

you have given of the conversations in the sitting Room, &c., are correct. As relates to myself, over & above my share in the general conversation, I have to observe that Colo. Lear called me into the Hall, and pressing my hand affectionately, remarked with emphasis—The gentlemen are mistaken, I tell you my Dear Washington. THERE WERE LETTERS. He then retired, without entering into explanations respecting the character or tendency of the letters he had thus solemnly declared to have passed between the parties.

Some time afterwards Colo. Lear visited me at Arlington House, previous to his journey to Boston, for embarkation to Algiers. I renewed the subject of the Letters, and pressed the Colo. to enter into the necessary explanations as a mean of healing the breach which had occurred between himself, Dr. Craik, & other of the friends & relatives of Washington. He complained sorely of the coolness, which he had experienced from those with whom he had been in long years of friendship & intimacy, prior to the conversation at Mt. Vernon; declined saying further on the subject of the Letters, but promised that he would write to me on his arrival at Boston. He wrote, but it was simply a most kind & affectionate adieu, and thus the character of the Letters, so far as Colo. Lear was concerned in developing the same, partake of the silence of his untimely grave.

To one who feels the devotional enthusiasm that I do for both men & things of the Revolution, it is with painful regret that I disturb the ashes of the author of the Declaration of Independence, or of my old Master and early friend, who whatever may have been his faults (if any he had) towards others, was ever most kind to me. But truth my Dear Sir, "is mighty," and should always prevail. The Lives & actions of distinguished men belong to their countries, and to History. No action in the long & meritorious life of the Great Washington, shuns the light, and the light and truth of History shall still beam upon the long hidden & mysterious affair of *The Letters* if I can dispel the darkness, so help me God, amen.

I am happy that you are about to anticipate my *Private Memoirs of the Life & Character of Washington*. The Public should be put in possession of the facts touching the Letters, & no one can doubt that there were Letters after the repeated & solemn declarations of Colo. Lear to that effect, to whose sole care was entrusted all the precious deposits of the Chief, for History. The volumes of his public & private correspondence. Of the character of the Letters we have the evidence of Rawlins, who copied the same under the orders of the Chief, and here it may be proper to be known, that Albin Rawlins was of respectable birth & connections, in the County of Caroline, State of Virginia, an intelligent, & amiable young man, whose correct moral deportment, pleasing manners, and attention to business, won for him the esteem of the whole Family of Mount Vernon, where he resided several years. Rawlins when questioned, declared that there were three Letters on the part of Washington, the first courteous, & a mere letter of enquiry. To this was returned an answer in the usually elegant style of Mr. Jefferson, who was assuredly the most finished epistolary writer of the age in which he flourished. In the second, the old Chief pressed the Philosopher home, bringing him to the point of guilty or not guilty. The answer was said to be couched in terms of conciliation, spoke much of ancient friendship, and of the long and happy intercourse & kindly reminiscences of by gone days. The last letter of Washington, to use the words of Rawlins, was awfull, so that R declared, my hand trembled as I wrote it down.

The subject of the Letters will be found at large & treated from facts only, in my *Recollections & Private Memoirs*, of the Life & Character of Washington, a work too long delayed from the American public, which has most kindly received various extracts from it, as published in the papers. My "poverty not

my will" has heretofore prevented my visiting Europe, a mission indispensable to the completion of the work, & which I hope at no distant period to be able to accomplish. Enough is now elicited by Mr. Dr. Sir, to convince the American Public, & the World, that *Letters did pass between Genl Washington & Mr Jefferson subsequent to the Letter to Mazzei*. And that the said *Letters of Washington were of no friendly character*.

Ever yrs

George W. P. Custis

P. S. Copy this badly written scrawl.

Addressed: Majr Lawrence Lewis, Audley, near Battle Town, Frederic County, Virginia.

Endorsed: "1832. G. W. P. Custis respecting correspondence between Genl Washington & Thos. Jefferson, confirming what I have stated on several occasions."

Notes.

