

Sieur d'Arcas, by which Montaigne calls him when speaking (I, 30) of his having a piece of his land in Médoc buried under the sand thrown up by the sea: "ses rentes et domaines sont eschangez en pasquages bien maigres." He outlived his second wife and married a third. After the death of his brother Michel, he and his son claimed "la maison noble de Montaigne" against Michel's widow and daughter; but before the suit was decided they both died, and the heirs of Thomas being then only three daughters, there was no ground for a substitution demanded in favor of males as against females.

Pierre de Montaigne was Seigneur de La Brousse. It was he with whom Michel was travelling the day, during the civil wars, when he met "un gentilhomme de bonne façon . . . du party contraire au nostre" (II, 5). M. Malvezin states, we know not on what authority, that he lived quietly as a country gentleman on his estates in Périgord, and that, unlike Michel, he took pleasure "in hearing a hare scream in the teeth of his dogs." He died, unmarried, when about forty years old.

Jeanne de Montaigne, the eldest sister, married at nineteen M. de Lestonnac, a "conseiller." She, like her brother Thomas, became a Protestant, and she brought up her eldest daughter in that faith. But the daughter, after a time, not only returned to the Catholic Church, but was the foundress of a convent.

Arnaud, the next brother (le capitaine Saint-Martin), died, as we have seen, from an accident when a young man, but not so young as the Essays represent him. By a mistake of the printers, probably, his age, which was twenty-eight, is there given as twenty-three. And, since we mention one blunder of this kind, let us remark here another, and a more important one, in a letter from Montaigne to his wife, in which he is made to speak of their loss of a little girl "in the second year of her life." It should be the second month of her life. There were born to Montaigne six children, all daughters, but no one of them lived more than a few weeks save the second, Leonor, who grew up, married, and had children. The fact that the others but just existed renders somewhat unjustifiable the indignation that has been expressed at Montaigne's phrase (I, 40), "J'en ai perdu en nourrice deux ou trois, sinon sans regret, au moins sans fascherie."

But to return to "le capitaine Saint-Martin." Nothing is known of his youth save that he was educated, like Michel, at the Collège de Guienne; but his famous "principal," André Govéa, who had been Michel's master ("sans comparaison le plus grand principal de France," Montaigne declared, in the art of acting as in "toutes aultres parties de sa charge"), had left Bordeaux for the University of Coimbra before Arnaud de Montaigne entered the College. Among M. Malvezin's documents is one showing that as early as 1537 Govéa's abilities were recognized by the city, and probably especially by Pierre Eyquem, for in that year, on the 24th of April, "en pleine jurade, Pey Ayquem, escuyer, seigneur de Montaigne, soubsmaire" (he was afterwards Mayor), "and the lords of the city, assembled at the sound of the bell, . . . have declared by the organ of the said lord, the sub-mayor, speaking to the sieur de Govéa, Principal of the College of Guienne, that before had been made a contract between the said De Govéa and the city, by which, among other things, the city was bound to obtain from the King our Sire in favor of the said de Govéa letters of naturalization; . . . the letters, dated in the month of January, 1536, signed within, Francis, and sealed with the great seal of green wax, hanging from cords of red and green . . . have been [now] given and delivered by the said sous-maire . . . to the said de Govéa, who les a prinses et acceptées et à iceux

[seigneurs] et à ladite ville rendu graces et mercys."

When Arnaud de Montaigne was a boy of sixteen, he received from his paternal uncle, the Seigneur de Gaujac, some gift—we know not what, but the record exists of a "donation" to him when an "escholier, estudiant au Collège de Guienne." This uncle, "homme d'église," Montaigne speaks of in the essay "De la ressemblance des enfants aux pères"; and the name of his seigneurie connects itself with the very earliest known member of the (collateral) ancestors of Montaigne, Ramon de Gaujac. This Ramon came from the little town of Gaujac in Médoc, and was known by its name, and only so known, when he established himself as a merchant at Bordeaux. He was already successful and rich when he married in 1420; and, dying childless, he made his nephew, the son of his sister, his heir, Ramon Eyquem, the great-grandfather of Michel de Montaigne. It was this Ramon Eyquem who purchased in 1477 "la maison noble de Montaigne"; and it is a curious indication of inaccuracy in Montaigne that he should say (in the essay on Vanity) that the Château de Montaigne is not only the place of his own birth, but "de la plus part de mes ancêtres," since only his father could have been born there. Montaigne's next sentence, too, contains another mistake—"ils y ont mis leur affection et leur nom"; the truth being that they took the name of Montaigne from this acquired "seigneurie"; and the name of Eyquem was only dropped by them after the death of Michel de Montaigne's father.

