1823

Paris; return to England; foundation of London Greek Committee, London Spanish Committee, and Clarendon Club; resumption of relations with Holland House; the French invade Spain; journey to Liverpool and Scotland; shooting in Roxburghshire; racing in County Durham; visit to Newstead; hunting in Bedfordshire; return to London; defeat of Spanish liberals.

[Edited from B.L.Add.Mss. 56547 / 8.]

Wednesday January 1st 1823: Went with Matilda to Notre Dame and the Invalides – 4,000 of whom² 200 [were] officers in the Great Retreat.³

This next day dined at home and went to the Française – saw Mlle Duchesrives in *Mérope*, ⁴ and Devigny in *Le Malade Imaginaire*. I never enjoyed a play, a farce, so much in my life – but the clyster pipes which form so prominent a part in the latter exhibition show that the French audience is somewhat below the English in delicacy. In the graduation of the Malade afterwards, ⁵ all the company of the Française appeared as doctors, and, advancing two by two, bowed to the audience with great applause.

I walked today in the Palais Royale with Matilda, to look at the *bonton* shops, and did not think so much of the display as I expected.

At the lines in *Merope*, "Le premier qui fut roi," &c., there were thunders of applause.

Thursday January 2nd 1823: Went to bankers and got a hundred pounds more. Walked about with Baillie and Pearce. Walked in Palais Royale to bookshops, and bought a pamphlet or two – there are very few political pamphlets now. Bignon's *Les Cabinets et les Peuples*⁶ good, but too diffuse, and somewhat false when it talks of the expectations of

¹: On this date John Hunt publishes the second edition of the *Liberal's* first number, containing an updated *TVOJ*. H. misses both editions.

²: "which" (Ms.)

³: The retreat from Moscow in 1812. Napoleonic soldiers are not disadvantaged.

⁴: *Mérope*, tragedy by Voltaire; *Le Malade Imaginaire*, comedy by Molière.

⁵: The ritual initiation in the finale of *Le Malade*.

⁶: Louis-Pierre-Edouard, baron Bignon, *Les cabinets et les peoples: depuis 1815 jusqu'à la fin de 1822* (1823). It must have been hot from the press.

Europe from the goodness of the Sovereigns – so, at least, I heard from good judges, who tell me that one of the reasons why the people do not feel an interest with the patriots of the Chamber is that they hold for the sake of decency the language of loyalty to the dynasties of Europe, and particularly of France.

Dined at Constant's, and met two English ladies, a Frenchman, and Lafayette.⁷ + ⁸ was very civil to me. I found him a most interesting and ingenious⁹ man in conversation, and, considering the great part he played in the early part of the revolution, it is impossible not to regard him with great interest. He told me he had been a Whig – once. His old familiarities with Fox and the Whigs of 1797 had made him think the present Whigs right and the radicals wrong. Both he and my host declared that until two years ago the English radicals were not understood in France – how should they be, through the medium of the *Chronicle* and the *Times*? Now all seem to know that it is in vain to do anything except to bring the mass of the people into action. I asked

¹⁰ whether or not the thing could last in France. The answer was, "certainly - not impossible". The Liberals of the chamber had tried to reconcile the dynasty to the state of the nation, but found a king and a large civil list incompatible with freedom. + talked with the utmost contempt of the reigning family - dynastie flétrissante - whom scarcely the ultras thought could maintain their throne. I said that in the provinces the ton of what was called good society was Bourboniste – the answer was, that good society in the provinces meant the prefect's family, and one or two who affected to be nobles of the old regime, and even, now and then, nobles of the imperial dynasty - these might hold that sort of language, but go to Thenard's lectures, or any other reunion of the youth of the age, and there only one sentiment, and that a republican sentiment, prevailed. + said, and my host confirmed it, that no politicians in France now wished for any man or any family, either Orleans or Napoleon II, except as a means of establishing republican constitutions. All the lower classes in France [were,] indeed, essentially Bonapartists, because it was a fine thing to see a villager go away a conscript and return a colonel, and because Bonaparte, as the de Staël11 observed, was the revolution

⁷: The word "Lafayette" is inked in, erased, and then inked in again.

^{8:} The cross seems to signify Lafayette.

⁹: "injenious" (Ms.)

¹⁰: Ms. gap.

^{11: &}quot;Steel" (Ms.)

personified, and because all compare the days of glory under Napoleon with those of disgrace under Louis. But the educated are republicans. I asked this question of both, several times – and always had a decisive answer.

[There are] six parties in the Chamber: extreme right, middle right, middle right centre, middle left, and extreme left. I don't recollect exactly the division, but believe thus:

- 1. ancien régime in all its rigour
- 2. the monarchy, with as little as possible, but something, of revolutionary change
- 3. the supporters of ministers any ministers
- 4. the friends of the charter, formerly inclined to support ministers, but now rather leaning to the left
- 5. the constitutionalists Constant, &c
- 6. the republicans

The latter [are] very few indeed. The General Lafayette has now taken somewhat of that tone. [There are] about a hundred men in the Chamber who really wish well to their country. However, my host told me that no such consideration would induce the patriots of the Chamber to go without their dinners – they met at two, and about six made a noise for the adjournment. Various efforts had been made to persuade them to continue the debate, but in vain.