A uniform series of reprints of standard historical novels is to be undertaken by Henry Holt & Co., and, "so far as practicable, the series will present a somewhat systematic general view of history"; always with regard to "high literary quality" as well as interest and (the most dubious item of the three) "trustworthiness." Some account of the author and his work will be given.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. promise for the coming autumn an *édition de luxe* of John Fiske's works; two compilations of Masterpieces of Greek and Latin Literature, respectively, chosen from the most famous English translations; a "Cambridge Edition" of the late Professor Child's 'English and Scotch Popular Ballads,' edited by his daughter, Miss Helen Child, with an introduction by Prof. George L. Kittredge; and 'A Study of Prose Fiction,' by Bliss Perry, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The late W. E. Channing's 'Thoreau, the Poet-Naturalist,' published by Roberts Brothers in 1873, and long since out of print, is to appear in a new and enlarged edition, edited by his literary executor, Mr. F. B. Sanborn. It will be brought out handsomely in October by Charles E. Goodspeed, Park Street, Boston, in two editions—the more expensive with extra illustrations.

'The Career and Conversation of John Swinton,' a sketch by his friend Robert Waters, will be published next month by the author in West Hoboken, N. J. (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.).

'De la Formation des Maitres de l'Enseignement Secondaire à l'Étranger et en France,' par M. Dugard (Paris: Armand Colin), is one of the numerous publications which show how widespread, in all civilized countries, is the feeling of a need of better secondary schools. The author states the problem clearly and treats it in a systematic way. The book may be consulted with interest and profit.

The decline of Spain as a political Power and the loss of its prestige among modern nations in art and literature are now leading many thoughtful and patriotic Spaniards to inquire into the causes of this lamentable decay, and to suggest means of resuscitation and regeneration. Such is the purpose of a work of 207 pages, entitled 'Psicología del Pueblo Español,' by Professor Altamira, the second volume of the 'Biblioteca Moderna de Ciencias Sociales,' a series of treatises on sociology now be-

ing published in Madrid. The author maintains that this national degeneracy is due not to any defects or incapacities inherent in the race, but to the imperfect development and systematic suppression of the superior qualities with which it is naturally endowed, and that a remedy must be sought in a more careful and general cultivation of the intellectual faculties. The state, under the influence of the Church, has grossly neglected popular education, and in many provinces, in which the public money is lavishly expended for bull-fights, the school-teachers are not paid even their meagre salaries, and are thus reduced to the ignominious choice between starvation and beggary.

The first volume of Dr. Ernst Steinmann's 'Die Sixtinische Kapelle,' just published by Bruckmann in Munich, describes the construction and decoration of this unique specimen of ecclesiastical architecture under Sixtus IV., and is an exceedingly valuable contribution to the history of the Renaissance in the latter half of the fifteenth century from a political as well as from an artistic point of view. The author is a German scholar residing in Rome, who has made a thorough study of the subject, and presents the results of his researches with remarkable completeness and (what is rare in German works of this kind) in a very attractive style. The text is profusely illustrated with excellent reproductions of the architectural details of the edifice and of the paintings of Perugino, Pinturicchio, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, and other artists. The second and concluding volume will be devoted chiefly to Michelangelo.

"Municipal Socialism," the first title of the Consular Reports for July, is an interesting array of facts relating to the ownership by municipalities in England of public or semi-public enterprises, as street-railways, waterworks, etc., and to the housing of the poor who are dispossessed for sanitary reasons. This is the absorbing problem in Liverpool, which, "it is said, owns more revenue-producing real estate than any other municipality in the world; its income from this source being about half a million dollars a year." The report closes with two observations: "Speaking generally, municipal government in Great Britain is honest, intelligent, and energetic; and, as a rule, politics has but little to do with the engagement or retention of civic employees." The Antwerp Labor Exchange, whose recent opening is chronicled, is an outcome of the great dock strike two years ago. At that time a federation of employers and workmen was formed to protect and develop the interests of the shipping trade. The members, numbering now over 5,000, are "guaranteed an indemnity in case of lack of work, and mutual-benefit associations among the dockers are encouraged. . . . Never has there existed a more complete understanding between masters and men than under these conditions. Day work has now proved so efficacious that the necessity for overtime work has greatly diminished." The Exchange, a workman's club in fact, with lavatories and a dispensary, "furnishes at cost excellent beer, coffee, and tea, but no gin." The lack of forests in China leads our consul at Niu-chwang to believe that there will be a permanent and extensive demand in that country for our Pacific Coast lumber. He states

that "probably more wood is used for coffins than for any other purpose."

