

returned from exile in Holland in the autumn of the same year, and the same man sent him on the quasi-royal progress in the west in 1680. The author does not believe, however, that Monmouth was inveigled into the part he played in the rising. It is true that in his reply to Argyll's secretary he says that he does not desire to re-enter the world as a public character, but the sixteen lines in cipher which have apparently been overlooked by other writers "very possibly may have had an entirely different meaning; and this seems the more likely when we consider how readily he was soon afterwards induced to accept an invitation to Rotterdam, and whatever scruples he may have had were easily overcome by a personal interview." • It has been supposed that the Prince of Orange was free from any complicity in the design, Macaulay even praising him for his attempt to prevent the departure of the expedition. Mr. Fea maintains, on the contrary, that "there was a deep rooted suspicion that he abetted the fatal enterprise with the view of getting rid of a popular and dangerous rival. Whatever arguments may be brought forward in opposition to this, it is wholly inconceivable that he was entirely ignorant of the plans of both Argyll and Monmouth, and a shrewd politician such as he can not have seen aught but failure before them in their undertaking." The Prince sent Monmouth on his way and then hastened to acquaint James of his departure. Monmouth's weakness appears at its worst after his arrival at Lyme—the most critical time in his life. Ample material for a formidable rising was at hand, troops from the country poured in, the militia came over in large numbers, and a rising in London only depended upon the presence of a leader. An eminent authority on war, Lord Wolseley, has expressed the opinion that the Duke's only chance for success was to seize Exeter at once where he would have secured money, arms and ammunition and then to hasten to Bristol which was willing to rise. But from the first, Monmouth's inertia made success impossible. He dallied four days at Lyme, and so dilatory were his actions that when he reached Taunton the Royalists were present in overwhelming numbers.

The volume is written in a very pleasing style, and has been made more attractive by the reproduction of portraits of Monmouth, Shaftesbury, Argyll and others. There are also many illustrations. The historical part, however, is sketchy, and Mr. Fea is in error in stating that Algernon Sidney was an officer in the Protector's army in 1648. Such a word as Sedgemoor might be included in the index.

HENRY LAWRENCE SCHOOLCRAFT.

*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, 1689-1692.* Edited by the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1901. Pp. xxxvi, 807.)

THIS volume contains a chronological descriptive catalogue of all such colonial papers of the above dates as are preserved in the Public Record Office in London and therein may be read the thread of the story of the "late happy revolution" as it affected the British possessions across the

sea. The news that the Prince of Orange had landed at Torbay was slow in reaching the American colonies, but when known, produced important results, especially in New England and New York.

Much of this material has long been available to us in Brodhead's *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, Vols. III. and IV. Last summer Mr. Lecky referred to that as a splendid piece of work and said that he wished similar collections had been made for other series of historical documents. But, valuable as is that collection and judicious as the editor was in his selections, it still remains *selected*. This calendar, however, adds to its value as it supplies links and further furnishes a complete list of all the papers stored in the London records with a clue to their contents. The papers themselves have been at the service of anyone who could go to the Record Office in Fetter Lane where every facility is afforded for investigation, with the minimum of red tape and the maximum of courtesy to be found everywhere. But in October it was still necessary for anyone seeking information of the communications from the colonies in the period covered by this new calendar, to search through various unindexed volumes—America and the West Indies, Board of Trade, Colonial Papers, and Colonial Entry Books. The old references given by Brodhead no longer applied and there was no principle whatsoever underlying the arrangement of the papers themselves in the manuscript volumes. Documents of precisely the same nature are found in different series, and duplicates are under different headings with no ostensible reason why. Thus—as indeed is true of all these calendars to state papers—an orderly chronological index is of inestimable value, especially if time be limited. It is now easy to select the originals desired before actually beginning work.

At first sight this calendar, edited by Hon. I. W. Fortescue, appears to be a splendid and perfect piece of work. The directions given by the Master of the Rolls are explicit. The editors are to make their calendars not only useful to those who may use them as indices to the originals, but the summaries are to be sufficiently full so that distant students are enabled to obtain knowledge of the contents of unvisited archives. In one sense this object has been admirably attained. The key moves very easily in the lock.

But with all due acknowledgment of the fine work done by Mr. Fortescue, and no one would deny its value, it must be confessed that a careful examination of the result leads to some disappointment. Article 10 in the list of instructions runs: "Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication." Now this rule has been observed in regard to Brodhead, to which reference is made under "New York Documents." There are occasional omissions (as orders in council no. 17, p. 6 and no. 102, p. 34, both being printed N. Y. Doc. III., 572, 573), but when twenty-seven hundred and eighty-nine documents have been dealt with that is not surprising nor are the occasional slips sufficient to affect the fundamental excellence of the work. But it is to be regretted that no mention is made of O'Callaghan's *Documentary*

*History*, Vol. II., or of the *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 1868, both of which contain many of the papers in their entirety. It is quite possible, moreover, that others may be printed in local publications of Massachusetts, Maryland, etc., though that is another story. Here only New York matter is considered. In that field it is safe to say that it would have been a great advantage had the above volumes been referred to.