At the time of the Convention it was not so. Several of the members were of that class who could live without a good dinner, and went to the debate with bread and cheese in their pockets. My host also told me that nothing ever induced the stupidest man of the opposition to give up his turn to the cleverest.

Very few of the Chamber speak *d'abondance* – only four of the opposition do so: Constant, Manuel, Lafayette, and Casimir Regnay. ¹² Villelle, the minister, speaks off-hand, and speaks well: † said he would soon be seen leading the left. My host said in joke that in France, every man made a party of himself – sometimes two. He agreed that there were plots going against the government, and very foolish ones, and that he had taken care never to be implicated in any of them.

The Chamber [is] likely to address the King in violent language, and to appear to force him into war with Spain – this turns out Villelle.

¹²: "Regnay" conjectural spelling.

Much more was told me which I cannot recollect.

Friday January 3rd 1823: Left Paris at half-past eleven and travelled to Beauvais – eight posts and a half.

Saturday January 4th 1823: Left Beauvais at about half-past six and travelled fifteen posts to Montreuil. Arrived at about eight.¹³

Sunday January 5th 1823: Left Montreuil at about nine, and arrived at Calais at about ten minutes to seven – eight posts and three-quarters. Put up at Depins.

Monday January 6th 1823: No English steam boat going, so stayed at Calais – walked on pier, &c.

Tuesday January 7th 1823: Requested Prince Esterhazy to allow me to go in a packet hired for himself. Received answer: the Prince would be happy to take me, but could not take the ladies – a good specimen of German politeness. Lord and Lady Normanby did go over with him.

Stayed at Calais – wrote journal, &c.

Wednesday January 8th 1823: Set off at half-past six in the morning in the Dover steam boat for Dover, and arrived there in three hours and a quarter. Had very little difficulty at the Custom House. Went as far as Sittingbourne the same evening – dined and slept there.

Saw Brummel at Calais, who told me he dined with the Duke of Wellington, who laughed at the idea of France going to war with Spain, and talked of "the damned war faction". Brummel told me that Lord Clanwilliam gave himself the most ridiculous airs – e.g., dined in a cap because Lord Wellington had one on.

Thursday January 9th 1823: Set out for London, and arrived there, at 6, Albany, at half-past three. My sisters went on to Whitton.

Thus finishes my unprofitable tour, which, however, I trust has been agreeable to my brother and sisters. I dined with Kinnaird.

Friday January 10th 1823: Performed some commissions. Rode down

^{13:} Could be "half after eight".

to Whitton – found all my family well, thank heaven, and heard my sister Harriet was about to be married.

Saturday January 11th 1823: At Whitton.

Sunday January 12th 1823: At Whitton.

Monday January 13th 1823: Rode up to London. Returned to Whitton.

Tuesday January 14th 1823: At Whitton.

Wednesday January 15th 1823: At Whitton.

Thursday January 16th 1823: Went to Reading, and attended the party¹⁴ of [the] Election dinner. Only sixty-five present. Walter of [the] *Times* sent fifty pounds. [I] made a speech, in which I told [the] people I did not think [that] Reform [was] about to come soon.

Friday January 17th 1823: Fulwar Craven drove me to Maidenhead, and I rode afterwards to Whitton. Frost and snow for some time.

Saturday January 18th 1823: Dined at Mrs Damer's. Met three ladies.

Sunday January 19th 1823: At Whitton.

Monday January 20th 1823: Rode to London. Dined with Kinnaird. Met the eldest of the Parishes of Lamburgh, now a baron with 1,500 subjects in Bohemia. A good specimen of the best of the Austrian subjects. An admirer of Metternich, who told him that his expedition to Naples was not so hazardous as people had thought. He had good intelligence beforehand. Parish talked a deal about "peace and quiet" as the end of all the Austrian politics.

I heard from Place today a most curious story about Castlereagh which I shall not put down until I know further about it.

Tuesday January 21st 1823: Returned to Whitton.

Wednesday January 22nd 1823: At Whitton.

¹⁴: "purity" (Ms.)

Thursday January 23rd 1823: At Whitton, reading politics – Bignon.

Friday January 24th 1823: Rode to London. Dined with Kinnaird, where I met Hume, Parish, Captain Fox, [and] Mr Anson. Hume talked to me about seconding a proposition of his relative to religious liberty in Carlile's case.

Saturday January 25th 1823: The story about Castlereagh had got into the papers – a charge of embezzlement, to a large amount. It comes from what looks like good authority. Harrison of the Treasury mentions the fact in a letter to one Clerk of the Treasury, who also 15 shows the letter to Fisch, a Westminster elector. Harrison and Clerk are trustees to Fisch's wife, and both confirmed he story afterwards to Fisch. The *Courier* denies the whole affair.

Rode down to Whitton.

Sunday January 26th 1823: At Whitton.

Monday January 27th 1823: At Whitton ... out in evening.

Tuesday January 28th 1823: At Whitton ... dinner and dance in evening.

Wednesday January 29th 1823: At Whitton.

Thursday January 30th 1823: At Whitton. Dined at Miss Byng's. Met a party – [the] King of France's declaration of war in his speech on [the] opening of [the] Chambers [is] universally reprobated. My friend Constant was right. War seems certain.

