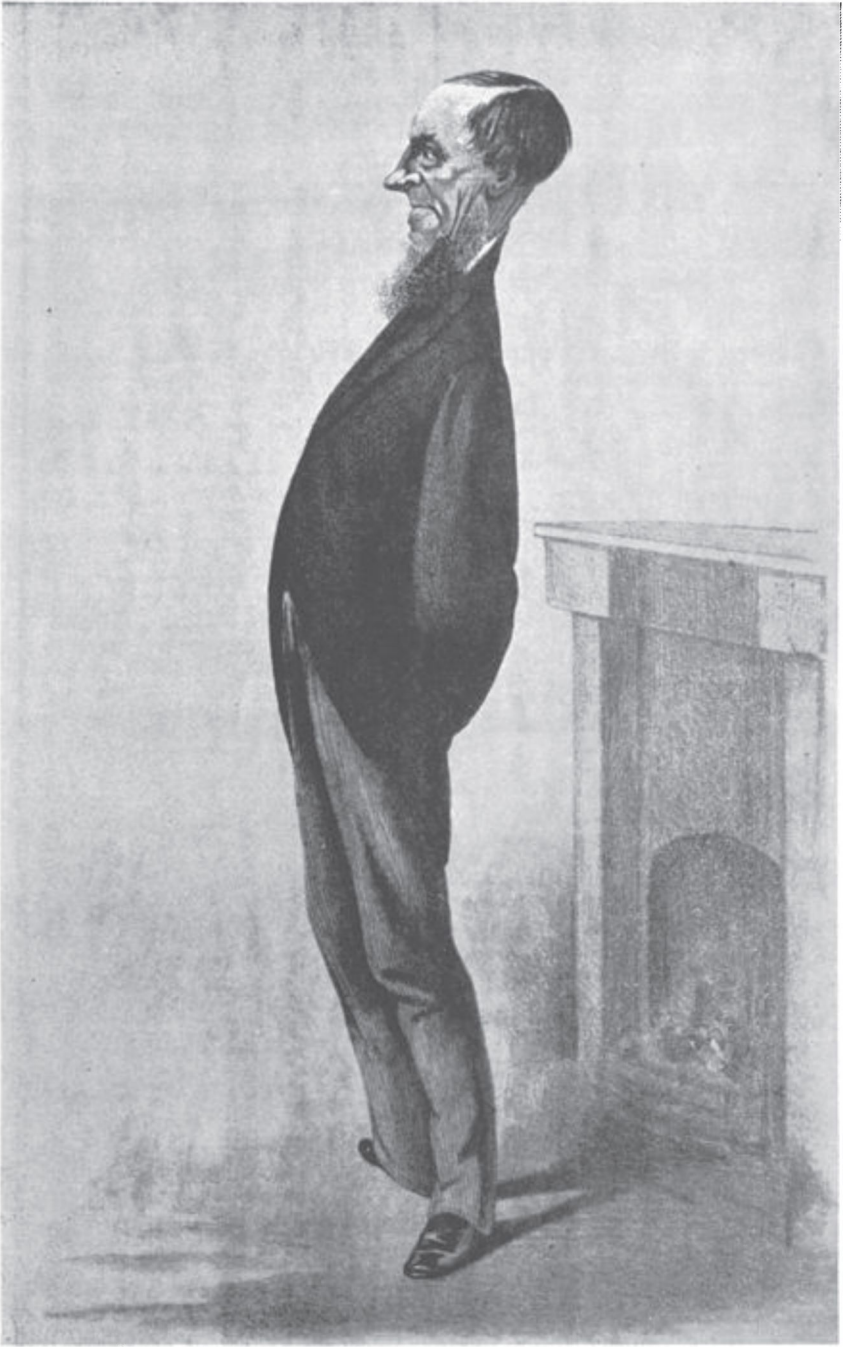
NUMBER I

LETTERS OF JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE

EDITED BY RAYMOND M. BENNETT

THE *Stanton Memorial Collection* was given to the library of the New Jersey College for Women by the late Theodore Stanton in memory of his mother, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the famous woman suffragist. Before his death in 1925 Theodore Stanton had been a well-known foreign correspondent for several New York papers and in this capacity had made the acquaintance of many notable Europeans. Among the letters in the Memorial Collection are twenty-nine from James Anthony Froude, twenty-one of which are addressed to General Gustave Paul Cluseret and eight to Stanton. The author of the following article, which we hope is the first of a series, is a member of the Department of English of New Jersey College for Women.

