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UNE VIE D'AMBASSADRICE

By GORDON W. SMITH

I

Even the most casual reader of French literature has at least a nodding acquaintance with Alphonse Daudet (1840-1897), having read some of the charming Provençal tales related in his Lettres de mon moulin (1866), or the delightfully humorous and ironic Tartarin de Tarascon (1872). Such a reader, however, may not be aware of the fact that his elder brother, Ernest-Louis-Marie Daudet (1837-1921), was also a man of letters. Both novelist and historian, he was the author of many books, among which are Le Cardinal Consalvi (1866), Histoire des conspirations royalistes du Midi sous la Révolution (1881), Histoire de l'Emigration (1904-1907) and Soixante ans du règne des Romanoff (1919).

One of Ernest Daudet's most interesting works is Une vie d'ambassadrice au siècle dernier: La Princesse de Lieven, which recounts the life of the rather extraordinary Dorothea Lieven, wife of a Russian diplomat, a woman of brilliant personality, who was closely allied with the great world of London and Paris during the first part of the nineteenth century. Romantic and idealistic as a young woman, she early developed a love of power, and obviously enjoyed to the full the influential role she played in the political affairs of the period as a confidante of such men as Metternich, Canning, Wellington, Lord Aberdeen, Earl Grey, Lord Granville and Guizot. Love and politics were the two ruling passions of her life, though she was always ready to subordinate and even sacrifice the former to the latter in order to increase her political influence. With the exception of her long relationship with Guizot, all her close political associations came to a bitter end when official policies changed and were no longer in accord with her desires and aims. Throughout her life Princess Lieven, acting as a sort
of female liaison officer, strove to maintain friendly relations between Russia and the countries of Western Europe. The homage of her admirers, who revealed to her the most intimate state secrets, sometimes aroused the jealousy of other women in court circles, and her meddling in politics was often resented by those statesmen and cabinet ministers whose plans she attempted to thwart.

She was a prolific letter writer, and her correspondence shows a lively wit, an interest in details, and the ability to relate events in an entertaining way. She was frank and outspoken; her comments on people and political affairs evidence a keen mind and sharp discernment. Daudet writes, “She is penetrating in her judgments. They appear indulgent or severe depending on whether the people on whom they are made are the friends or the enemies of her country, which she loves passionately; but she is not deliberately malicious.”

Opinions concerning Princess Lieven’s character and talents naturally vary according to whether a friend or an opponent is passing judgment. Hyde sums her up in this fashion: “Intriguer, scandalmonger, mischief-maker — there was something of all these in her character. She was an arrant snob and reactionary . . . On the other hand she had the truly grand manner, and there was nothing petty or mean about any of her actions. . . She was not incapable of sincere and lasting friendship, despite her unfortunate native habit of dissecting with an almost cruel analysis the characters of those whom for political reasons she had previously flattered.”

In the Edwin Arlington Robinson Treasure Room of the Colby College Library there is an interesting copy of the second edition of Une vie d’ambassadrice, dated 1903, and published in Paris by Plon-Nourrit et cie. This book was originally owned by Félix Chambon (1871-1920). Librarian at the University of Paris, M. Chambon was the author of Notes sur Prosper Mérimée (Paris, 1902), and others.

This copy of Daudet’s book with its light blue paper covers has been bound in half morocco. On the leaf bound in before the original paper cover there is a list in M. Chambon’s hand of the items which he had inserted: an article clipped from the

1 Ernest Daudet, Une vie d’ambassadrice au siècle dernier: La Princesse Lieven (Paris, 1903), 89.
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Echo de Paris of 15 September 1902, and fourteen holograph letters. Each letter has been tipped in opposite a page on which either the writer or the recipient of the letter is mentioned in the text. The contents of the letters have, however, no direct connection with the events related by Daudet. Four of the letters listed by M. Chambon have been removed. On loose sheets of the stationery of the Elysée Palace Hotel of Paris there are English translations in longhand of five of the letters written in French. These translations contain a number of inaccuracies. On loose slips of paper are typed copies of these translations from the French, as well as typed transcripts of two of the letters which were written in English.

The book was eventually acquired by James Carleton Young, and at the top of the half-title page is the following inscription in Daudet's hand:

Je mets avec joie ma signature sur cet admirable exemplaire d'un des livres qu'il m'a été le plus agréable d'écrire et que la bonne fortune de M. James Carlton [sic] Young lui a fait découvrir. Je lui suis reconnaissant d'avoir voulu le mettre dans sa bibliothèque où il lui rappellera le nom d'un ami.
Paris 25 janvier 1912

Ernest Daudet

James Carleton Young (1856-1918) was a famous American capitalist and bibliophile. After graduation from Cornell College in Mount Vernon, Iowa, with the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1876, and that of Master of Science in 1879, Young entered the real estate business, establishing himself in Minneapolis. He became known as the colonization leader of the Northwest, investing in farm lands in Minnesota, Iowa and the Dakotas. He was president of the National Association of Real Estate Dealers from 1884 to 1886, and in 1878 was named honorary commissioner of the United States to the Paris Exhibition.