Further, there seems rather more bias both in the thirty-six pages of introduction wherein an outline of events in the colonies is given and in the summaries, than would appear quite justifiable in a publication which should rank as material for history rather than the dictum of an historian who has all the data before him. And it must be remembered that this is but part of the material and much that bears on the events here treated is to be found in America. As an example of the style, take, for instance, this sentence: "Though Boston was a city of Saints and one of Andros's accusers, Mather, was a minister of the Gospel, it seems that no one of them had ever heard of the ninth commandment" (p. xxi). Again, in turning from the New England portion of the narrative, Mr. Fortescue says: "The story of the Revolution [1688-89], *though from the nature of the case unclean*, [the italics are mine] is highly instructive and throws a vivid light on the subsequent revolution of 1774, at which time an account of it not including many of the facts herein set forth was published for the popular guidance."

The course of events in the colony of New York before Governor Sloughter, the duly accredited representative of William and Mary, reached Manhattan Island, is sketched with a spirit worthy a partizan of the anti-Leisler faction. No consideration is given to the weight of the Dutch peasant element in the little city which had finally relinquished allegiance to the States-General only fourteen years before the Protestant Dutch William crossed the channel to replace the Catholic James. It was not an educated nor very wise element, but it is quite possible that it was more honest in its convictions than Mr. Fortescue represents. The lieutenant governor and higher city officials were slow to act when the first news of the revolution in England reached them. They feared it "might be a Monmouth work" as the memory of that tragedy was still fresh in their minds. The overthrow of the said officials and the seizure of the government of New York by Jacob Leisler is, however, open to a different interpretation than that of pure ruffianism given by Mr. Fortescue. Leisler was not a "Walloon" (p. xvi) but a German who had entered the service of the West India Company and had passed twenty-nine of his fifty years as a merchant in New Amsterdam and New York, had married into a worthy Dutch family and was a fervent if uneducated and somewhat bigotted member of the Dutch Church with tremendous anti-Catholic convictions.

In the summary of the letter from William III. to Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, No. 307, there is no mention of the second part of the address "and in his absence to such as for the time being take care for

Preserving the Peace and administering the Laws in said Province of New York in America." Now upon this phrase hung the law which Leisler claimed to follow when he assumed the title of governor. Nicholson was absent and Leisler was certainly *de facto* at the head of affairs. Thus, as rights go when an old order changes, there was some show of justification for his course, a show wholly ignored in the narrative suggested rather than related by Mr. Fortescue. And this suggestion of illegal violence extends to the index, where, under the heading "Jacob Leisler, *his continuance in crime*," is a reference to a simple order forbidding the defacement of proclamations.

Again, in referring (p. xvii) to Leisler's despatches to the home government, Mr. Fortescue says: "He [Leisler] had already been cunning enough to send home an emissary, Joost Stoll, to give his version of affairs at Whitehall, and now he supplemented this by further lying letters addressed to Bishop Burnet, whom for some reason he selected as the recipient of his wild and illiterate despatches." Now the act of stating the reasons for one's line of action is not in itself a heinous one and here too the adjectives seem open to criticism, considering the place where they appear.

Mr. Fortescue concludes his preface with an expression of regret that Macaulay should have treated the revolution of 1688 with so little reference to its effect on the British beyond the sea. Well here is a splendid series of hand-posts to show the way to treat that phase of the period. Only the writer should be familiar with his colonial archives as well as with what he can find at the Record Office before he is quite fixed in his conclusions.

RUTH PUTNAM.

*The Queen's Comrade.* The Life and Times of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. By FITZGERALD MOLLOY. In two volumes. (London: Hutchinson and Co.; New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. 1901. Pp. ix, vii, 658.)

WHEN Mr. Froude published his *History of England*, he assured the carping critics that he could produce contemporary authority for all the conclusions which he had reached. Those who, for instance, doubted Henry VIII.'s magnanimity need only turn to the preambles of his Acts of Parliament, where they would find his motives fully set forth, and what more authentic evidence could they desire? The conclusions of Mr. Fitzgerald Molloy are based upon similar evidence. He is writing of a period when party feeling ran high; he finds strong statements made and, on the basis of such evidence, he depicts the characters in his volumes. Like Mr. Froude, he can say that there is contemporary authority for at least most of what he says, but the one thing wanting in both cases is discrimination. The book is written in the spirit of the Jacobite pamphleteers of the days of William III. Ostensibly it is a life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, but it is also, in Mr. Molloy's own words, an attempt "to paint a vivid panorama of the stirring times in which she lived," and, in truth, the Duchess is often far in the background. Mr.