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE (1818-94), the author of the letters to General Cluseret and Theodore Stanton considered here, was the son of the Venerable Richard Hurrell Froude, Archdeacon of Totnes, and Margaret Spedding. Having attended Westminster School, Froude entered Oriel College, Oxford, in 1836; he received his B.A. in 1842 and his M.A. in 1843. In 1842 he was made Devon fellow at Exeter College. At Oriel, where his rooms were directly above Newman's, Froude, unlike his brother Hurrell, did not participate actively in the Tractarian Movement, but in 1844 he did contribute a life of St. Neot to Newman's *Lives of the English Saints*. After his ordination to the diaconate in 1844, he gradually turned from orthodoxy, although he retained his orders until 1872. His *Nemesis of Faith* (1849) presents a romanticized account of this breach. Following the severe denunciation of his publication, Froude resigned his fellowship and eventually turned to a career in



JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE

Vanity Fair, Jan. 27, 1872

letters. His numerous histories, biographies, literary and political studies reveal the deep effect that Carlyle and Goethe had on his thought. Of these, *The History of England in the Sixteenth Century* (1856-70) placed Froude among the top ranking historians of the nineteenth century. His close association with Carlyle, dating from 1849, resulted in his publication of Carlyle's *Reminiscences* (1881), Mrs. Carlyle's letters (1883), and a biography of Carlyle (1882, 1884). As one of Carlyle's literary executors, Froude found himself in a prolonged controversy which primarily concerned his right to publish some of the Carlyle documents. He was the object of other attacks as a consequence of his unofficial position in the Government's colonial policy with South Africa and the West Indies. Never identified with either the Tory or Liberal party, he nevertheless expressed liberal, even radical, political views closely reflecting those of Carlyle. In 1892 he succeeded his old antagonist Edward Augustus Freeman as Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, a chair he occupied until his death in October, 1894.

One of Froude's most important activities was his editorship of *Fraser's Magazine* from 1860 to 1874. It was during this time that Froude began his correspondence with Cluseret, whom he may have met in 1867 while the general was in England.

Gustave Paul Cluseret, with whom Froude corresponded between February 1872 and March 1877, was one of the most spectacular adventurers in the second half of the nineteenth century. The grandson of a soldier who fought for American independence under Lafayette and the son of a French infantry officer, he was born in Paris on June 3, 1823. When he was twenty years old, he received his commission from St. Cyr to join his father's regiment. Accounting for his participation in the revolution of 1848, for which he received the cross of the Legion of Honor, Lepelletier writes:

il se signala comme chef d'un bataillon de la mobile. A le tête de ces intrépides et féroces vauriens, bandits devenus gendarmes, il se distingua dans la tuerie. Le boucher en chef Cavaignac eut en lui l'un de ses aides le plus cruels.¹

Later he distinguished himself again as a captain in the Crimean War, in which he was twice wounded. Transferred to Algeria, he became a member of an Arabian bureau and a deputy of the imperial

¹ Edmond Lepelletier, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1913), III, 195.

commissary at Blida. Here, according to Jellinek, he "was drummed out of the army for a mysterious affair in connection with the disappearance of stores."²

Having served as a steward to a rich African planter, he came to New York, where he was employed in a bank. But with Garibaldi's call for aid in the Sicilian War, Cluseret rounded up a band of volunteers and sailed for Italy. Under Garibaldi, he fought valiantly enough to earn the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Dissatisfied with conditions in Italy in 1861, he returned to America to enter the Northern army as a colonel.

Although records concerning him differ widely, Cluseret served bravely under Generals McClellan, Fremont, and Sigel. On October 4, 1862, he received the brevet of Brigadier-General "for gallant and distinguished services at the battle of Cross Keys," in the Shenandoah campaign.³

Cluseret remained in the Union army until March 1863, long enough to become a naturalized citizen. In New York he became the American correspondent to the *Courrier français*. A year later he was affiliated with Fremont in the publication of the *New Nation*, a weekly periodical designed primarily to promote Fremont's nomination and election to the presidency over Lincoln and McClellan. When, as the Radical candidate, Fremont withdrew from the race and discontinued his support of the *New Nation*, Cluseret mildly advocated the reelection of Lincoln. The final issue of the paper appeared on November 19, 1864.⁴

Following a short expedition to Mexico, which gave occasion to the publication in 1866 of his *Mexico, and the Solidarity of Nations*, Cluseret returned to New York, where he became associated with the Fenian Brotherhood. He agreed to lead a Fenian army to Ireland provided ten thousand men could be recruited. Although this number

² Frank Jellinek, *The Paris Commune of 1871* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 188.

³ For further information see a letter by Ulric de Fonvielle, Cluseret's aide, in the *République française*, August 17, 1887; and 48th Congress, second session, House of Representatives, Miscellaneous Documents 37, *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Series I. Vol. XII. Reports (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), pp. 35, 655-58.

⁴ See Cluseret's autobiographical editorial in the *New Nation*, I (July 2, 1864), 8. In his opposition to Lincoln at the Cleveland convention in June 1864, Cluseret worked with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the mother of Theodore Stanton. Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. [c.1939]), III, 71-72.

was by no means raised, he and his followers set sail in January 1867. But once in Ireland the general-in-chief recognized the futility of the uprising, and he went to England to gain support. To escape a sentence of death for contumacy placed on him by an English court, Cluseret fled to France.

In Paris he attempted to spread the doctrine of the International, whose chiefs he had met in England, by writing for republican papers. Here, also, he founded the journal *l'Art*, in which his critical articles showed not only brilliance but political bitterness. Because of his revolutionary writings, he was imprisoned at Ste. Pélagie and then deported. Through the efforts of the American Minister to France, he was able to find refuge in this country for a short while. However, at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, Cluseret sailed back to France, but his arrival there brought immediate arrest. In September, 1870, after the fall of the Empire and the formation of the Republic, he did not immediately enter French service, for he regarded the defense with contempt for their own incompetence and for their failure to recognize his superior abilities. Later that year, however, acting as an agent for Bakunin, he helped to incite riots in Lyons and Marseilles, and as a leader of the Ligue du Midi he was instrumental in setting up briefly a Commune in Marseilles.