Always interested in literature, Young began to build a library of the best books by the most famous living authors of the world, each inscribed by the writer. This collection eventually became one of the most notable of its kind in existence. In 1902 the Paris newspaper Figaro named him the "King of Books," and in 1910 he received the Cross of the Legion of Honor from the French government in recognition of his services to literature. He was unanimously elected to the Société des
Amis des Livres in Paris, the most exclusive book club in the world, which included only three foreigners among its members. Upon the death of Emile Zola, Young acquired the great naturalistic writer’s library of 847 inscribed volumes as well as many of his autographed letters.

Colby’s copy of Daudet’s work later came into the possession of Mrs. Adrian Iselin (formerly Mrs. Frederic Bronson), and became part of a collection of fine books which was inherited in 1931 by her grandson, Mr. Bronson W. Griscom of Phillips, Maine, who presented this copy to the Colby College Library.

Princess Lieven, the subject of Daudet’s biography, was born Dorothea Christopherovna de Benkendorf at Riga in 1785, the daughter of General Christopher de Benkendorf. Her mother, who was lady-in-waiting to the Empress Marie, died in 1797, and Dorothea was adopted by the Empress, who had her trained at the Smolny Convent School.

At the age of fifteen Dorothea married Count Christopher Andreievitch de Lieven (1777-1839), who received the title of Prince at the coronation of Emperor Nicholas in 1826. Lieven’s father was a general in the artillery and his mother governor of the imperial children. After ten years of military service Lieven became Minister of War in 1800. Although his rapid rise suggests unusual ability, Temperley says, “In fact, Count Lieven was a mediocre man . . . he never showed any special qualities as a soldier; and was no more than safe and business-like as a diplomat. In later life he was always overshadowed by his wife to whom he was merely a pompous, and sometimes an awkward, appendage.”

But, despite her many liaisons, Princess Lieven’s letters reveal that she sincerely loved her husband. And Lieven seems to have loved her with equal sincerity, and to have suffered keenly from her infidelities and extravagances.

After the assassination of the Emperor Paul I, Lieven became aide-de-camp to Czar Alexander, and was named ambassador to Berlin where he remained for two years. The letters written by his wife during this period to her brother Alexander show little concern for public affairs, and are full of

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3 Harold Temperley, editor, The Unpublished Diary and Political Sketches of Princess Lieven together with some of her letters (London, 1925), 18.
gossip about the city and the court, and details of balls, theater parties, and the comings and goings of her husband.

In 1812 Lieven was appointed ambassador to London. There they resided at Streatham Park, leased to them by Dr. Johnson's friend, Mrs. Piozzi. Dorothea Lieven soon became the accepted leader of English society for nearly twenty years. She was frequently invited to court functions by the Prince Regent, who was to become George IV in 1818. Daudet states, "She will be received by all the English aristocracy, who only follow the example of the royal family for whom no party at Brighton and Windsor is complete when Mme de Lieven is not present" (85). She was one of the small committee of patronesses of Almack's, the famous and exclusive club to which a goodly part of the nobility vainly sought entree. At one of the weekly Wednesday evening balls of the club she introduced the valse à la française with Lord Palmerston as her partner.

During her first months in England she was primarily interested in a life of pleasure and gaiety. However, at the time of the visit of the Grand Duchess Catherine to the English court, Dorothea Lieven made arrangements for dinners and receptions in her honor. She became the "sole link between her and the Embassy," and thus began what she considered her real "diplomatic apprenticeship" (Hyde, 85). Her intense interest in politics began to develop fully late in 1818 when she accompanied her husband to the European Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. There she met Metternich, with whom she had the first of her many liaisons with men high in political circles. On her return to London she began an exchange of letters with Metternich, who keenly appreciated her talents for diplomacy. Her letters to the Russian court at this time are filled with political news, conjectures and rumors. Daudet states, "In reality, it is she who managed the Russian Embassy and often also the Austrian Embassy" (110).