East of Asia is the title of a handsomely printed eighty-page magazine, 11x7 inches in dimensions, issued at Shanghai at the *North China Herald* office, and richly illustrated with reproductions from photographs showing how the Russian, German, and British occupation of parts of China is influencing architecture, the landscape, and the old landmarks. Dr. Arthur H. Smith writes on The New Peking, describing the fortified area of the legation district. Mr. O. F. Voskamp pictures brightly "the storyteller and his methods in China," where every common object grows myth and legend as a moist stone collects moss. Mr. L. Odontins's readable digest in German of the remarkable pamphlet of the reforming Viceroy or governor-general of the two Hu provinces is here put into English from the German. Mrs. Timothy Richards treats with woman's insight of Chinese social customs. There are articles, by competent hands, with reproductions of photographs taken this year, on the German Kiao-chau territory, on Port Arthur, the Russian place of occupation, and on Wei Hai Wei, the British portion; and between text and picture one gets a good idea of contemporaneous northeastern China. The plot of a Chinese play entitled "The Cattle Butcher's Retribution," and a spirited full-page colored print, make up a very attractive magazine interpreting modern China. Most striking of all the numerous illustrations is that of the cutting of the double eagle, with appropriate inscriptions (in both German and Chinese), deep into the face of the natural rock at Tsingtao, on the spot where the first German troop, under the command of Admiral von Diederichs, took possession in 1897.

Strikingly illustrative of the methods and spirit of the rival political parties and leaders in Japan that are to measure their strength at the polls during August, 1902, is the literary magazine the *Waseda Bungaku*. About twenty years ago Count Okuma—incorrigible optimist and "martyr to the cause of the foreigner in Japan," ex-Premier and cabinet officer, who founded and has been for years the leader and oracle of the Progressive party—established the School of Literature, Politics and Law at Waseda, in Tokio. He has made it by his ability and energy a worthy rival, in some respects at least, of the Imperial University. Everything is taught in Japanese by native professors, except English and Chinese. The object is to educate Japanese young men and women thoroughly in the three literatures and languages most needed in this generation. In coöperation with the school is a translation and publishing department—long conducted at a loss, but now more than paying its expenses—which puts the substantial modern literature of many countries (chiefly English, French, and German) into excellent Japanese. Of the several hundred copies of the *Waseda* monthly magazine that have passed under our review, that for June, 1902, is typical. In the list of works noted in this literary digest we find the names of Dicey, Barton ('Semitic Origins'), Dunning ('Political Theories'), Hanna ('The Scotch-Irish'), Brandes, De Nolhac, Helmholtz ('Weltgeschichte'), Jacquemot, Kröger, and others, whose works are translated in part or commented upon, besides those by Chi-

nese and Japanese authors. Some of the numbers contain critical articles on Japanese topics—political (but non-partisan), legal, economic, and literary—which are invaluable to the scholar in Japanese. Twenty thousand copies of this literary magazine are distributed monthly.

"Kikuyu," by Major R. Crawshaw, the most noteworthy article in the *Geographical Journal* for July, is an account of a district on the Uganda Railway. He draws a most attractive picture of the little villages "with their toy-house-like granaries with tiny conical roofs," surrounded by herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, the men and women at work in the plantations, the boys herding the live stock, the innumerable fires lighted for no other purpose than the companionship of their smoke. The people, an unusually manly and intelligent race, differ from the neighboring tribes in having a patriarchal form of government with graded punishments for various crimes, in their morality, their industry, their trustworthiness, and their splendid physique. They also are exceptional in that "they have none of that wild-beast-like craving for meat for which the majority of African tribes are so famous. . . . They eat no other flesh than that of domestic cattle, sheep, and goats." Their vice is drunkenness. In an account of the recent eruptions in the West Indies, Mr. H. N. Dickson infers, from the reports of earthquakes in April and May in both hemispheres, "probably one of the most profound and widespread disturbances which have affected the earth's crust within historic times." Mr. E. André gives the results of his observations of St. Vincent, in the course of which he says "the whole country looks as if millions of barrels of cement had been emptied over it." Referring to Dr. Sven Hedin's return from "one of the most remarkable and successful expeditions ever undertaken in Central Asia," Sir Clements Markham says that "his maps alone, if spread out, would cover nearly a quarter of a mile." The principal maps, accompanied by notes, are of the glaciers of Kangchenjunga and of Lake Nyasa.