In March, 1871, recommended by Gambetta, Cluseret was installed as an aide in the War Department of the Paris Commune. He was appointed, on April 4th, the Delegate of War and shortly afterwards was elected to the Commune from two *arrondissements* of Paris. As Minister of War, he tried at once to reorganize the National Guard, institute a kind of conscription, and form a court martial. Advocating severe discipline and a strong defense of the seemingly impregnable Paris, he frequently clashed with the Central Committee and even with the Commune itself. On April 30th, when, unknown to Cluseret as well as to the Versaillais, Fort Issy was accidentally abandoned by the Communards for four hours, the Delegate of War was arrested for this neglect and was imprisoned at Mazas.

Tried on May 21, 1871, Cluseret acting in his own defense refuted the thirteen charges against him. His defense was dramatically interrupted by the terrifying news that the Versaillais had just gained entrance to the city. Cluseret was hurriedly released as the final session of the Paris Commune came to an end. Instead of joining the

federates, he was aided by a priest in escaping from Paris disguised in clerical garb. When he was unable to obtain help from the American Minister at Brussels, he fled to Switzerland, where he lived under the name of Alexander. On August 30, 1872, Cluseret, with many of his Communard colleagues, was condemned to death *in contumaciam* by the Versailles government.⁵

During his residence in Switzerland, Cluseret corresponded with Froude and contributed to several English periodicals. At this time also he became involved in the Old Catholic movement. Froude's letters to him show that he later tried to enter the British army in Africa and in India and that Froude endeavored to find a place for him in the defense of the Transvaal. At the time of the war with Russia, in 1877-78, he fought in the Turkish army. After this stormy career, Cluseret spent his last years in comparative quiet. In 1887 he published his *Mémoires*, of which the first two volumes are an account of his part in the Paris Commune and the third is a justification of his various political and military activities, ending with his directions for the use of insurrection in the future. Representing a labor constituency in Toulon, he was a very silent member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1888 until his death on August 22, 1900.

These letters to Cluseret and Theodore Stanton have never before appeared in their entirety, and many of them give expression to some of Froude's most characteristic ideas.⁶ The texts follow:

⁵ For Cluseret's activities in the Commune see, in addition to Jellinek and Lepelletier: E. B. Washburne, *Recollections of a Minister to France* (2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887); Thomas March, *The History of the Paris Commune of 1871* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1896); Edward S. Mason, *The Paris Commune* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930); Léon Seguin, *Le Ministère de la Guerre sous le Commune* (Paris: Chez Chelu, 1879); and Général Bourelly, "Le Ministère de la Guerre sous le Commune," *Le Correspondant*, CCIII (1901), 594-629.

⁶ Stanton printed excerpts of Letters I, IV, and V in "Some Froude Letters," the *Nation*, LXXIV (June 26, 1902), 504-506; and of Letters II, III, and VI in "Letters on Public Affairs; James Anthony Froude," the *Independent*, LIV (July 31, 1902), 1811-12. In the *Nation* he added a very brief sketch of Cluseret's life and of his association with Froude, but he failed to explain how he obtained the letters. His acquisition of them is accounted for in an unpublished memorandum in the Stanton Memorial Collection in the library of New Jersey College for Women. Here he stated that Cluseret, who was "very hard up" at the time, had "Sold [him] bundles of letters from celebrities for 100 frs., . . ." These, he continued, included "quite a collection from Froude." Also in the Stanton Collection is a receipt for fifty francs as payment for letters sold by Cluseret to Stanton, dated June 1, 1888.

I

To Cluseret

5 Onslow Gardens

Sir

Feb 10 [1872]⁷

Miss Laffan⁸ informs me that you propose to offer your Memoirs for Publication in *Fraser's Magazine*.⁹ I cannot promise to insert what I have not seen. I can only say that nothing has been offered to my acceptance since I have been Editor of which I could say beforehand with more certainty that it was likely to be admitted. If you will allow the MS to be sent to me I will read it immediately and send you a final answer with the least possible delay.

For yourself I congratulate you on being alive.¹⁰ The interest which I felt in you led me to make particular enquiries as to your fate and I supposed myself to have received authentic information that you had been killed. I am an old Republican. Thirty years ago I would myself have taken my place on a barricade¹¹ had the chance fallen in my way. I was a fool like other young men and believed that because existing institutions were wrong they would fall when they were attacked and that something better would at once take their place. My present opinion is that although the something better will come at last, we may wait for it a couple of hundred years, and that the International (so far as I know either its views or its resources) would not give us, if it succeeded, a permanent state of society better than what we now possess.

The men of ideas however are the only members of the human family that are interesting. You as one of them I shall continue to watch so long as you are above water. Whatever befalls you, your cause will be a remarkable one and you will contribute your share to the smashing up of injustice & imposture.

Yours truly J A Froude

(Editor of *Fraser's*)

⁷ Froude did not write a complete date on any of the letters in the packet, but on most of them Stanton wrote the year.