In 1822 she accompanied her husband, who was a delegate to the Congress of Vienna, where she again met Metternich. Daudet quotes from a letter to her brother: "... here I have formed a close friendship with him [Metternich]. Moreover the Duke of Wellington, who is my most solid and intimate ac-

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quaintance from England, was constantly at my abode” (120). Her influence in political circles rapidly increased as she gained the confidence of more and more political figures. “At this moment in all the European chancelleries she was held to be somewhat of an oracle and she was consulted at every turn” (Daudet, 125). When she visited Russia in 1825 to deal with the dispute over Greece, she had with the Emperor an interview of which she said, “Finally, after an hour and a half’s tête-à-tête, I had made enough impression on his mind, since he did me the honor to speak of me to my brother on leaving this interview: ‘I left your sister a young woman; I have found her a stateswoman’” (Temperley, 89).

When Grey became minister in 1830 after the fall of Wellington, Princess Lieven was elated. Their friendship had begun as early as 1824. At first a purely social connection, it developed into an intimacy which elicited considerable comment. Grey consulted her constantly, confided everything in her, saw her at least once a day, and wrote to her each morning. Their voluminous correspondence was carried on for some years. Dorothea’s letters are in fluent, though occasionally faulty, French.

She advised Grey as to his cabinet, persuading him to name Palmerston to the post of foreign affairs. “Princess Lieven’s time had come. The enormous influence she had long exercised over her aristocratic and platonic admirer was now to count. . . . The Princess trusted to be the ‘uncrowned queen,’ to whom the new premier would bow in everything” (Temperley, 162).

By 1830 Dorothea Lieven was increasingly concerned with European affairs, which were becoming more and more complex. The French king, Charles X, was replaced by Louis-Philippe, Poland was rising against her oppressors, Belgium was in conflict with Holland, and in England the Tory party was driven from power. Of Princess Lieven’s active interest in all these events Daudet says, “These conflicts are appraised in the letters of the ambassador with a composure and soundness of judgment which statesmen do not always possess” (160, 161).

In 1833 a quarrel broke out between the courts of London and Saint Petersburg over the replacement of the English Am-

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5 Correspondence of Princess Lieven and Earl Grey, edited and translated by Guy Le Strange, 1824-1841, 3 volumes (London, 1890).
bassador Lord Heytesbury, who had asked to be recalled. Palmerston proposed to name Stratford Canning, who was not acceptable to Russia. Princess Lieven was charged by Nesselrode, the Russian Chancellor, with so informing Palmerston, who promised her not to appoint Canning. However, Palmerston, resenting Dorothea's interference, determined to punish her for meddling by naming Canning to the post after all. She was enraged at this betrayal by Palmerston, whose career she had helped to further. "Already at this moment, she felt only anger and resentment against this minister. After having forced him on Lord Grey in 1830, she considered him, since 1832, as a 'poor, small-minded creature,' and accused him of trying to provoke 'a great warlike demonstration behind which he hoped to conceal his blunders.' Guilty of not knowing how to resist this enterprising minister, Lord Grey himself, although she still looked favorably upon him, was no longer in her eyes anything but 'an old woman' without any will power; and it was still worse when he refused to intervene to prevent the nomination of Stratford Canning" (Daudet, 180, 181).

The quarrel intensified, and on August 30, 1834, Prince Lieven received orders to return to Russia. Although in despair at leaving London, Dorothea was content to return to Russia. Before her departure the Duchess-Countess of Sutherland presented her a bracelet in the name of the ladies of London society, offered as a souvenir of the many years she had spent in England and of the position she had occupied as one of the patronesses of Almack's.

Upon his return to Russia Lieven was appointed tutor to the Czarevitch, and his wife assumed duties as a Lady of the Empress' household. They settled in Tsarkoye Selo. Daudet states, "At London she was for long years at his side, and, without his ever protesting, the real ambassador. At Tsarkoye Selo she will likewise be the tutor of the Czarevitch, at least in respect to the intellectual part of his upbringing" (190, 191).

In 1835 her two youngest sons died from scarlet fever. Dorothea Lieven, who was always a devoted mother to her five sons and one daughter, was grief-stricken. Her health affected by the climate of Saint Petersburg, she went to consult the leading doctors in Berlin, where she continued to dabble in political affairs. Going to Paris for the winter months, she made close
contacts with the most eminent figures in diplomatic circles, among them Guizot, Thiers, Berryer and Molé. Later she went to Baden, where she was given permission by the Emperor to settle definitively in 1836. Her husband allowed her freedom to go wherever she chose in France with the exception of Paris, since the Czar did not approve of all her actions. But Dorothea had such pleasant memories of the past winter in Paris that she decided to return to the French capital. The following summer she went to London, where Victoria was now on the throne. There she had the satisfaction of finding the friendships she had left there to be as warm as ever, and her letters are full of details about affairs of state.