Friday January 31st 1823: At Whitton.

Saturday February 1st 1823: At Whitton, reading politics, thinking of an amendment in case [the] King's speech should be neutral.

Sunday February 2nd 1823: At Whitton.

^{15: &}quot;also who" (Ms.)

Monday February 3rd 1823: At Whitton.

Tuesday February 4th 1823: Meeting of Parliament. Got an amendment in my pocket, declaring abhorrence of [the] Holy Alliance and of [the] invasion of Spain.

Rode up to London. Heard that Brougham was to move an amendment.

Went to the House. King's speech by commission – a thin attendance of members, not 250 present. The speech [was] a little better than expected. A Mr Childe,* that moved the address, [was] very decisive against [the] interposition of France – so [I] thought better, that no amendment should be moved. Lord John Russell and others agreed with me – Brougham consented, but made a very noble speech against the Alliance. Burdett, with his usual sound taste, said only a few words in praise of Brougham, and said that if only ministers took up the cause of Spain manfully, there would be (rare sight), a united parliament and a united people

Peel spoke very poorly – approved of [the] attack on Naples, but disapproved [of] this attack on Spain. Mackintosh – not much listened to. House unanimous and up by eight o'clock.

Dined with Lambton, Fergusson, Lord Normanby, Macdonald¹⁶ and Burdett at Brooks's. Heard that Lord Liverpool had spoken decisively against France, and said we were ready for war, but that peace might possibly yet be preserved. An amendment moved in [the] peers by Lord Stanhope, about agriculture, supported by Lord Tankerville – division of one!!

Wednesday February 5th 1823: At House of Commons. Wilson and some one or two others spoke on bringing up report of address – no-one on [the] ministerial side said a word.

Dined at Ellice's – met a large party.

Thursday February 6th 1823: No House. Dined at Kinnaird's. Met Alvanley there. He told me that [the] Duke of York told him, talking of Catholic [Emancipation], "You had better carry it now, by God – you shall not get it in my time!" Alvanley knows him well – is one of his householders, and talks familiarly with him: he says the Duke has a kind of religious veneration for this father's way of thinking on this subject.

¹⁶: James Macdonald (1784-1823), MP for Calne.

The Duke, I hear, says that he considered the accession of Canning as a virtual dissolution of the ministry. There is no doubt but that the Chancellor and Peel form a party in the cabinet against Canning. Canning has contrived to get Vansittart¹⁷ and Bragge Bathurst¹⁸ out of the House of Commons. Vansittart struggled to get a peerage, with remainder to his nephew – he got a peerage without remainder, and the Duchy¹⁹ of Lancaster – Bathurst gets nothing. Huskisson is not to be a member of the cabinet.

I fancy the Whigs of a certain class coquet with Canning, and he with them.

Friday²⁰ **February 7th 1823:** I went down to Whitton. Found William Spencer there.²¹ A party at dinner, and dance.

Saturday February 8th 1823: At Whitton. Walked with William²² Spencer.

Sunday February 9th 1823: Went up to London. Dined with Speaker. First opposition dinner. Other sessions. Burdett and I asked to the second dinner. Sat up late with Burdett. Hume amused us at dinner today by talking his politics, particularly against the church, out loud.

Monday February 10th 1823: Reading Bignon. At House of Commons – nothing done. Dined at Brooks's

Wednesday February 11th 1823: Ditto – ditto. Dined with William Spencer alone at his lodgings. He told me some curious stories about William Pitt. He met Pitt [in] the last year of his life at Lord Abercorn's. Pitt drank three bottles of port wine in water for his supper. Pitt asked Spencer what sort of a man Fox was in private conversation. Fox asked Spencer just the same question of Pitt. Pitt sat up at three in the morning at Lord Mulgrove's with Colman, punning and quoting and laughing.

¹⁷: Nicholas Vansittart (1766-1851) MP for Harwich until 1823. Pensioned off.

¹⁸: Charles Bragge Bathurst (1754-1831), also MP for Harwich until 1823. Pensioned off too.

¹⁹: "dutchy" (Ms.)

²⁰: "Saturday" (Ms.)

²¹: William Robert Spencer (1769-1834) wit and minor poet admired by B.

²²: "George" (Ms.)

Spencer told me Fox did not praise at the moment, but would come a day or two afterwards, and say, "That was a very clever thing you said the other day". He was grumpy. He was much pleased with Tom Moore – particularly with *Corruption and Intolerance*, in which the Whigs are attacked, and delighted in the simile

No bees on flowers cease to hum So settled on good places Whigs are dumb.²³

It was arranged he should be introduced to Moore. Spencer told him [Fox] to be aware of not receiving him [Moore] with a "Humph!" and turning his back, which he sometimes did. Fox promised he would not, but, when introduced to Moore, did say "Humph!" and did turn his back directly. Spencer complained to Fox immediately, and Fox settled he would repair all by sitting next to Moore at supper. Spencer kept a place – Fox was coming up. Wordsworth the poet happened to catch him – Fox talked three-quarters of an hour with Wordsworth, and never sat down nor said a word with Moore.

Spencer told me several very curious anecdotes of his former life - I sat up with him till past eleven, and then went to Brooks's, where I met Burdett, and walked up and down St James's Street till near two in the morning with him.