⁸ Although not specifically identified, Miss Laffan was, according to Letter II, a translator for *Fraser's Magazine*. Mr. J. W. Holme of Longmans Green and Co. writes me that most of the records of *Fraser's* for this period were destroyed by fire during the air attacks on London at the end of 1940.

⁹ Apparently Cluseret's article "The Interview at Aubervilliers," which appeared in *Fraser's* in April 1872.

¹⁰ The last two paragraphs of this letter appeared in the *Nation*, LXXIV (1902), 505.

¹¹ For a time during the Commune, Cluseret headed a Commission of Barricades. March, *The History of the Paris Commune*, p. 186.

II
To Cluseret

5, Onslow Gardens.
S.W.

March 11 [1872]¹²

My dear Sir

Miss Laffans translation scarcely does justice to the original. Had I known any other person to whom the thing could have been trusted I should have preferred to place it in other hands. I will however myself endeavour to make the necessary alterations. I have indeed in part done so—and the MS has gone to the press.

I do not like to tell the Printers to send you a proof because the Paper will appear as by General Cluseret. They are aware that you are the author, and if I direct them to forward the sheets to your disguised address at Geneva I shall put them in possession of knowledge which without your special permission I conclude that I must keep to myself. You must kindly trust me therefore to do the best that I can with this Paper. I will make other arrangements for anything which you may be good enough to send me in future.

My intercession with M^r Gladstone would I fear in no way promote your interests. I spoke of you *generally* the other day to M^r Bruce the Home Secretary.¹³ He did not seem to be aware that there was any objection to your coming to England. But you cannot rely upon a loose statement of this kind. *Ireland*,¹⁴ if you will believe one who knows something of its history¹⁵ is a broken reed which will run

¹² Stanton questioned the year which he wrote on Froude's letter. It seems, in the light of the contents of this letter, to be correct.

¹³ The Rt. Hon. Henry Austin Bruce (1815-95) was Home Secretary in Gladstone's cabinet in 1869-73. Later he was created first Baron Aberdare, and he served as Lord President of the Council in 1873-74.

¹⁴ Three of the following four sentences were printed in the *Independent*, LIV (1902), 1812, where they are incorrectly dated March 11, 1873.

¹⁵ Froude had studied Irish history for several years before the publication of *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* in 1872-74. Concerning Froude as an historian of Ireland, Paul wrote that when he "was in Ireland he had examined large stores of material in Dublin, which he compared with documents at the Record Office in London, and he contemplated early in 1871, if not before, a book on Irish history. For this task he was not altogether well qualified. The religion of Celtic Ireland was repugnant to him, and he never thoroughly understood it. . . . His liking for the Irish, though perfectly genuine, was accompanied with an underlying contempt which is more offensive to the objects of it than the hatred of an open foe. He regarded them as a race unfit for self-government, who had proved their unworthiness of freedom by not winning

into the hand that leans upon it.¹⁶ Do not believe that you will ever make anything out of Fenianism. It is all talk, idle boasting & rodomontade. The *revolution* there & everywhere is played out. Modern society will fall in pieces but by its own incoherence only, not by the vigour of any external assaults upon it.

Yours faithfully
J A Froude

III
To Cluseret

5, Onslow Gardens,
S.W.

London

April 10 [1872]

My dear Sir

I enclose a cheque for your Article, which I trust will reach you safely. I must explain my own position. I am *not* a *Publisher* but merely a man of letters and in that capacity I *edit* Frasers Magazine for the Publishing Firm of Longman & Co one of the great London Houses.

I mentioned to M^r Longman that you thought of writing a *book*.¹⁷ He will be happy to hear from you on the subject but your correspondence if you persevere in your intention must be immediately with him.

I myself as Editor of Frasers shall be willing to receive another Magazine paper from you—If I may suggest a subject, I will ask you to give us some of your Irish experiences.

You must know as well as I do that America will never help Ireland to make a revolution.¹⁸ If driven into war with us which is extremely unlikely America may endeavour to embarrass us by encouraging disaffection there, & even to get rid of the Fenians she may

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it with the sword. If they had not quarrelled among themselves, and betrayed one another, they would have established their right to independence; or, if there had been still an Act of Union, they could have come in, as the Scots came, on their own terms. For an Englishman to write the history of Ireland without prejudice he must be either a cosmopolitan philosopher, or a passionless recluse. Froude was an ardent patriot." Herbert Paul, *The Life of Froude* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1906), pp. 199-200.

<sup>16</sup> An echo of Isaiah, 36,6: "Behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: . . ."

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Longman (1804-79), son of Thomas Norton Longman, became head of the publishing house in 1842. Presumably the book that Cluseret was planning to write was his *Mémoires*, which was not published until 1887. No English edition has been issued.

<sup>18</sup> This paragraph was published in the *Independent*, LIV, 1811.

allow them to fit out expeditions to Ireland from New York or some other Port. But she will *never* send an army of her own to Ireland. And the only result to that unfortunate Country will be a repetition of ineffectual insurrection, which will be extinguished, as most insurrections have always been extinguished before. You yourself must be perfectly aware that the material for a successful rebellion does not exist in Ireland. If you will tell the Irish people so, you will be doing them a real kindness.<sup>19</sup>

truly yours  
J A Froude

For such a Paper as I describe we would pay you more liberally than for your last contribution.