After these months of separation, her husband demanded that they meet. Upon her arrival in Paris, however, a harsh letter from Lieven ordered her to leave the French capital. When she protested, he informed her that he would withdraw all subsidy. He did not reveal that he had refused to go to see her on orders from the Emperor. After she had appealed to the Emperor, her son Alexander was sent to Paris with orders to take her to her husband. Illness prevented her departure. In December 1837, Lieven, who was staying in Italy, was convinced of the sincerity of his wife’s reasons for refusing to obey his orders. He so informed the Emperor, and Dorothea established herself in Paris. This act completed the break with her husband, whom she was never to see again. He died in Rome on January 10, 1839.

In 1836 the political situation in France was somewhat complex. The Prime Minister, Count Molé, sympathized with King Louis-Philippe’s desire for personal rule. An outstanding member of his cabinet was the doctrinaire Protestant historian Guizot, who held the portfolio of Public Instruction, and was leader of the Right Center group of the Chamber, which was in favor of giving the king an active share in the government of the country, within constitutional limits. The opposition was made up of a number of heterogeneous elements: the extreme Right, led by the Legitimist lawyer Berryer; the Left Center under Thiers, which advocated the doctrine that the king should reign but not rule; the Legitimist Left, which was gradually fusing with the Socialists outside the Chamber. Representatives of all
these groups, with the exception of the Extreme Left, met and mingled regularly in the salon of Princess Lieven.

Dorothea Lieven had first met Guizot at a dinner party given by the Duc de Broglie on June 15, 1836. He was a widower, twice married, with numerous children by each wife. Dorothea wrote him a letter of sympathy upon the death of one of his sons, and he was deeply touched. It is not known when the liaison ceased to be platonic, but on June 24, 1837, they went to dine at the home of the Comtesse de Boigne at Châteney, and afterwards walked together in the park, where they promised themselves to each other pour l'éternité (Hyde, 240). From this moment on it could no longer be a question for Dorothea Lieven of leaving Paris. She was to remain there, concerned only with arranging her life to suit that of Guizot. She took up residence in the apartments formerly occupied by Talleyrand, where she received each day, afternoon and evening, all those who counted in the world of politics and diplomacy, only too happy to do honor to Guizot, who reigned as sovereign in her salon (Daudet, 239, 240).

Despite her sincere fondness for Guizot, Princess Lieven remained completely the aristocrat at heart. When the Countess Nesselrode asked her if she were to marry Guizot, Dorothea replied, bursting out laughing, and collapsing on the cushions of the carriage in which they were riding, “Oh, ma chère, can you see me being announced as Mme Guizot!” (Hyde, 249)

At the fall of the Thiers cabinet in 1840 Guizot, to the great joy of Dorothea Lieven, was named Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Soult ministry, and was soon afterwards placed by the king at the head of the government. During the following years Princess Lieven and Guizot scarcely ever separated. They saw and talked to each other several times a day.

Her salon continued to exert a considerable influence throughout the July government, during which she was a resolute supporter of the alliance between France and England. At the time of the Revolution of 1848 she again went to England, where she rejoined Guizot, who had already fled there. Metternich too was there, also the victim of a revolution.

After the election of Louis Napoleon in 1848 she opened her salon for the last time, again showing her skill in diplomacy.
by receiving both the victors and the vanquished. For some time she continued to supply valuable information to Czar Nicholas. However, the last years of her life were saddened, for her hopes of a rapprochement between Russia and France, on which she had set her heart, were deceived. Guizot abandoned politics, and turned to literature and history. But Princess Lieven did not lose her interest in political affairs. In a letter to Canning on November 24, 1856, Lord Granville wrote, "We stayed . . . three days at Paris. I saw Madame de Lieven, as fresh as a four-year-old. She pumped me with the force of a steam engine. I told her what I thought was good for her."6 That her place in the political and social world was an important one is evidenced after her death on January 27, 1857, in a letter written by Granville to Canning: "Poor Madame de Lieven makes a great blank, both as regards herself and her salon, which is unreplaceable and unreplacecd."7

II

1. At the front of Colby's copy of Une vie d'ambassadrice five sheets have been bound in, on which is pasted an article clipped from the Echo de Paris of 15 September 1902. This brief essay, entitled "Grandes dames russes à Paris," was written by Baronne Grimm. It begins with the following quotation from Les Danicheff,8 which establishes the general tone of the article:

"When God had made woman, he reflected a moment and said, 'I must do better and worse' . . . and he created the Russian woman."

"Which means?"

"That you are capable of all excesses in good as in bad, in love as in hatred, and that I would not wish my most mortal enemy to love one of you by whom he would not be loved in return. In short, happy is he who admires you, happier still he who escapes you: it will not be I!"