Wednesday February 12th 1823: At House of Commons, Canning took his seat. Hume wanted to divide the House upon the appointment of Lord Beresford to be Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance – Canning asked him not. Brougham and others asked him not, but he only yielded when Burdett asked him, on the grounds that [the] government should not have supply stopped when all sides called on them to support Spain.

I dined at Williams's, Kinnaird's partner, Biddance of the Foreign Office there. [He] told me that Canning had been doing all he could against war, and told me that Count[s] Munster and Hanover lay at the bottom of much of England's submission to the Allies. They said, "We gave you what you asked for Hanover – why refuse us [leave] to dispose of Genoa?"

²³: Thomas Moore, Corruption and Intolerance (1808). H. leaves the blank. The lines are in fact, But bees, on flowers alighting, cease their hum - / So, settling upon places, Whigs grow dumb. Fox died in 1806: perhaps the poems circulated in manuscript.

Thursday February 13th 1823: No House. [The] Whigs wish to leave the government alone for some time.

Dined at the Royal Society Club. Sir G. Blane told me that colichum is mentioned as a speedy cure for the gout by Alexander of Tralles, who "practiced" in the fourth century in Asia Minor, and calls it "hermodactyls". Sir Joseph Banks asked Lady Liston to send him some hermodactyls from the Levant. These hermodactyls came, and for the first time were seen to be nothing but meadow²⁴-saffron: so that for the want of knowing the meaning of a word, the moderns have been without this remedy for ages.

I went to the Antiquarian Society, and heard read an original letter from King Charles I to the then governor of Oxford, by which it appears he gave order for the arrest of Prince Rupert after the loss of Bristol.

Went after to the Royal Society, and balloted for Dr Baron of Gloucester. Passed the remainder of the evening with Burdett at Kinnaird's.

Friday February 14th 1823: At House of Commons. Nothing done. Havatt [CHECK: Hanallt??] [the] Spanish minister, has been with Canning, about [the] repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Bill²⁵ – Canning says not yet, it will irritate France – but promises an Order in Council permitting the transportation of arms. Some people think [the] Spaniards will give way. Great failures in the City from [the] fall of [the] funds – Rothschild [is] said to be hurt, Mocatta and Cohen gone.

Dined with Ellice alone. Heard his notions about [the] effect of bullion currency, to which he attributes nearly all the distress. Canning spoke poorly tonight in answer to Lethbridge on that subject.

Saw Foscolo.

Saturday February 15th 1823: Read Foscolo's essay on the love of Petrarch. Wrote journal from January 21st. To Whitton. Engaged a servant on Tuesday last at forty-five guineas a year, and fifteen shillings a week board wages. John Evans by name.

Went to Whitton.

Sunday February 16th 1823: At Whitton. William Spencer there, as

²⁴: Spelling conjectural.

²⁵: Such a repeal would have allowed Englishmen to fight the French in Spain, on the side of the Cortes.

well as his son George. Wrote to Constant and to Baillie.

Monday February 17th 1823: Rode up to London – at House of Commons, City petition for Reform presented. Dined upstairs.

Tuesday February 18th 1823: At House of Commons. Lord Althorp gave notice of intention to repeal the Foreign Enlistment Bills. Now, as I had communicated my intention of doing this to Brougham, and as I had delayed only until Admiral Jabat²⁶ should have a conference with Canning on the subject, I think this is a trick. The Whigs are afraid that if I brought in the motion, Canning might be indisposed to it – or perhaps they wish to do what is to be done themselves.

I dined with Ellice, who told me some curious things of the King's court at Brighton. His Majesty does not sit very long at dinner. He comes out to a party of about thirty – bows round – followed by Lady Cunningham [sic: for "Conyngham"], and then sits himself down to *écarté* with generally the same party. There he is, said Lord Cunningham²⁷ to Ellice, like his old mother. He will cheat himself twice at patience, and then go to bed happy. His dinner party usually the same people – not a man of any talents.

The joke at the Pavilion for some time was that Canning could get noone to be his Under Secretary. In fact Canning offered the place to Binning,²⁸ to Hill,²⁹ and to Ward³⁰ – the latter took three weeks to consider of it!!! – though if he had accepted it, he must have gone out of parliament, for Dawson,³¹ Peel's secretary, would not. Canning knew that the King had been trying for something for Lord Frederick Cunningham, who, with all the other children, he seems to have adopted, so he offered the Secretaryship, which delighted His Majesty beyond everything, and made him give Canning his picture.

What a scene – here is a King of England who cannot get a little secretary's place without feeling as much gratitude as a bankrupt.

²⁶: Note on Jabat.

²⁷: Henry Conyngham, first Marquis Conyngham (1766-1832), husband of George IV's mistress, Lady "Cunningham" (to use H.'s spelling).

²⁸: Thomas Hamilton, Lord Binning (1780-1858), MP for Rochester.

²⁹: Probably Sir George Fitzgerald Hill (1763-1839), MP for Londonderry.

³⁰: John William Ward (1781-1833), MP for Bossiney.

³¹: George Robert Dawson (1790-1856), MP for Co. Londonderry.