It was precisely the state of things that Montaigne himself eagerly deprecates, saying (I, 46), "It is a wretched custom and of very bad effect in our France, to call a man by the name of his estates and lordship, and the thing in the world which does most to confuse knowledge about families. A younger son of good family having had for his appanage an estate, by the name of which he has been known and honored, cannot well forsake it. Ten years after his death the estate belongs to a stranger who in turn takes its name; judge where we are as to knowledge of these men." That is just "where we are," or where we should be, as to knowledge of the Montaignes, if it were not for the legal papers M. Malvezin has unearthed. But he puts us all right, and even goes so far as to give us much information about the other Montaignes—the earlier Seigneurs de Montaigne—whose line ends in the "honneste home Guillaume Duboys," who sold the "maison noble" to Ramon Eyquem. The whole of the passage in Montaigne, of which we just quoted a part, is curious in connection with his own ignorance about his own family.

Another phrase of exactly the same nature is found in the Ephemerides—the volume which took the place (as regards "inscriptions") of the family Bible in the Montaigne household, and the discovery of which in 1854 threw light on many disputed points. It is therein written by Montaigne's hand: "This day [June 18] 1568 died Pierre de Montaigne, my father, aged 72 years 3 months [another mistake!—it should be nine months, as, by another entry in the same book, also in Montaigne's handwriting, he is stated to have been born September 29, 1495]. . . . He was buried at Montaigne in the tomb of his ancestors." His "ancestors" must have been for the nonce simply his distant predecessors; since both his father and grandfather are known to have been buried at Bordeaux; his grandfather only living six months after buying Montaigne.

Of Montaigne's two younger sisters there is nothing to be told. They both married and both died.

Bertrand de Montaigne, the youngest of all the family, twenty-seven years younger than Michel, was Seigneur de Mattecolum. When he was

twenty years old he accompanied Michel on his journey in Germany and Italy; and in one of the Essays (II, 27) Montaigne, writing of the battle-like duels of the day, says that he has "a domestic interest in the matter," and narrates how at Rome his brother was drawn into one of these "rencontres," and thereby got into prison, from which he was delivered "by a very speedy and solemn request from our King." It may be said, in passing, that the M. de Cazalis, who was another of Montaigne's companions on this journey, was probably his brother-in-law. Marie de Montaigne had married, nine months before, Bertrand de Cazalis. Bertrand de Montaigne married, we know, eleven years later; then he disappears from the stage—and it is time for the curtain to drop.

A SAINT OF THE TRENTINO.

TRENT, June, 1887.

In walking through the Via Lunga, one's attention cannot but be arrested by a house with two circular reliefs and accompanying inscriptions. Having nothing better to do I looked and read, and found to my surprise that in this house, formerly a synagogue, was now the Chapel of St. Simon, who was martyred by evil-minded Jews for the purpose of their Passover in 1475. One relief represented the boy being strangled while his blood was drawn; the other showed his apotheosis. This was the first time in my experience that this legend of the Jews using the blood of a Christian child for their paschal rites had ever assumed so concrete a form, and my curiosity was greatly excited. *Prima facie* the story is, of course, absurd; but there must have been wicked Jews as well as wicked Christians; and at a time when the Jews were generally persecuted it would not be surprising if some of the more superstitious or fanatical occasionally retaliated. I have read the records of a Russian case of this kind where the crime seemed to me satisfactorily proved, although at the same time it is necessary to admit that it was in Russia, with a procedure very different from ours. Going back to an ecclesiastical book-shop, I inquired for an account of the martyrdom of St. Simon of Trent, and in explanation told of the house that I had just seen. A priest who was present, while he gave some references to authorities, said: "'Tis to our great shame that this is still believed." (I may say in parenthesis that I found here, for the moderate sum of five francs, a book the like of which I had been long wanting, and had searched for in vain in several large American libraries: 'Martirologio Romano dato in luce per ordine di Gregorio XIII. . . . aumentato e corretto da Benedetto XIV. Nuova edizione italiana. Torino, 1886.' 4to, pp. 245. It contains a complete list of the saints to the present time.)