7 Ibid., I, 228.
8 Les Danicheff, comédie en 4 actes, en prose par M. Pierre Newsky (Paris, 1893), 63. This play was written by Petr Korvin-Krakovskii (1844-1899) in collaboration with Alexandre Dumas fils (1824-1895), and was first presented at the Odéon in Paris on January 8, 1876.
The author states that among those Russian women who exerted a considerable political, social or moral influence in Paris during the nineteenth century was the Princess de Lieven, called the Sibyl of Diplomacy, the Dowager of Congresses. This political Egeria of Lord Grey and Guizot was the perfect type of the female politician, possessing an ardent will, perseverance, a fertile and subtle intelligence, an aptitude for counseling and inspiring. Haughty and lacking in gaiety and grace, she was still capable of unreserved devotion to her friends, by whom she was deeply loved.

2. Tipped in before the half-title page is a brief note dated Thursday, 15 July, written by Princess Lieven, and addressed to Monsieur Jacques de Tolstoy, 28 rue de la Victoire, Paris. In it she requests him to give her news of Paul Tolstoy, and to inform her of the date on which he and his children will arrive in Paris. This note is written on olive-green paper, folded into a triangle, and sealed with black wax. Hyde informs us, "Her eyes had latterly [circa 1850] been giving her a lot of trouble. She was now obliged to write her letters on special green paper, while the characters which she traced with increasing difficulty became larger and larger till they were more than an inch high" (259).

3. Tipped in between pages 160 and 161 is a letter written in London by Prince Lieven on January 8, 1830, and sent to a firm of booksellers in Paris. The large sheet of white paper is folded and closed with a red seal, which has been torn out. Under the date is the penciled notation, "Prince Lieven, Russian Ambassador." The Prince informs his agents that he has recently received the first sixteen volumes of the Mémoires of Saint-Simon, and requests them to send him Les Moeurs au 19e siècle by Dumesnil, La cour et la ville sous Louis XIV, Louis XV et Louis XVI, and volumes 9 and 10 of the Mémoires of

9 Author of Lettre d'une Russe à un Russe: simple réponse au pamphlet de Mme la duchesse d'Abrantes intitulé: Catherine II (Paris, 1835).

10 Louis-Alexis-Lemaître Dumesnil, Moeurs politiques au dix-neuvième siècle (Paris, 1830-1834). Dumesnil (1783-1858) was a lieutenant in the Army of Vendée. Imprisoned during the Consulate, he was detained in the Temple, where he occupied the cell of Louis XVI. Later he was exiled for publishing a work on the reign of Louis XI. He joined forces with the Bourbons in 1814. Incarcerated during the Hundred Days, he was freed at the return of Louis XVIII.
M. de Bourrienne [sic]. While at this moment the Prince's interests seem to be with the past, his wife was apparently far more concerned with the present, for Daudet writes, "In this same year [1830], the intellectual activity of the Princess de Lieven finds more ample nourishment than ever, considering the multiplicity of events that trouble Europe and the almost tragic character of some of them" (160).

4. Between pages 166 and 167 is tipped in a letter sent from Paris on January 31, 1845 by General Baudrand to an unidentified addressee in charge of a mission to Macao, a Portuguese colony in China. It concerns arrangements Baudrand and his mother-in-law have made for providing funds for the suitable maintenance of his brother-in-law, the Baron de Charlus, as attaché to the mission. He requests that "when this sum [12,000 francs] is close to being exhausted, we hope you will kindly send our young man back." Also involved in the arrangements is Captain François-Edmond Paris (1806-1893), who, after three voyages of circumnavigation of the globe, published *Navigation de la corvette à vapeur, "l'Archimède," de Brest à Macao* (Paris, 1845) and the *Dictionnaire de marine à voiles et à vapeur* (1848) in collaboration with de Bonnefoux.