Wednesday February 19th 1823: Prepared something to say at [the] House of Commons, but said it not. We had a division on Hume's motion respecting [the] Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. Canning spoke, and was very insolent to Hume. Macdonald proposed to modify the motion, and Lord Normanby, owing to some mistake of Lord Duncannon's, who thought Hume had agreed to it, actually moved an amendment. This threw us into some confusion, and we divided – only 73 against some two hundred and odd.

A bad beginning – I was sorry for it, hoping we should have no divisions yet.

Thursday February 20th 1823: At House of Commons. Lord John Russell proposed his motion for a committee on [the] right of voting and numbers of electors in boroughs and cities. Canning made a poor speech – I rose to answer with Abercrombie – afterwards Creevey asked me to let him speak, so that I said nothing, though primed and loaded. Divided 90 to 128 – and so shut out.

Dined with a party afterwards at Brookes's, where all were in good spirits on account of [the] division, and [the] miserable figure made by the two secretaries.

Friday February 21st 1823: Called on Henry Brookes and on Bickersteth. At House of Commons, Brougham and Canning said some *preconcerted* words (as Mackintosh told me), on the augmentation of the navy, to which 4,000 seamen [were] added by vote.

Robinson³² made his financial statement tonight – [he] was taken ill in the middle, but had a glass of water and went on. He was much cheered, and afterwards complimented by everybody, Ricardo and Hume included. He concluded his speech with expressing his feelings of veneration and attachment for those institutions, which "for their basic civil and religious liberty, constituted in themselves the unbending support of national glory and prosperity".

Sir Robert Wilson afterwards very properly told him to repeal the Six Acts.

Libertas et natale solum Fine words I wonder where you stole 'em.

³²: Frederick John Robinson (1782-1859), MP for Ripon and President of the Board of Trade.

However, the sentiment was a good one, and methought Mr Secretary Peel looked a little glum at them.

There is a rumour that Lord Chancellor Manners³³ is recalled from Ireland – either he or Wellesley must give way.

There is a base book, published at Murray's, called *The Crisis of Spain*, ³⁴ recommending a silent neutrality to England, for "fear" of war.

Saturday February 22nd 1823: Journal. Going to Whitton. At Whitton.

Sunday February 23rd 1823: At Whitton.

Monday February 24th 1824: Rode up to London. At the House of Commons, seconded a Southwark petition for the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Bill, and said a few words on the state of our foreign politics. Did not advise war, but merely attacked the Holy Alliance, and said it was a pity we had not held the same language at Leybach as it appeared we had done at Verona. [I] also praised [the] government for the repeal of [the] order in council relative to [the] non-importation of arms into Spain. Canning got up, said he had only followed the policy of his predecessors, and thanked the opposition for their "forbearance".

I went into the House of Lords, and heard Lord Lansdowne ask Lord Liverpool questions on our foreign politics. Liverpool said that hope of peace was not gone, and also praised the "forbearance" of [the] opposition. He made some distinction in answering in answering the second question, as to the future engagement of our government, which I could not understand, and I heard Canning tell Brougham behind me on the throne that he could not understand it.

I believe I dined at the Athenian Club today.

Tuesday February 25th 1823: At the House of Commons. Forget where I dined.

Wednesday February 26th 1823: At the House of Commons. Voted with Whitemore for reducing the import price {duty} of corn to sixty.

Thursday February 27th 1823: At the House of Commons, where [I]

³³: Thomas Manners Sutton (1756-1842), Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

³⁴: No author named. John Murray, 1823. 81 pages long.

dined, and heard [a] debate on Bowring's imprisonment.³⁵ Canning laid I down for law that a traveler is the subject of the country in which he finds himself, and must be treated according to the laws of that country. Wilson made a ridiculous speech about the wife of a hospodar being pushed into a bag with wild cats!!! [The] debate went off ill. Bowring was under the gallery, and was civilly treated by Canning.

Friday February 28th 1823: At House of Commons, where dined. Brougham asked Canning if Chateaubriand³⁶ had stated the truth in his speech as to the acquiescence of the Duke of Wellington at Verona in the aggression of France against Spain. Canning said Chateaubriand had mutilated the document alluded to, and had taken for an admission what was put only in contract!!!

Voted with Maberly³⁷ tonight, for his plan of realizing land tax.

Saturday March 1st 1823: Attended a committee summoned by Joseph Hume to examine into the chance of doing something for the Greeks.³⁸

Went down to Whitton. Found William Spencer there. He told me that he went once with Philip Francis and Sheridan to Burke at Beaconsfield, on some business relating to Hastings. Burke came out of his garden with a frog under a glass, and entered into a long natural history of the frog, to the great impatience of Francis and amusement of Sheridan. Having done his dissertation, he pulled a paper out of his pocket and said, "There is something that will serve your turn, if you can understand it". Francis confessed to Spencer that the paper was one of the finest things he had ever had or seen.

Burke spoke in the highest terms of Mackintosh's *Vindiciæ Galliæ*³⁹–said 'twas in his own style – selected particularly the sentence where he speaks of the "undisciplined rabble of argument entered at the breach" against Burke's eloquence.

I called today, for the first time since 1818, at Lord Holland's, and saw Lord and Lady Holland.⁴⁰ She had sent me the drawing of her Napoleon

³⁵: See Dec 30, 22.