It is nearly a century and a half since Voltaire wrote to Rousseau the letter in which he acknowledges the receipt of the 'Discours sur l'Inégalité' and so wittily defends letters and science against Rousseau's attack. Those who imagine that no such defence is called for in our own day would be surprised at the seriousness and ability with which the German teachers, at their recent meeting in Chemnitz, discussed the subject of "The Importance of Popular Education to the Morality of the People." The proceedings of the meeting of this largest of all teachers' associations—its membership amounts to 85,000—are published in recent numbers of the *Pädagogische Zeitung*, and show that it is still important for the friends of popular education to meet the arguments of its enemies, new and old. The stenographic reports are full of interesting historical facts and well-taken points. We can here mention only the statement of an old prison teacher, who said that, during his twenty-five years of service, he had found that, of all the criminals under his instruction, only one-fourth were in possession of what might be called a satisfactory education.

In Germany even novelists are obliged to be savants. At any rate, one gets that im-

pression on reading about the examination which Paul Heyse passed at the University of Berlin, fifty years ago. Becker questioned him about Romance literature and language, Trendelenburg about Spinoza, Boeckh about Greek literature, conversing with him in Latin, Ranke on the history of Spain and the Crusades, Von Hagen on the history of German poetry. The result of the examination was a "multa cum laude" for Heyse. His dissertation was entitled 'Studia Romanensia,' and the special theses he had to maintain orally related to Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister,' to Spinoza, and to Michelangelo. What would happen to our American novelists under similar circumstances?

In a recent academical address, Professor Hjelt, Rector of the University of Helsingfors in Finland, gave an interesting account of the education of women in that institution. The first female student was a young girl, who passed the required examination and was matriculated in 1870. A serious obstacle to the movement was a decision made by the Russian Government in 1882 that no woman should be admitted without special permission, in each individual case, from the authorities in St. Petersburg. The result of this bureaucratic regulation was that only seventeen women entered the University during the next eight years. In 1890, men and women were placed on an equal footing in this respect, in consequence of which the number of women applicants rapidly increased, so that till now 749 have pursued their studies at Helsingfors; at present they number 120, and form nearly a fourth of the whole body of students. Professor Hjelt regards co-education in Helsingfors as a success. The presence of young women in the lecture-rooms has exerted a wholesome influence and promoted the proficiency of the young men in learning. Only two women have studied theology; 7 per cent. have devoted themselves to jurisprudence, 65 per cent. to history and philology, and 28 per cent. to physics and mathematics. The women excel in modern languages, aesthetics, literature, and history; but their average standing in philosophy is not as high as that of the young men. The instances of superiority in mathematics are striking, but exceptional.

A twofold service was rendered to literature by the late Mr. C. Kegan Paul, who will be remembered both as an author and as a publisher. His best-known books were biographical—the 'Life of Godwin,' 'Biographical Sketches,' and 'Memories.' The second of these consisted of a series of valuable critical memoirs of Edward Irving, Keble, Maria Hare, Rowland Williams, Kingsley, George Eliot, and Newman, of most of whom Mr. Kegan Paul had personal knowledge. When the development of his Positivist views—to be succeeded later by submission to the Church of Rome—resulted in the resignation of his position as an Anglican clergyman, he became literary adviser of Mr. Henry S. King, in which capacity he had much to do with the production of the International Scientific Series. Later he associated himself with a son of Archbishop Trench in the purchase of Mr. King's business, and remained the managing director when it was transformed into a company under the name of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. His 'Memories' contains many interesting particu-

lars of his relations with Tennyson, Bagehot, and many other prominent men of letters, as well as some lively recollections of the perils to which a publisher is exposed. On the business, as a whole, however, he pronounces the judgment that, "supposing any one to have the capital and the literary skill, I can imagine no more interesting work."