Marie-Etienne-François-Henri, Comte de Baudrand (1774-1848) had a notable career in the French army. In 1805 he was on the staff of Murat. In 1807 he was in command of the expedition to the Ionian Islands. From 1808 to 1815 he was in charge of the fortifications of Corfou. At Waterloo he was chief of staff in the Engineer Corps, and later was charged with a mission of inspection of the French establishments in America. On August 17, 1830, he was appointed to go to England to notify the King of England of the accession to the throne of Louis-Philippe. Daudet quotes from a letter of Dorothea Lieven which describes a visit which Baudrand made to her at this time: "I have just had General Baudrand's visit;
it was impossible for me to decline it, knowing as I do the Orléans family. His reports interested me. The picture he gives me of the situation of his master is not very reassuring. He still has to deal tactfully with the Republican party; that Lafayette who, in reality, has recognized the monarchy most unwillingly. The Duke of Orléans and he scarcely know each other, and when the deputies awarded him the lieutenancy, for fourteen hours Lafayette refused to join in this resolution. A few moments more, and the republic would have been proclaimed. Today still this faction is powerful, and it will take a great deal of skill to subdue it. That is what is sad. Baudrand accuses Charles X less than the Dauphin for the mistakes that have been made; he exonerates completely the Dauphine, 'the only man of intelligence in the family'. Here the Duke of Wellington has been very cool toward him, Lord Aberdeen very false, the King very decent. He leaves tomorrow with the replies of the King of England" (166, 167).

5. Tipped in between pages 170 and 171 is a brief undated note written by Robert Peel on a sheet of light gray paper to Lord Granville asking the latter to call for him at the Hotel Meurice where he is staying.

Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, the 1st Earl of Granville (1773-1846), an English diplomat, was the third son of Granville Leveson-Gower, the 1st Marquis of Stafford. He was ambassador-extraordinary to Saint Petersburg from 1804 to 1805, minister to Brussels in 1806, and ambassador to Paris from 1824 to 1841, except for a brief interval in 1834. He married Lady Harriet Elizabeth Cavendish, who had become the closest friend of Princess Lieven. In a letter to Metternich she wrote on January 21, 1823, "There is nobody whose company I like so much as Lady Granville's." And Lady Granville wrote to Lady Carlisle, "Mme de Lieven is in all her beauty and fine humor. She is always surrounded with people; she knows how to defend herself against bores, because she has the courage to crush them. . ." A little later she adds, "Mme de Lieven is more interesting and more agreeable than I can say. Everything she tells me about those whom I like or about whom

12 Quennell, op. cit., 236.
I am curious enlivens Paris at this dead, empty season" (Daudet 233, 234).

Daudet gives an account of a conversation which Dorothy Lieven had with the Duke of Wellington at a dinner party at the home of Robert Peel, during which he told her of his decision to resign. He said, “I had against me five parties in the lower chamber: the Jacobins, the Whigs, the Tories, the supporters of Canning, and my own. Fifty of my people voted against the government. I saw that I could not go on. I took the night to think things over again, and in the morning I decided to resign. As for foreign policy, my successors have only one thing to do, that is to continue what I have begun. If they don’t do it, it means war” (171, 172).

6. Between pages 182 and 183 is tipped in a brief note on white paper written by Prince Lieven to an unidentified baron, agreeing to a request from the latter for an appointment. This note is dated simply “Tuesday morning,” but at the bottom of the page is a penciled notation “5 Maart 1833,” which suggests that the letter was once in the possession of a Dutchman.

7. The following letter is tipped in between pages 186 and 187.

Windsor, 1 Nov. 1839

My dear Granville,

Will you let me introduce to you Mr. H[enr]y de Koven, an American gentleman, a great friend of Col. & Mrs. Grey, who have requested me to give him this letter to you. They say he is a very gentlemanlike young man, but with few acquaintances in Paris, & therefore both deserving and needing countenance.

Yrs sincerely,

Palmerston

The Earl Granville

Charles Grey (1804-1870), son of Charles, 2nd Earl Grey, was lieutenant-colonel of the 71st highland infantry from 1833 to 1842. Later he became a general. He married Caroline Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Farquhar.

Henry de Koven, born in 1819, was a clergyman and father of the composer Reginald de Koven. A student at Wesleyan University, he had left college during his senior year in 1835. He then traveled extensively in Europe before returning to Wesleyan for a part of the academic year 1839-1840.
8. Tipped in between pages 232 and 233 is the following letter written on gray paper, folded and closed with a black seal, only a portion of which is still intact. It was sent to Lord Granville by his sister-in-law, Lady Carlisle, the former Lady Georgiana Dorothy Cavendish (1783-1858), eldest daughter of William, 5th Duke of Devonshire. She married George Howard, 6th Earl of Carlisle (1773-1848), who, before withdrawing from political life, was Lord Privy Seal in 1827 and again in 1834.

My dear Granville,

You will have been in some degree prepared for the melancholy event which has just happened. I understand that for the last two days the fever had been unsubdued, & unless a favorable change were to take place today the worst consequences were to be apprehended — unfortunately that change did not occur.

I have heard no details but believe that latterly much delirium had taken place. I should not suppose that at least latterly your sister could have been at all sensible of the danger of her situation but this idea may be inaccurate from not having at present any sure information.