Next, it was necessary to go to the Cathedral, a beautiful Romanesque building, and see the tomb of the militant Prince-Bishop, John Hinderbach, where, among other praises, the epitaph reads—

"Et Divi templum condidit ipse Petri,
In quo, damnatis Judaeis, Simonis ossa
Sancta locat,"

not to speak of two pictures in which the baby saint appears. Then to the Church of St. Peter, where the blackened mummy of Saint Simon lies in a glass case on the altar of his chapel, while on the walls are Latin verses and pictures descriptive of the martyrdom, with a fine relief over the door. The Chapel was restored as late as 1885, but seemed generally deserted. After all, if the story be true, St. Simon has more right to his Chapel than many others in like case—the Holy Innocents, for example, who are commemorated even by the English Church; for, although unconsciously, he met his death on account of the

religion in which he was born. With considerable curiosity as to the origin of the legend, I spent the afternoon in the City Library, where the amiable librarian, Signor Francesco Ambrosi, the author of several interesting and useful books on the history of Trent, soon brought out a number of books, including the Memoranda on the subject of Bishop Hinderbach in the 'Monumenta Ecclesiæ Tridentinæ' (vol. iii, pt. 2, pp. 429-465. Tridenti, 1765), and a manuscript volume containing the original record of the investigation of De Sales, Bishop of Brixen. The case soon became plain.

For many years before the event in question, the Jews were settled in parts of the Trentino, were prosperous, lived on good terms with their neighbors, and had synagogues—in Trent, as it seems, on one of the chief streets. In the spring of 1475, late in Lent, a monk, named Bernardino Tomitano, afterwards beatified, came to preach at Trent, and, finding there no traces of the northern German heresies, took to heart the toleration accorded to the Jews, and told the men of Trent that "if they did not soon expel them, they would be forced to do so by their most infamous actions when they had with their own eyes seen these wretches feed on the flesh of their innocent children and satiate their thirst with Catholic blood" (Blengini, 'Vita del Beato Bernardino Tomitano,' Padova, 1710, p. 109). On Good Friday, March 24, Andrea Cerdo informed the authorities that his son Simon, an infant of two years old, had disappeared and could not be found. Search was made; the body of the child was found in a sewer, near the house of a Jew, and physicians testified that it had been bled to death. The whole town quickly became excited at this speedy fulfilment of Bernardino's prophecies. Many Jews were arrested, and, after the application of torture, most of them confessed the murder, saying that they had twisted a scarf round the boy's throat so that he could not scream, had held his hands and feet, and then drained him of his blood, which they had used in the preparation of the unleavened bread for the Passover.

Those Jews whose confession was thus extorted were put to death in most cruel ways. Some were dragged about the streets at the tails of horses, some were disembowelled or pinched with forceps; others were broken on the wheel or hanged; most were burned at the stake. A few, while asserting their innocence, renounced their faith rather than endure the torments, were baptized, and received Christian names. They were then made to invoke the intercession of the little martyr, and some professed to have received miraculous aid from him in answer to their prayers. Strangely enough, this very testimony was brought forward as an argument for the canonization of the boy Simon. This persecution lasted for weeks until the Jews were driven away from the Trentino. A few of them took refuge at Riva, where in the middle of the next century they were flourishing, and had a printing press, which not only printed many Hebrew books, but was found convenient for publishing the sermons and speeches of the members of the Council of Trent.

Meanwhile, Bishop Hinderbach was recommending his martyr to the neighboring princes and potentates, and sending his portrait to Venice, Verona, and Austria. Matters reached such a pass that on July 23 Pope Sixtus IV. asked the Bishop to stop further proceedings, while he sent a commissary, Bartolommeo Pajarino, the Bishop of Vintimiglia. For a time things went well, but the investigations of the commissary did not have the same result as those of the Prince Bishop. Ugly stories got about of the boy's body being put into the Jewish quarters by ill-disposed Christians. (Probably the child had fallen into

the open sewer and been suffocated, as the place where its body was found was near to its own father's house, which was on the edge of the Jewish quarter.) Bishop Hinderbach got much excited, and accused everybody of being bought up by the Jews or influenced by them—the imperial authorities, the Patriarch of Venice, everybody at Verona, the cardinals at Rome, and especially the commissary, whose recall he earnestly demanded. He had much to say of a Jewish plot to poison him, and there is a long story of a priest who cut off his tongue with an erasing-knife rather than confess it. The Bishop was obstinate and a hard fighter, every one else was weary of the dispute, the Pope did not wish to offend him, and consequently in 1478 allowed temporarily and locally the invocation of the child Simon at the altars of Trent. Sixtus IV. afterwards confirmed this by a bull dated the kalends of January, 1481, and the little Simon was thus beatified.

There seems to be no bull or other evidence of the further steps for canonization, and it is doubtful whether it ever really took place. Proceedings of this kind were, however, often very irregular before the bull of Urban VIII. in 1634. Simon's name appears, nevertheless, in the martyrology above spoken of, for March 24, as follows: "At Trent the passion of the boy St. Simon, most cruelly killed by the Jews, who shone afterward by many miracles."