³⁶: "Chateaubriandt" (Ms.)

³⁷: John Maberly (d.c.1840) MP for Abingdon. Banker and speculator.

³⁸: A fatal day for B. The formation of the London Greek Committee.

³⁹: Mackintosh's apologia for the French Revolution, opposed to Burke's *Reflections*.

⁴⁰: For the last Holland House visit at which H. was *received*, see June 1, 18.

snuffbox. Lord Holland told me he had written to Arguellez,⁴¹ begging him not to recommend a modification of the constitution. It seems A'Court⁴² and Fitzroy Somerset⁴³ have been attempting to recommend something of the sort at Madrid.

Sunday March 2nd 1823: At Whitton.

[NOT IN DIARY: Hobhouse's letter to Byron, March 2nd 1823:44

London. March 2, 1823

My dear Byron

I have been daily in the expectation of hearing from you but as I have not heard I conclude you intend to make an envelope of the Marchioness Sagrati's pass for a letter so I write twice to your once – I called on Mrs. Leigh the other day and gave her the necessary intelligence respecting your teeth – To what designing person the fatal rumour can be traced I know not – but I told Murray that fact & have no doubt that he will take care to do your mouth ample justice in spite of defamation – I regret to learn that you are become so much thinner – A man may be too thin for his well being as also well looking. You were not a bit too fat in the body at Pisa and if you would but have worn your hair of a Christian length or rather shortness you would not have been too fat in the face – This, however, is but a minor consideration after teeth and health – I have no fear for the former and as Wayte said to poor Charles Matthews, "I should not like to be a petit poulet in your way." As for the latter I fear your habits are not very favorable to it – nor ever will be as long as you have daily demands of a certain nature upon your life & spirits - Pray do not give too large a slice of your constitution to any pursuit however agreeable for the moment - I was glad to hear you thought of Nice because a removal would he a means of entering upon a new course of life. I am also glad to hear of your thoughts of going to Naples as change is always good for body & soul. Mrs. Leigh is exceedinly obliged for your kind offers to her respecting her journey and talked to me a great deal of

⁴¹: Agustin Arguelles (1755-1844), president of the Cortes. Fled Spain in 1823.

⁴²: Sir William A'Court, English ambassador at Madrid.

⁴³: By now Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the future Lord Raglan, was Wellington's personal emissary to Madrid. Through him, Wellington tried to persuade the Constitutionalists to modify their demands.

⁴⁴: H. refers to this letter on Mar 9. B. answers on Mar 19 (BLJ X 124-6).

her great anxiety to be able to accept them — But you know she has appointments in St. James which it is of very great consequence to her to retain which she will not he able to do if she comes abroad — This consideration would I should think change your view of the suhject — You say something to her of a meeting in England — you might perhps come for a month or two without being much annoyed — all your old friends would sing jubilate and go out before you —

You see what a mess Hanson has made of the Portsmouth business. The jury returned unanimously on Friday last a verdict of lunacy since 1809. Of course Lady P and Lady Elizabeth Wallop will be at the towns end unless the former, which is threatened, should get a royal lodging for perjury & cruelty - Such horrors I thought not in human nature notwithstanding I believed in Mother Brownrig. The consummate profligacy brutality & scoundrelism of all the Hansons male & female surpass my notions of what occasion and temptation will make of human beings. You recollect what a pretty smockfaced girl Laura Hanson was in our time who looked as if butter would not melt in her mouth – Well, it turns out that she used to heat & whip and spit upon this poor crazy creature and joined in all the cruelties against him - Old Hanson actually introduced Alder the barrister to Lord P as a physician that he might go to bed to his daughter and get her with child he being a notorious feseur d'enfans - Poor devil it seems he was totally impotent and always had been so being asked what was the difference between adultery & fornication he said one was performed with the thumb the other with the middle finger – I trust that something can be done immediately without a moment's delay to get you out of the hands of the old villain who would be stoned in the streets if recognized - I shall speak to Kinnaird about it the moment he comes back from Leicestershire -

I wish you had been in London during the trial in order to explain something about the marriage concerning which your name was frequently introduced. I did my best to tell every where what I knew of the facts – It seems that the lunatic was completely entrapped into the said marriage – being told that if he did nor marry on the Monday he could not marry at all – as also that the parson who married them did not know that he was to do until he was told there was a couple in a pew waiting to be married – I have asserted loudly and long that you were totally unaware of these things and never knew but that the subject had undergone proper deliberation – I have also taken care to state that Hanson was in some sort your guardian as well as lawyer and that you thought you could not refuse him that which you conceived to be nothing but giving your formal aid to

a ceremony which would be performed whether you were there or not - .. I was right was I not? No news for you - the opposition & new ministry go on smoothly for the present and as far as Spanish politics go every one seems agreed - except that there is a difference of opinion as to whether we can go to war. Canning has certainly for the present taken quite a different line from Castlereagh & is more supported by some of us than by some of his own party. Peel is generally thought to be giving way - the cabinet is certainly divided on more than one question & were there any to come in some ministers would go out - pray write - ever yours

J. C. H.

Blaquier is going thro' Genoa on a sort of mission to Greece – he will call on you[.]