Believe me, I feel both for you & Lady Granville in this trying occasion. I trust that her health is improved, which will better enable her to receive the blow —

I had hoped that your sister’s excellent constitution would have been able to resist the attack but the hope was vain — The post leaves me but little time.

Lady Harrowby¹³ had not been well but she was better latterly —

Yours affectionately,

[Lady] Carlisle

Grosvenor Place
May 26, [18]38

9. A note written by Mole, and dated simply “Wednesday 8” is tipped in between pages 234 and 235. The salutation is “Mon cher Comte,” but Chambon indicates that it was sent to Lord Granville. In it Mole expresses his regrets that because of a dinner party at his house and because of his imminent departure for Èu he is unable to participate in the Count’s plans for the following Thursday.

Louis Mathieu, comte de Mole (1781-1885) was Prime Minister of France from 1836 to 1839. Dorothea Lieven describes him in a manner characteristic of her analyses of her acquaintances: “M. Mole has the most elegant mind, the most

¹³ Lady Harrowby was the sister of Lord Granville. The former Susan Leveson-Gower, she married Dudley Ryder, 1st Earl of Harrowby (1762-1847).
accomplished manners and breeding. He is of pliant disposition, gentle, amiable, easily offended, jealous of all superiority, vain, enlightened and moderate in his opinions, and frivolous like all the French” (Daudet 234).

10. At this point four of the letters listed by M. Chambon have been removed: one (between pages 268 and 269) written by Guizot from London; one (between pages 286 and 287) written by Thiers, dated June 1840; an undated note (between pages 314 and 315) written by Princess Lieven; and (between pages 326 and 327) a letter from Guizot to Lord Granville, dated 18 December 1840.

11. A letter from Lord Cowley, dated January 9th, 1835, and sent to Lord Granville, is tipped in between pages 330 and 331. Cowley states that, because his brother, the Duke of Wellington is not expected in town until the following morning, he cannot say anything further concerning his own appointment as ambassador to Paris. He thanks Granville for his inquiries about the illness of Lady Cowley, who is gradually getting better, though he fears her recovery will be very slow. He also informs Granville that he has written to Aston, chargé d'affaires at Paris, concerning the articles to be disposed of in Granville's house.

Henry Wellesley, Baron Cowley (1773-1847), after having served as ambassador to Spain and Vienna, was named ambassador to Paris by Peel's government on March 13, 1835.

12. The final letter, tipped in between pages 376 and 377 was written by Princess Lieven, and sent to Lord Granville on Wednesday, December 1, 1837, shortly after the November elections which gave Molé a slight majority. It is written on two folded sheets which bear the embossed crest of Dorothea Lieven. It was obviously composed in great haste, for it is difficult to decipher, and there are a number of misspellings in the French. This letter is characteristic of Dorothea Lieven's comments on political affairs and bits of gossip. It also reveals her constant need for companionship and close association with her friends.

This letter was written during the period of political maneuvering between Molé on the one hand and Guizot and Thiers
on the other. Thiers, head of the cabinet of February 22, 1836, fell after a few months in office as a result of attempts to stop the Carlist civil war in Spain, and was replaced on September 6, 1836, by Molé, who became President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Guizot, who received the portfolio of Public Instruction, resented the domineering attitude of Molé, and was dissatisfied with his post, being desirous of greater political power for himself. When a new cabinet was formed by Molé on April 15, 1837, Guizot was excluded. After the elections of November, 1837, Guizot made it his task to work to overthrow the Molé government, and formed a coalition with Thiers, Barrot and Berryer. Molé was finally obliged to retire on March 31, 1839.

The following description of Thiers is typical of Princess Lieven’s style:

M. Thiers est un feu d’artifice perpétuel; c’est l’esprit le plus charmant que j’aie rencontré. La mobilité d’impressions et de principes forme son caractère distinctif. C’est un révolutionnaire au fond, mais qui saurait prendre au besoin toutes les autres formes; il a l’orgueil de Satan, c’est lui-même qui le dit... Il est capable de tout le mal imaginable et au fond de tout cela, il est ce qu’on appelle très bon enfant. Sans rancune, sans envie (Daudet, 234).

In her letter to Granville Dorothea Lieven says, in part:

I thank you a thousand times, Mylord, for your letter, for your remembrances, for the kind offices you have rendered me, and especially for the promise contained in the note from Lady Granville that you are going to come back to us. You and she constitute for me all of Paris. I don’t feel at home there when you are away from me, and I await you with all possible impatience of heart and mind. You will arrive for the grand finale to all the gossip and bustle which have been agitating Paris since the little man has returned here. People gather in his words, his gestures, they are worried, they speculate. If one is to believe the reports he has strange purposes. He told the Duc d’Orléans14 day before yesterday that he will be minister only to be master. The Duc d’Orléans having replied to him that the king will never take him on that condition, the answer was—“Well, Monsieur, I shall wait.” What do you think of the I shall wait in front of that audience?