It is interesting to note that the first book printed at Trent was a little pamphlet by Mattia Tiberino, on the complete history of the passion and death of the Blessed Simon. This was printed by Albert Kune of Mayence, a travelling printer who came to Trent in 1476. Subsequently a priest from Vicenza, Leonardo Longo, who had learned the art of printing, established himself in Trent, and printed there in 1481 a pamphlet similar to that of Tiberino, and subsequently, in 1482, the 'Epigrams' of Tiberino on the same subject.

In what is unquestionably *Italia irredenta*, one is naturally interested in the question of the ultimate annexation of the Trentino to Italy. As all the inhabitants feel confident that this will come sooner or later, they engage in no premature agitation, and indulge only in mild literary, historical, and statistical disputes as to the rise and fall of German influence. There is no complication here, as in Istria and Trieste, in consequence of the fact that a third nationality, Slavic, outnumbers both Germans and Italians together. In the Trentino, with the exception of a few scattered villages, the population is thoroughly Italian. As nearly as can be ascertained, out of a population of about 341,000, there are only about 9,000 Germans. In Trent itself Italian is everywhere spoken, and the only German book-shop was a small place on the edge of the town, where one could procure religious pictures, almanacs, and German primers, catechisms, and elementary books. In Botzen—or Bolzano, as the Italians call it—Italian is much heard, especially in one quarter. Exactly where the linguistic frontier is, it is hard to say. Roughly speaking, it follows the boundary of the district, crossing the Adige about half-way between Trent and Botzen, and then running northward so as to include the Val di Sole and Val di Non on the west and the Val di Fiemme on the east. At the time of the Council of Trent, when German influence was strong, we find Angelo Massarello, the Secretary of the Council, in his curious diary, which is preserved in the library of Trent, saying, in a passage omitted in Döllinger's edition, under the date of Saturday, October 11, 1545:

"The said Aviso is a river which they say divides Italy from Germany, and is not very big, but impetuous by reason of coming from the great mountains near here. There is a wooden

bridge over it, and near by a fine town called by its name, L'Aviso (Lavis). At this town the Italian speaking finishes, and people begin wholly to speak German, because from Verona and Vicenza to here people spoke partly Italian, partly German, but here the Italian is totally lost." E. S.

Correspondence.

WOMEN AT CAMBRIDGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Allow me to point out one or two inaccuracies in your brief paragraph last week on the position of women in the University of Cambridge.

In the last printed report of Newnham College, there appears the statement that the "Students of Newnham College are allowed to attend the lectures of the following University Professors and Readers and University and College Lecturers," followed by a list of ninety-three gentlemen, including such names as Profs. Skeat and Creighton and Mr. Edmund Gosse. In addition, lectures and individual coaching were given for Newnham by forty-two ladies and gentlemen. Evidently the University has no objections to the "mingling of young men and women in the classes."

The printed "Ordinances of the University of Cambridge" contain, among other regulations referring to the examination of women, the following:

"That female students who have fulfilled the conditions respecting length of residence and standing which members of the University are required to fulfil, be admitted to the Previous Examination and the Tripos Examinations."

This article says nothing about the admission of women to the "General" and the "Special" examinations, the passing of which entitles to the ordinary degree those men who do not aspire to the honors of the Triposes. I find nothing to indicate that women are admitted to these examinations, and I know nothing of any reason for excluding them.

That they are not, however, denied the opportunity for the "ordinary success of the pass examination," and that no fear of an "injurious strain upon their nerves" dominates the University authorities, is shown by the following extract from the "Ordinances" from which I have just quoted:

"That the examiners for a Tripos shall be at liberty to state, if the case be so, that a female student who has failed to satisfy them has, in their opinion, reached a standard equivalent to that required from members of the University for the ordinary B. A. degree."

The result is, that any young woman who feels she has little chance of securing Tripos honors, and who wishes a "pass" certificate, undergoes this severer test for the ordinary reward.

All the certificates (unlike those of the Harvard Annex, which are given by the Cambridge Society), are official University documents, "signed by the Vice-Chancellor, by the authority of the Chancellor, masters, and scholars of said University." As a record of scholarship and rank, then, they are as valuable as the degree would be. They do not, however, confer the privileges of a degree, the exercise of the University suffrage, the right to compete for and hold fellowships, etc. Indeed, I have always been told that degrees are not conferred because, in case they were, there is nothing in English law to prevent any woman who passes the necessary examinations with sufficient distinction from securing and enjoying those rewards of her scholarship now enjoyed by men under such circumstances. An Oxford lady was mentioned to me by

Reference to the collection
Lee College Library
Baytown, Texas