IV  
To Cluseret

5, Onslow Gardens,  
S.W.

May 16 [1872]<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> "Three millions of Irish had fled across the Atlantic to escape from famine since the failure of the potatoe. Some had gone of their own wills, some had been roughly expelled from their homes. . . . They streamed across to the United States carrying hatred of England along with them, while the walls of the deserted villages in Connaught preached revenge to those who were left at home. The exiles throve in their new land—a fresh evidence, . . . that English domination had been the cause of their miseries. They multiplied, and became a factor in American political life. They fought, and fought well, in the American Civil War. When the Civil War was over, they hoped for a war with England, and tried to kindle it in Canada. The 'Alabama' question having been settled peacefully, they failed in their immediate purpose; but none the less they were animated with an all-pervading purpose of revenge; and there were many thousands of them who had escaped the Southern bullets who were ready for any desperate adventure. An invading force was to cross the Atlantic, while Ireland organised itself in secret societies to receive them as it did to receive the French in 1797. Chester Castle and the Fenian rebellion of 1867 are not yet forgotten. . . . The rising was abortive. It failed, as Irish rebellions have so often failed, because the Irish people trusted in their numbers and neglected to make serious preparations. The American general [Cluseret] who came over to take the command had been told that he would find ten thousand men drilled and armed. He did not find five hundred, and he left the enterprise in contempt. The scattered risings which followed were easily suppressed, and were suppressed with gentleness. . . . But the leniency with which the leading insurgents were treated was construed into a confession of weakness. The rebellious spirit was fed from America, and detached acts of violence, attempted rescues of prisoners, and blowing up of gaols showed that Ireland was as unsubdued as ever. . . ." Froude, *Lord Beaconsfield* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1890), pp. 200-202. Similar views are found in Froude's articles for *Fraser's* (January and March 1870) "England and Her Colonies" and "Reciprocal Duties of State and Subject," reprinted in *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, second series (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), pp. 149-77 and 211-13.

<sup>20</sup> At the top of the first page of this letter Stanton wrote: "To Cluseret, but do not know year." Froude's suggestions in Letter III that the general should write a paper about his Fenian activities and the details about the "Irish Article" here—the paper

My dear Sir

The Irish Article is extremely interesting.<sup>21</sup> The translation when completed shall be sent to you in *print* to revise before it is published, with your own MS. I think I can promise you that it will be well received.

I will try what I can do about your pictures.<sup>22</sup> I have not myself any acquaintance with picture dealers, but perhaps through my friends I may be able to be of use to you. In this and in all else I will do what I can to serve you.

I may perhaps ask a service of you in return.<sup>23</sup> I think of going to New York in the Autumn to give lectures on the Irish question.<sup>24</sup> I mean to say that the political side of Irish agitation is folly and can end only, (as it has always hitherto ended,) in shame & national

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appearing in the July 1872 issue of *Fraser's*—would indicate that 1872 is the year in question.

<sup>21</sup> In his article, "My Connection with Fenianism," *Fraser's*, VI (1872), 31-46, Cluseret followed Froude's advice to tell why "the material for a successful rebellion does not exist in Ireland." The cause, he pointed out, lay in Irish ignorance and superstition—the results of clerical domination—and in drunkenness. This situation had to be remedied first. Ireland alone could not gain her freedom "by means of violent insurrection, . . ." Neither could she hope for help from any French source. Nor could she expect assistance from the United States, where the Democratic party traded on the poverty of the New York Irish and demoralized them by whiskey ("The bars in New York—the real electoral temples of the Democratic party—were your sanctuaries; you had the right of asylum in them . . ."); where the Republican party, conservative and egoistic, was "dying with plethora and indigestion"; and where the rising Socialist party would never send help to Ireland against England. The enfranchisement of Ireland, he added, could be achieved only by a union of the Irish with "the advanced Liberal party in England," a solidarity "identifying the interests and uniting the British Isles in fraternity . . ." Cluseret concluded: "My decided opinion may be summed up in one word—the alliance of Ireland with England on one common platform; the enfranchisement of both by one common bond of brotherhood."

<sup>22</sup> Stanton wrote that Cluseret was "a painter who exhibited at many a Paris Salon, . . ." the *Nation*, LXXIV (1902), 504. According to Ulrich Thieme, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1912), VII, 125, Cluseret's painting bears the influence of his fellow Communard, Gustave Courbet, and he showed one-hundred-twenty of his pictures at the Galerie Vivienne. Catalogues reveal that some of his works were shown also at the Paris Salons in 1888 and 1890. I am indebted to Mr. Franklin M. Biebel of the Frick Collection, New York, for directing me to this information.

<sup>23</sup> The remainder of this letter except the last paragraph appeared in the *Nation*, LXXIV, 505.

<sup>24</sup> As early as March 24, 1871, Froude had written to Skelton: "The Yankees have written to me about going out to lecture to them. I am strongly tempted; but I could not tell the truth about Ireland without reflecting in a good many ways on my own country. I don't fancy doing that, however justly, to amuse Jonathan. . . ." John Skelton, *The Table-Talk of Shirley* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1895), p. 149.

disgrace. If it succeeded it would make the peasantry no better off than they are at present. There is no tyrant over the poor so cruel as an Irish Attorney or an Irish Land jobber: and those are the men who would be elected to an Irish Parliament. I wish to see the whole force of Irish popular opinion united to that of the English people to overthrow *landlordism*, and give the fruits of the soil to those who cultivate it.<sup>25</sup> The Fenians when they hear what I have to say about their false & bastard "patriotism" will be inclined to break my head or put a bullet through me.<sup>26</sup> I wish them however to hear me out to the end of my course of lectures at any rate. A word from you to that effect, if you have any friends among them at New York might be useful to me.