—The August *Century* has some fifty pages of interesting matter on earthquakes and volcanoes in general, and the Martinique and St. Vincent disasters in particular. The opening paper of the group is by Professor Kemp of Columbia University, who goes extensively into the causes of seismic and volcanic action. This is followed by a vivid description of the Martinique catastrophe in the form of a detailed report to the Bishop of Martinique, absent in Paris at the time, by the Vicar-General of the island, the Very Rev. G. Parel, whose sense of duty to the people under his care freed him of all fear and kept him alert to all that was going on. Another valuable addition to the record was secured for the *Century* by the chaplain of the *Diocèse*, in the form of a file of the leading newspaper of St. Pierre, *Les Colonies*, for the week immediately preceding the disaster. Several pages of extracts from this paper are printed, and they warrant the conviction that it was for a time the policy of the editor to belittle the real danger. The St. Vincent disaster is described by two eye-witnesses, Capt. Calder, Chief of Police of St. Vincent, and T. McGregor McDonald, owner of one of the most famous plantations of the island. The group fitsly closes with a translation of the two famous letters in which the younger Pliny describes to Tacitus the great eruption of Vesuvius in the year 79. Still further papers are to be added in the September issue. Aside from this collection, the most important feature of the number is "The Tragedy of the Range," Mr. Baker's continuation of his series of papers on the Southwest. It is a story of almost incredible mismanagement and waste of great natural resources, due no more to the folly and ignorance of the immediate agents than to the lack of concern manifested by the legislative and executive departments of the United States Government.

—Martha Baker Dunn, in the August *Atlantic*, writes helpfully of "The Browning Tonic," but the logic of her argument is spoiled in the end by a mistaken application. Courage and endurance are good qualities, and the soldiers in the Cuban war doubtless displayed them in as great a measure as was possible when fighting for a dubious cause; but it does no honor to these qualities to invoke them in behalf of an attitude of silence towards suffering produced, not by the real necessities of warfare, but by the incompetence and dishonesty of officers employed to provide the men in the field with such food, clothing, medical attendance, etc., as will make them most efficient in the work they are set to do. An article on the poetry of Edward Rowland Hill, signed "W. B. P.," might easily be understood as distinctly unfavorable, but is better considered as showing the solid worth of the poet by calling attention to the disadvantages against which his fame is steadily making its way. Verner Z. Reed contributes some entertaining moral and sen-

timental reflections on the Desert, a subject which has taken a strong hold on the imagination of magazine writers, assisted, no doubt, by the recent volume of Prof. John C. Van Dyke. While Mr. Reed draws from the desert solitude the thought that "whatever is is right," it is the temper of the age to draw from its material unproductiveness the idea that the desert itself is all wrong, and to proceed *vi et armis* to reduce it to cultivation.

—It may seem quixotic to recommend to the "summer reader" any rival to the "superb vitality" of Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall; yet if the summer reader has not parted with all his good sense and good taste and his intelligent curiosity as to the human comedy, he may well be allured by a modest and charming volume which has no fault except that it is instructive as well as amusing and entertaining. The title of this, we hardly dare to say, is 'Translations from Lucian,' by Miss Augusta M. Campbell Davidson, M.A. (Longmans, Green & Co.). If Lucian's vogue is on the wane, as Miss Davidson observes, it may be partly because he has been superseded, in a way, by Voltaire; but the Attic sauce with which his dissertations are served up might pique the appetite of the most jaded and indolent mind. The reader who glances into this ancient mirror of a decadent age—if he has a grain of sense and seriousness in his composition—will see in it the reflection of our own times—our fashionable fads and crazes, our scepticism dashed and mingled with the grossest superstition; he will recognize that his own generation consists largely of Lucian's "dead people warmed over," as Dr. Holmes used to say; only the clothes and the scenery are just a little different. We need hardly go back to the memoirs of Mme. Roland to parallel the sycophancy and snobbery and bad manners that are pictured in the sketch of the sorrows and trials of "Paid Companions," nor to a Cagliostro to match the magnificent impudence and world-wide success of that juggler and impostor, Alexander of Abonoteichus, whose astounding career is described in one of these excerpts. As to his dupes, are they not the same people as our neighbors on the next street, if not our own friends and intimates? Besides these lively sketches, Miss Davidson has included "The Sale of Philosophers," "The Orator's Guide," "Hermetismus," the delightful bit of satire and burlesque entitled "Zeus the Tragedian," and also "The True History," a witty and fanciful extravaganza, the precursor of Munchausen, which possibly suggested some ideas for Swift's Gulliver.