(Source: BB 324-6)]

Monday March 3rd 1823: Rode up to London. News of expulsion of Manuel from [the] Chamber of Deputies – also of attempted change of ministers in Spain. In this day's papers appears advertisement of dinner to Spanish and Portuguese ministers – Lord William Bentinck in the chair, with a hundred members of parliament, bank, and India directors and stewards. This is chiefly Lambton's doing – some time ago he told me at his house that the grandees were shuffling about it, and asked if the Westminster men could get up a dinner. I answered for them. This was told to the grandees, who then quickened their motions, and resolved upon doing the thing themselves. The tickets are £2.10.0. each!!!

I went to the House of Commons and voted with Hume against the Sinking Fund.

Tuesday March 4th 1823: At the House of Commons, voted with Hume against church establishment in Ireland. Hume performed wonders, and put down Goulburn, ⁴⁵ Peel and Plunket completely. Dined at House.

Wednesday March 5th 1823: At the House of Commons, voted on Lord Abercrombie's motion about Orange Lodges, which was only half opposed, and which, it was thought, gave a blow to the protestant party in Ireland. Plunket did not speak. He had tried everything to put it off.

Thursday March 6th 1823: Dined at [the] Royal Society, but went

⁴⁵: Henry Goulburn (1784-1856), MP for West Looe.

afterwards to the House of Commons and voted with Calcraft against [the] Sinking Fund. Attended [the] committee for [the] Spanish dinner.

Friday March 7th 1823: Snow and rain today. Dined at the Great Dinner. Room quite full. The people did not *draw* the ambassadors as expected. Lord William Bentinck and Lord Lansdowne spoke very well – Mackintosh ill. The Spanish Secretary returned thanks from a paper – the newspapers took care not to mention this, of course – it had a bad effect. He owned Spain wanted "iron and gold" – there was [a] laugh when he said this.

On the whole the dinner went very well, and will do all a dinner can do. Unfortunately, however, this evening in the House of Commons, in consequence of Denman's saying something about war (he being in a hurry, because going on circuit), Holme Sumner and Sir William de Crespigny both declared for peace, "amidst cheers", the papers say.

Burdett was at the dinner, but it was so arranged that there should be no "radical" politicians brought forward – this was wise enough, I think – [I] sat down with Burdett.

Saturday March 8th 1823: Went to Greek Committee. Baring told me that Riego⁴⁶ had committed a fault in giving up his power into the hands of Martinez de la Rosa,⁴⁷ Arguellez and Havalt, who are the corruptionists of Spain – "the Whigs," as he called them – and who perpetuated all the abuses of the old monarchy. Riego owned to Baring that he had been wrong.

I called on Lord and Lady Holland again. They certainly seem to wish all well to Canning, and praise the "forbearance" to him. The ministers were invited to the dinner, but declined.

Rode to Whitton.

Sunday March 9th 1823: Wrote to Lord Byron (Sunday last). Employed putting away some Italian books just come from Florence for me. Burdett came down.

Monday March 10th 1823: Stayed at Whitton. Walked over to Jones Burdett with Burdett. Danced in evening. Burdett waltzed very gracefully,

⁴⁶: Rafael del Riego y Nuñez (1785-1823), revolutionary general. Executed 1823.

⁴⁷: Francisco Martinez de la Rosa (1787-1862), Spanish Prime Minister. Fled in 1823. Playwright and poet.

my sisters said.

Tuesday March 11th 1823: Rode up to London – nothing done in House. Dined at Brooks's with Burdett.

Wednesday March 12th 1823: No House – dined at home, alone, and in the evening wrote a sort of manifesto, respecting the advantages of the opposition acting together with concert. This I did in consequence of a conversation with Lambton, to whom I told that Burdett and I had talked together on the subject.

Thursday March 13th 1822: This day received a letter from Baillie in Paris who tells me that Manuel's affair is beginning to be forgotten, & that the *côté gauche* are afraid to return to their places.

Coulson from the Traveller Office called and told me that there was a change of ministers in Spain and a counter-revolution in Portugal – this put me in a fever. At the House of Commons, however, some ministerial men contradicted the news, in its extent. It appeared that the change of ministry did not last more than twenty-four hours – and that the counter-revolution was only a partial affair near Oporto.

I dined at Mrs Damer's⁴⁸ – met Sir A. and Lady Johnson,⁴⁹ Mrs Tighe,⁵⁰ Sam Rogers, Westmacott,⁵¹ and my father.

Sam Rogers told me that Byron told him at Pisa that he Byron had only one friend in the world – and "That was Tom Moore": "I thought of *you*," said Rogers. Now this was so truly in the worthy man's usual style that I was aware what to do, and only said, "I am sure Kinnaird is the best friend Byron ever had in the world." 52

⁴⁸: Anne Seymour Damer (1749-1828) sculptress. A staunch Whig and friend of

⁴⁹: for whom, see 13 Apr, 20.

⁵⁰: *Perhaps* Lady Mountcashell, who left Lord Mountcashell in 1822 and lived in Pisa with her lover George William Tighe under the names "Mr and Mrs Mason" (see *Marchand* III 945).

⁵¹: See 11 Mar, 12.