The Fortnightly Review about which you ask is an advanced Radical Publication.<sup>27</sup> Many good men write in it. But it is too

<sup>25</sup> In his fifth lecture, "The Rebellion of '98, the Union, and the Ireland of Today," delivered in New York on October 25, 1872 and reprinted under the title "Ireland Since the Union" in *Short Studies*, Froude elaborated on the subject that "Ireland's real enemy was the landlord." *New York Daily Tribune*, XXXII (Oct. 26, 1872), 2. The subject is treated also in his "England and Her Colonies."

<sup>26</sup> On September 7, 1872, Froude wrote: "I sail [to the United States] in a fortnight, and I know not what I have before me. I go like an Arab of the desert: my hand will be against every man, and therefore every man's hand will be against me. Protestant and Catholic, English, English-Irish, and Celtic—my one hope will be, like St. Paul's, to fling some word or words among them which will set them by the ears among themselves." Skelton, *Table-Talk of Shirley*, p. 151. According to Paul, when Froude was in this country his "life actually was in danger, and he was put under the special protection of the police." Moreover, his intended journey to the West was given up because of "Irish hostility." Paul, *Life of Froude*, p. 223. On October 16, 1880, when he planned to return to Kenmare, Froude expressed a similar presentiment of the Irish: "If a Paddy shoots me—well, it will be dying in harness, and I, for my part, shouldn't so much care." Skelton, *Table-Talk of Shirley*, p. 170.

<sup>27</sup> Although the *Fortnightly* was founded in May 1865 under the editorship of George Henry Lewes, in December 1866, John Morley became its editor. Begun as an "organ of unbiassed expression of many and varied minds on topics of general interest in Politics, Literature, Philosophy, Science, and Art," it soon became identified with liberalism. Articles on Auguste Comte and on Positivism appeared in early numbers, but in 1869 and 1870 a controversy on Positivist thought brought forth in its pages numerous apologies and attacks. Despite their various interpretations, Lewes, Morley, Mill, Frederic Harrison, and Richard Congreve were the most prominent Comtist contributors. While the number of articles on Comtism fell off in the early seventies, "there is little doubt," Professor Everett points out, "that the public continued to associate the *Fortnightly* with the Comtist group, and . . . to lump all rationalists and men of science together under the Positivist label." Edwin Mallard Everett, *The Party of Humanity: The Fortnightly Review and Its Contributors, 1865-1874* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 101. The chapter "Morley and the Positivists" is especially pertinent. In his *English Literary Periodicals*, Walter Graham asserts: "As leader of the Comtist party in England, Morley made the *Fortnightly* the mouthpiece of the positivists—the standard bearer in the battle of rationalism against orthodoxy." (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1930), p. 260.

doctrinaire for my taste.<sup>28</sup> The formulas of advanced English politicians are as stiff and arrogant as the formulas of theology. Truth itself becomes distasteful to me when it comes in the shape of a proposition. Half the life is struck out of it in the process.

The Review however has a high reputation. The chief Contributors are *Comtists* (you know about M. Comte) and in their own way stand up for the poor against the rich.

I address this letter to M. Alexander as before. But as you give your own name as the possessor of the Pictures I conclude that you have no longer occasion for the Pseudonym.

faithfully yours  
J A Froude

V  
To Cluseret

5, Onslow Gardens.  
S.W.  
June 11 [1872]

Dear General Cluseret

I return your MS.<sup>29</sup> The translation is in the Printers hands & will be with you in two or three days. You will be kind enough to return it with as little delay as possible, as the article must appear in July.

You will have done very good service both to Ireland and to England, a service which will not fail to receive recognition. But a time will come<sup>30</sup> when you will see that the leaders of our Reform League are as hollow & futile as the Fenians.<sup>31</sup>

*Political* Reform both in England & Ireland is an imposture. The wider the suffrage in England the more completely Parliament becomes a monopoly of the *rich*, and in consequence the more corrupt & useless. In Ireland a Home Parliament will be equally returned by the Priests, and the power of Priests and the power of money are the two devils that we have to fight against.