—As to the quality of Miss Davidson's translation, there can hardly be two opinions. It is the work, so to speak, of a lady and a scholar—a rather remarkable specimen of well-bred, racy English, which recalls the letters of Dorothy Osborne. It is characterized by ease, urbanity, sprightliness, and an unfailing fluency of idiom without the slightest taint of slang. It reveals great skill and ingenuity in turning the phrases of a highly idiomatic writer so successfully that it reads like an original, not constrained by any foreign mould. It is naturally somewhat free, and occasionally becomes a discreet paraphrase; but it is entirely adequate for the purposes of the public for whom it was designed. We regret that we cannot illustrate these

virtues at length; but, as literature, we can commend Miss Davidson's workmanship to the attention of our own Ph.D.'s, masculine and feminine, who are too apt to scorn culture in their wooing of science, and, while learning foreign languages, to forget how to write their own.

—In the *Annales* of the Paris International Congress of 1900 that discussed Comparative History, the report of the fifth section, concerned with the History of Science, contains nothing of greater consequence than one might expect as the printed residuum of such a meeting, after the separate publication of several contributions. The leading spirit of the section was evidently M. Paul Tannery. Heiberg prints for the first time the Greek text of Anatolius on the first ten numbers, a Pythagorean Christian tract by an Alexandrian Peripatetic of the third century. It contains an otherwise unknown fragment of Heraclitus, and has a certain interest as probably representing a lost book of Nicomachus. Several of the longer papers of the volume relate to mediæval medicine and surgery; and there is one by Nicaise on the state of anatomy and physiology at the time of Vesalius and Harvey. Tannery prints nine letters addressed to the celebrated Père Mersenne, who, at the time of Descartes, acted as a medium of scientific intelligence. Sigismund Günther gives an interesting account of the different compromises between Ptolemy and Copernicus that were proposed in the sixteenth and later centuries. In a paper by André Lalande, the pendulum of opinion about Francis Bacon swings to so wide a deflection that Descartes is almost represented to have borrowed from him the idea of explaining all physics on mechanical principles. It is the 'Valerius Terminus' to which appeal is made for support of this. Galitzine communicates letters and pictorial sketches sent to Catharine II. in 1783 by the Russian Minister in Paris, to inform her about the ballooning exploits of Montgolfier and Charles. There are some interesting papers about Comtism; for the rest, not very much to attract other readers than minute students in special departments of the history of science.

—In the Historical section of the *Annales* the Abbé Pierling investigates a curious incident in the career of the False Dmitri, who, in 1605, after the death of Boris Godunoff, succeeded in imposing himself on Russia as the son of Ivan the Terrible, who had died in 1584. At Cracow, in 1604, the Pretender, in the hands of the Jesuit Sawicki, had professed Catholicism, and abjured the Orthodox faith; he had promised to render Russia Catholic and to lead a crusade against the Turks. To insure the success of his enterprise, however, his apostasy had to be kept secret, and he hoped to procure a papal dispensation to enable him to take, from the Orthodox Patriarch, the communion which was an essential feature of his coronation. Rome delayed, however, and Sawicki was distracted with doubt, both as to this and the complications that would inevitably follow. He consulted the nuncio at Cracow, and the latter referred the question to the Roman Holy Office. Dmitri was crowned July 31, and must have taken the Eucharist from the hand of a heretic (which was unpardonable), while the Inquisition dallied, and it was not until November 5 that it evaded