The king has made to M. Guizot proposals to patch things up with M. Molé. [In a note at the bottom of the page the writer adds, “He called him ‘my dear minister.’ It is Guizot whom he called that.”] G[uiot] has categorically rejected them, but he has promised very

14 Ferdinand-Philippe, duc d’Orléans, son of Louis-Philippe (1810-1842).
firmly his support and that of all his party to the government of the
king whoever its ministers may be if this government doesn't lean
toward the left.

No one believes that things can long go on as they are going. The
battle between the left and the right will break out, and the minister
will be slaughtered in the melee. That is the general consensus. After
that, as M. Thiers says, he and Guizot will mount the tribune to seize
the portfolio, which will go to the more clever and the more alert.
M. Guizot modifies the remark by saying that the portfolio will come
to seek him out in his seat. At least he seems decided to wait for it
and not to run after it. The king is definitely further aloof from M.
Thiers than ever, and very kindly disposed toward Guizot. M. Molé
pretends to be calm and believes himself certain to steer the boat
through all these tempests. He does not see M. Thiers and remains on
the same cold terms with M. Guizot.

The king has been very happy to resume his long conversations with
Appony.15 The first one lasted more than four hours. Madame Appony
has been in bed since the day after her arrival with a swelling of the
head.

They are awaiting the return of the Duc de Nemours16 before having
funeral services for Gen. Danrémont.17

That, Mylord, is all I find to report today to Lady Granville. I am
addressing it to you instead of to her, but I beg her please to send me
one more word before her departure from London.

Several items of gossip follow. She informs Granville that
the Bedfords and Abercorns are going to Nice at the end of
the following week, and announces the news of the pregnancy
of "la petite princesse," the wife of the Duc d'Orléans, whose
first son, the Comte de Paris, was to be born on August 24,
1838. After closing with "Ever yours de tout mon coeur," she
adds a rather plaintive postscript:

Why don't the Sutherlands come? and I who had such credulous faith
in their promises. Oh, what a bankruptcy of my confidence in the
word of the English! and what sorrow in my heart!

The Prince and Princess Lieven had been most intimate with
George Granville Leveson-Gower (1786-1861), the 2nd Duke

15 Count Antoine-Rodolph d'Appony (1782-1852), an Austrian diplomat, had
been ambassador to London in 1824, and was ambassador to Paris during
the reign of Louis-Philippe. Dorothea Lieven was on intimate terms with
Countess d'Appony, whose son was to marry the daughter of Princess Lieven's
brother General Alexander de Benkendorf.
16 Louis-Charles-Philippe-Raphael, second son of Louis-Philippe. A general in
the French army, he took part in expeditions against Constantine in Algeria.
17 Charles-Marie-Denis Danrémont (1783-1837), a French general and gov­
er of French possessions in North Africa. He was killed at the assault
on Constantine on October 12, 1837. Louis-Philippe ordered that his remains
be brought back to Paris to be placed in the Hôtel des Invalides.
of Sutherland, and his wife, the former Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana (1806-1868), daughter of George Howard, 6th Earl of Carlisle. After the death of Grey in July, 1845, Dorothy Lieven received from his executor all her correspondence with Grey. In 1846 she requested the Duke of Sutherland to keep these letters. When Lady Grey was preparing a memoir in justification of her husband's political career she asked to see these letters, but her request was refused by Princess Lieven. The letters were kept under lock and key until Guy Le Strange prepared them for publication in 1890.

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A READING OF "MINIVER CHEEVY"

By Laurence Perrine

Edwin Arlington Robinson's "Miniver Cheevy" would seem to require no special elucidation. It has been popular with both public and critics. But partially for that very reason "Miniver Cheevy" is an excellent poem for demonstrating how poetry "works": how the poet, by his peculiar juxtaposition of words, by his employment of connotation and figurative language, and by his management of sound, meter, structure, and stanza pattern, adds extra dimensions of meaning and suggests more than he states. Ezra Pound has described poetry as language charged with meaning. An intensive reading of "Miniver Cheevy" will show how the poet gives his words their charge. It will also serve to deepen some tones in Robinson's portrait.

The main features of the poem are immediately apparent. Here is the portrait of a misfit, a failure. Unable to adjust himself to the present and meet the problems of reality, he escapes this reality in two ways: first, by dreaming of the romantic past which he has read about in story books, poetry, and history; and second, by drinking. The past seems romantic