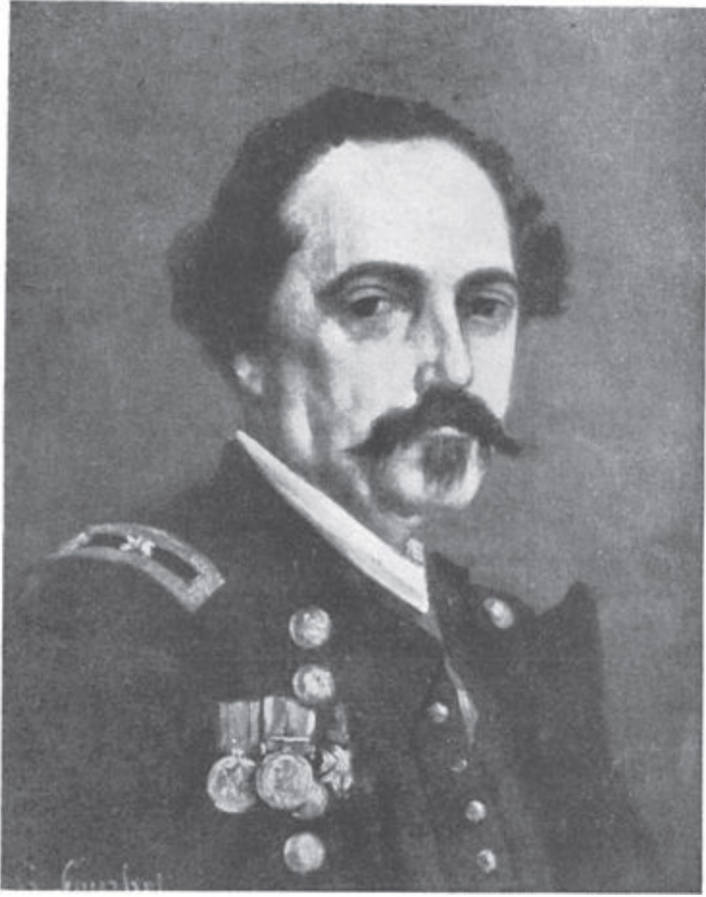
The true leaders of the people in England, are the managers of the Trade Unions who care nothing for politics or Parliament, but

<sup>28</sup> Froude did contribute, however, several articles to the *Fortnightly* in later years.

<sup>29</sup> Of Cluseret's "My Connection with Fenianism."

<sup>30</sup> This sentence and the two succeeding paragraphs appeared in the *Nation*, LXXIV, 505.

<sup>31</sup> In his Fenian paper, Cluseret said that in 1867 he had been "partially successful" in "inducing certain [Fenian] chiefs to join with some of the heads of the Reform League."



GENERAL GUSTAVE CLUSERET  
*from a portrait by Gustave Courbet*

fix their eyes steadily on the particular measures which will do them good & wrench them by superior skill & force out of the hands of the Capitalists. The upper classes are wise in this generation & like nothing better than to tempt the masses away after Political Will o' the Wisps. So long as the hounds are on that scent they know well that they have nothing to fear.

I trust that you will soon come to England & that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you. If not we may meet in America.

Yours faithfully  
J A Froude

VI  
To Cluseret

5 Onslow Gardens

Dear General Cluseret

July 3 [1872]

Your account of the Fenians has made a Sensation as I foresaw that it would. It has been reviewed in the *Times*<sup>32</sup> and in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.<sup>33</sup> The review in the latter was written by a friend of mine a late distinguished member of the Government of India.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Of July 3, 1872.

<sup>33</sup> Of July 2, 1872.

<sup>34</sup> According to the details Froude gives here, the critical method, and the literary style, this review was apparently written by James (later Sir James) Fitzjames Stephen (1829-94), the author of *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* (1873). The friendship between the two men grew while Stephen contributed to *Fraser's*. They were neighbors for a while in Ireland, where they enjoyed fishing and yachting on the Kenmare River. Leslie Stephen frequently mentions the warm attachment of his brother and Froude in his *Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1895). They were brought together often through their friendship with Carlyle, for whom they later served as literary executors. Stephen was the legal member of the Governor-General's council in India from 1869 until April 1872. He saw Froude on May 15, 1872, the day after his return from India. In addition to his legal activities, he wrote several hundred reviews and articles for various journals; during 1872 he contributed 112 articles to the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

The two reviews that Froude cites here hardly justify his extravagant praise. That in the *Times* bears a distinctly skeptical attitude. For example, the review states: "It is hardly credible, . . . that a veteran conspirator like General Cluseret, . . . who manifests unabated sympathy with the Socialistic objects of Fenianism should nevertheless have furnished so complete an exposure of its folly and weakness if he retained any faith whatever in its ultimate triumph. Indeed, his alleged motive for breaking silence at all is a desire to defend himself against reproaches under which he laboured in the Paris Commune on account of his association with Fenianism. How far he succeeds in doing so his readers must judge, but it is certain that Fenianism has never been exhibited before, even by its most candid friends, in so absurd and repulsive a light." It is scornful of Cluseret's story of his escape from Ireland and England after the failure of the Fenians at Chester Castle. "We shall not follow," the review continues, "the author of this amusing and instructive article into his Garibaldiian tirades on the exclusive sentiment of patriotism, and the inevitable decadence of nations which submit to clerical des-

If you wish me to mention to any member of the Cabinet your desire to return to England, you have established a claim upon them by this Paper, and I will gladly do so. I should do you more harm than good if I were to write M<sup>r</sup> Gladstone,<sup>35</sup> but I know several of his colleagues pretty well & I will apply to them if you wish it. You may prefer possibly communicating with M<sup>r</sup> Gladstone yourself.

Further, there is no doubt that any London publisher will contract with you for a book if you take the opportunity at once of the excitement which you have created. The English public will run after the paper about Fenians like a pack of hounds after a red herring. You are in every bodys mouths & therefore now is the time to make your bargain with the publishers.