decision by telling Sawicki that he must consult the canons and act according to his conscience. Then the question presented itself anew, for Dmitri had promised to marry Marina, daughter of George Mnieszek, Palatin of Sandomir, a powerful Polish magnate, who had aided his enterprise. She, of course, was a Catholic, and at her coronation she too would be expected to take the sacrament. Mnieszek assembled a trio of theologians, who concluded that Dmitri should be urged to omit the communion in the ceremony, and that Rome should be asked to grant a dispensation in view of the enormous advantages anticipated for the Church. On the one hand, Dmitri succeeded in suppressing the communion at the coronation of his bride; on the other, as evasion would no longer serve, the Inquisition again examined the question thoroughly, and in a solemn session held March 2, 1606, under the presidency of Paul V., it decided adversely with but one dissenting vote. In this it proved to be wise, for prolonged dissimulation would have been useless, seeing that Dmitri was put to death on May 17, and with him vanished the dreams of subjecting Russia to the Holy See.

ROSE'S NAPOLEON I.

The Life of Napoleon I. Including new material from the British Official Records. By John Holland Rose, M.A. The Macmillan Co. 1902. 2 vols., pp. 471, 547.

Now that impartiality is looked upon as a prime virtue of the historian, a new field is thrown open to the English biographer. It becomes legitimate for him to write about Napoleon in any one of several forms. If learned, he may prepare a work of erudition for specialists; if well informed, he may dispel many prejudices which still haunt the mind of the general reader; and even if he be a mere bookmaker, he will deserve to escape the reproaches of the reviewer so long as he approaches the subject with a mind unwarping by patriotic prejudice. In the moments which immediately followed his first abdication, Napoleon spoke thus of England. To Caulaincourt he said: "She has done me much harm, doubtless, but I have left in her flanks a poisoned dart. It is I who have made this debt, that will ever burden, if not crush, future generations." A century after the Peace of Amiens that debt has not been paid, and perhaps there will be a survival of rancor in the English heart until the distant day when the nation shall have cleared off the last account which can be laid to the charge of the "Corsican usurper." In the meantime it would be unreasonable to expect from the generality of Englishmen any outburst of hero-worship. Under existing circumstances, the historical spirit wins a notable victory whenever an isolated scholar in Great Britain comes forward to treat the career and character of Napoleon with fairness.

As a mere academic statement, this may sound trite, but it is necessary that some such comment should precede any detailed review of Mr. Rose's work. From a great variety of passages, some general and some minute, one can see how carefully the author has sought to guard against prepossessions of whatever kind. Mr. Fyffe, by the degree of his antagonism to Napoleon, re-

calls the days of Scott and Alison. Freeman, going farther still, recalls the suggestion which the *Times* made when the *Bellerophon* arrived at Torbay: "The first procedure, we trust, will be a special Commission, or the appointment of a court-martial, to try him for the murder of Capt. Wright." Dr. Fitchett, whose volumes circulate widely, informs us that "Napoleon's amazing success is not explained by his intellectual gifts. His epoch explains his career. An exhausted Revolution needed a military dictator and was certain to crystallize into one. If Napoleon had not played that part, Moreau [*sic*] would, or Hoche, or Bernadotte." Such is the attitude of recent well-known writers in England.

On the contrary, Mr. Rose holds his balance with a firm and even hand. We have mentioned Fyffe, Freeman, and Fitchett. There remain the late Sir John Seeley and Mr. Goldwin Smith, from both of whom Mr. Rose dissociates himself. With a fuller knowledge of Napoleonic literature than has yet been shown by any Englishman, he has a graver sense of the inherent difficulties and a clearer determination to face the thousand problems of fact and motive. While on the one hand he escapes from the bias of inherited antipathy, he succeeds, more conspicuously than Lord Rosebery has done, in keeping his mind free from the overmastery of Napoleon's genius. If Mr. Rose's views have been deeply affected by those of any contemporary, we should venture to conjecture that he has felt the touch of the late Lord Acton, who receives the dedication, and whose article on Napoleon in the second volume of the *English Historical Review* discloses much of the same spirit.

We dilate upon this aspect of the work because, where it is a question of the Reformation, the French Revolution, or Napoleon, everything depends upon the animus, the point of view. Mr. Rose confronts as delicate and hazardous a subject as Dr. Creighton did when he set out to write the history of the Papacy during the period of the Reformation. They are alike, also, in learning and openness of mind. It is therefore interesting to see that Mr. Rose concludes his preface with the following words: "That I have escaped altogether the pitfalls with which the subject abounds is not to be imagined; but I can honestly say, in the words of the late Bishop of London, that 'I have tried to write true history.'"

Napoleon and his age are so important, while among all the books which have been written about them so few are really good, that it is a duty to single out and praise the rare work of merit when it appears. Mr. Rose has won high honor where most fail lamentably or absurdly. Though his special researches may have been less arduous than those of Chuquet and Vandal, of Houssaye and Lumbroso, he has made his original contribution to knowledge of fact, and, by gathering up the results of a thousand monographs into a connected biography, he takes his place beside Fournier. Thus, while he helps to redeem his countrymen from the reproach of having studied Napoleon casually and in a wrong spirit, he has produced a book that will be of great value to all who speak English. It deserves moreover, to be translated into the languages of Continental Europe. We shall not overpraise Mr. Rose by saying that he has produced a Thucydidean

classic, or that his view of Napoleon will convert the world. He has written, in the narrative form, at which, he says, history ought always to aim, a learned and thoughtful, a compact yet animated, account of Napoleon's life.

Having thus referred to Mr. Rose's outlook and attainment, we may now pass to the subject of his own independent research. He says in the preface: "I should not have ventured on this great undertaking, had I not been able to contribute something new to Napoleonic literature. During a study of this period for an earlier work [*'The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era'*], published in the 'Cambridge Historical Series,' I ascertained the great value of the British Records for the years 1795-1815." Drawing from the War Office and Admiralty Records and from the Foreign-Office Archives, he has carried out an investigation which has already been pursued in the case of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The importance of this quest for Napoleonic material in British instructions, dispatches, and reports is supported by a passage taken from M. Lévy's 'Napoléon Intime': "The documentary history of the wars of the Empire has not yet been written. To write it accurately, it will be more important thoroughly to know foreign archives than those of France." Mr. Rose's comment upon this quotation runs: "I think that I may claim to have searched all the important parts of our Foreign Office Archives for the years in question, as well as for part of the St. Helena period."

Here no allusion is made to what Mr. Rose has discovered in British state papers regarding the period of the Consulate. Yet, like Mr. Bowman, he has examined the Peace of Amiens in the light of information gained from this source, and he has found something new about the part of British officials in the Royalist Plot of 1804. As the conspiracy of Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal was the immediate means of raising Napoleon to the purple, the incident has some significance of its own, while it illustrates forcibly the First Consul's methods of meeting his enemies, and the mental feebleness of the Addington administration. Mr. Rose calls it "the most famous plot of the century," and the fresh facts which he has established deserve to be selected as an example of his diligence.

During 1803-04 two plots were in progress at the same time. The Comte d'Artois and other leaders of the *émigrés*, with certain allies in France, were seeking to effect the assassination of Napoleon; and he, watching their stupid manœuvres, with all the confidence of superior skill, was trying to enlarge the circle of the conspirators until it should include some of his most formidable opponents. By the help of Mehée de la Touche, a skilful *agent provocateur*, Fouché kept the First Consul informed, "while he also wove his meshes round plotting *émigrés*, English officials, and French generals." What has repeatedly been alleged, on the authority of memoirs and other evidence of varying quality, Mr. Rose now proves from British archives, namely, that British officials were guilty of helping forward Pichegru's scheme. Among the Foreign Office Records there is a letter (August 30, 1803) from the Baron de Roll, a Bourbon emissary, to Mr. Hammond, Permanent Under Secretary of the Foreign Office, asking him to call on the Comte d'Artois