Of course I shall be most happy to accept any article from you that you please to write on either of the subjects that you mention, but I think<sup>36</sup> you do not yet understand England. *Authority* is childishly weak among us, because Ministers are afraid of Parliament and Members of Parliament are afraid of the votes of their Constituents.

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potism." It denied Cluseret's "assertion that Cobden, . . . was either 'a *Communard*' or 'an anti-patriot,' even 'in the best sense of the word.'" It seems to question his version of the affiliation of the Fenian leaders and those of the Reform League. But the reviewer finally concurs with Cluseret's view that France and the United States would not help Ireland and that Irish success could be possible solely 'by identifying [Irish and English] interests and uniting the British Isles in fraternity."

The review in the *Pall Mall* is primarily a digest of Cluseret's article; little attention is paid to his "curious reflections" beyond quoting parts of Cluseret's conclusion. The review ends with the sentence: "We need not say how far we agree with and how far we differ from the General, but he has told a very serious story, and made many exceedingly pertinent remarks, and we strongly recommend our readers to read the article *in extenso*."

<sup>35</sup> Although Froude held no high opinion for either the Liberal or the Conservative party, he was genuinely opposed to Gladstone and to his Irish policy. "I do not love Beaconsfield," he later wrote; "but I love Gladstone less." Skelton, *Table-Talk of Shirley*, p. 165. This attitude Froude did not hesitate to express publicly. He wrote also in "Reciprocal Duties of State and Subject": "It is tragical to think of such a mind as Mr. Gladstone's being occupied incessantly with petty thoughts of how he can keep his party together. He must fawn and flatter and make himself common upon platforms, and give honor where honor is not due, and withhold it where he knows it ought to be bestowed. He stands in the front rank of the nation; its seeming idol, yet the servant of those who clamor that he is the greatest living man; yet little less helpless than the meanest of them to do what he knows that their welfare demands, and forced, when called on, to find reasons why such things are better left undone. He is bringing in measures for the improved government of Ireland. He is obliged to say that he expects good from them; yet every one who understands Ireland is aware that there is but one possible end to the chronic disease of that unhappy country, without which if an angel brought a land law for it from heaven the symptoms would continue unabated; and that is a just, impartial, and *stable* administration." *Short Studies*, second series, pp. 238-39.

<sup>36</sup> The remainder of this letter appeared in the *Independent*, LIV, 1811.



The people can get all they ought to have, and a great deal more by agitating for it. The peaceful revolution is in full progress—but if there was an appeal to force, such as you contemplate as having been possible at the time of the Trafalgar Square meeting<sup>37</sup> it would be crushed with a violence of which you have no idea. I am happy to think that there is no occasion for a violent revolution in England. The stone is already on the side of the Hill and is moving so fast that nothing now can stop it. There *can be* no revolution because there is no political resistance. What the people agree to demand the people will have.

And yet in the middle of all this never was Society more extravagant. Never were such enormous fortunes made by trade or spent on more absolute foolishness.<sup>38</sup> And the rich men are wise in this generation. Their best ally is in the increasing tendency to drunkenness in the working classes. So long as men get drunk they will not be politically dangerous.<sup>39</sup>

If the trade unions would make Sobriety a condition of Membership they might be absolute masters of England tomorrow.<sup>40</sup>

Ever faithfully yours

J A Froude

<sup>37</sup> A huge demonstration headed by the National Reform League demanding an extension of suffrage was held on June 29, 1866 in Trafalgar Square; another meeting in the Square occurred on July 2.

<sup>38</sup> When Froude visited the United States, he was surprised by the simple manner of living of the extremely rich merchants here. Describing the modesty of the Ezra Cornell household also, he wrote to his wife: “[Cornell’s] name will be remembered for centuries as having spent his wealth in the very best institutions on which a country’s prosperity depends. Our people spend their fortunes in buying great landed estates to found and perpetuate their own family. I wonder which name will last the longest, Mr. Cornell’s or Lord Overstone’s.” Quoted by Paul, *Life of Froude*, p. 224. In his “England and Her Colonies,” Froude likewise scorned the way in which rich English merchants, bankers, and manufacturers spent their wealth on “suburban palaces,” conservatories, gardens, parks, and pheasant preserves. *Short Studies*, second series, p. 164.

<sup>39</sup> Froude drew attention to the increasingly vast sums spent by English town laborers on intoxicating liquors and the resultant evils of this extravagance. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68. And in “The Colonies Once More,” he wrote: “The gin and beer are doubtless elements of conservatism. The satisfaction of the vulgar politician at the increasing consumption of such things is not without reason. The thriftless vagabond who carries his week’s wages on Saturday afternoon to the pothouse, and emerges out of his bestiality on Tuesday morning to earn the materials for a fresh debauch—this delightful being has nothing politically dangerous about him. He will sell his vote to the highest bidder, and look no farther than his quart of half-and-half.” *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10.

<sup>40</sup> “The working men, however, as a body [the trade unions about which Froude was writing], are alive to the disgrace of their order. Some day or other they may check for themselves what they have vainly petitioned the legislature to assist them in restraining; and whether or no, the present elements of confusion in English society are sufficiently threatening.” *Ibid.*, p. 310.