⁵²: B. to Kinnaird, 2nd May 1822: "Mr. Rogers passed the other day. – I received and treated him with all attention in my power – in return for which he will

I went to Brooks's afterwards.

Friday March 14th 1823: [I] gave Lambton my paper at the House of Commons – he was much pleased, said it was just the thing. We began to talk of what names we would get, and agreed not to put Burdett's and ours first, for fear of jealousy.

Dined at Colonel Hughues. Met General Lallemand the elder there. He told me that he was the only one of Bonaparte's suite at Rochefort who dissuaded him from going on board the Northumberland, and tried to get him to go to America. Las Cases was violent for England. He told me that he was bearer from the French army in 1815 of a request to Napoleon to put himself at their head — when he arrived at Malmaison he found Napoleon had been gone only two hours!!!

Lallemand is a very quiet, steady, prepossessing man – he told me he never once went to the Imperial court until Napoleon returned from Elba.

I got Hughues to join our opposition (Clarendon) Club.

Saturday March 15th 1823: Spoke to some Opposition members about the Club. Hume hesitated a little – Lambton spoke to Duncannon – he had consulted, and is again to consult, Lord Grey, who approves much, but has made some alterations in my paper. I had said something about our not calling ourselves either "Whigs" or "Reformers": Lord Grey cut out that about "Whigs", and then, to make matters equal, also cut out about our not calling ourselves "Reformers". I also had put something about our not wishing to withdraw from the leaders on the front bench – Lord Grey said that would be unnecessary, for nobody would suspect we did, and that Brougham should be written to [to] join us. Lambton wrote to Brougham this day. Lord Normanby declined joining until he had heard

probably abuse me - as he does every body – he does not look younger nor better humoured for his journey" (BLJ IX 152).

Brougham's opinion – he being one of those who had thoughts of making Brougham Opposition leader. One or two others declined on [the] same ground, but several assented on my application.

I find Lambton not popular with the party, indeed, much less so than Burdett, whom Lord Grey declared to Lambton to be the fittest man for leader.

I dined at Joseph Hume's today: Creevey, Burdett, Fergusson there. Hume told us that the day after his speech against the Irish church, he rode in the park with the Bishop of Chester, whom he frequently rides with, and the Bishop owned that much of what Hume had said was true.

Went with Robert Knight, now MP for Rye, to the Speaker's levée – [the] Duke of Wellington there.

Sunday March 16th 1823: Walked to Kensington Palace and called on [the] Duke of Sussex with Burdett.

General Lallemand called on me this morning, and said that he should not recommend a declaration of war against France by England – at least not till hostilities had commenced – it would stop any revolution in France 53

Dined with Robert Knight. Walked about St James's Street with Burdett till near two.

Monday March 17th 1823: At House of Commons, divided five times: against Sinking Fund (twice); against 4½% fencing (once); and Ordnance Estimates (twice). Dined at home.

Tuesday March 18th 1823: Lambton called on me to tell me Brougham had acceded to our Club – at once. We have now thirty-five members (about), and all goes on well. Lord Althorp declines: he said to me, "We

⁵³: "... it would stop any revolution in France – at least not till hostilities had commenced" (Ms.)

go on well together now, and if we club, we may squabble".

At [the] House of Commons, Canning, in answer to [a] question of Mackintosh's, let out at last that Spain and France were almost sure of war, and that we should not argue "in hostilities"!!!

So it appears *we* have all been tricked by Canning – indeed, Arbuthnot said to Ellice in the House of Commons, "Now, you see, the only difference between Castlereagh and Canning is, that Castlereagh would have told this at the beginning of the session, and Canning has kept it back until the Easter holidays".

When Burdett came to the House, I told him what had happened – he was as indignant as myself, and resolved to say something about the subject on the third reading of the Mutiny Bill. There were only a few opposition MPs in the House, but Burdett made a good short speech against the contemptible policy of England, and we few cheered him as much as we could – the *Times* says he sat down amidst loud cheering, but I am sure there were not seven voices for him. Peel deprecated the discussion. I answered Peel, and alluded to the rumoured conduct of A'Court and Fitzroy Somerset: but I did not say anything about the necessity of going to war.

[I] spoke a few words on the Mutiny Bill itself. Colonel Davies⁵⁴ attacked Thomas Wilson⁵⁵ (who spoke for peace), as being at the "solemn ceremony" at the London Tavern – this caused a roar of laughter. Ricardo and Dennison spoke in favour of peace, and on the whole it seems to me that there are not twenty men in the House of Commons for war.

The Chronicle next day seems to back out of the war.

At all events, Canning has turned out to be Canning – a trickster.

Wednesday March 19th 1823: At [the] Committee on Small Debts.

⁵⁴: Thomas Henry Hastings Davies (1789-1846), MP for Worcester. Served at Waterloo.

^{55:} Thomas Wilson II (?1767-1852), MP for the City of London.

Stayed but a short time in the House of Commons, to hear Wilberforce sermonize against slavery.56

Dined with Ellice. Lambton, Burdett, Cullen, and the Rev. Mr Grey there.

Thursday March 20th 1823: [The] King of Spain to be taken to Seville. Saw people on House of Commons business. Wrote journal from February 24th.

There was no House -I dined at home and was very nearly poisoned by my servant who brought me up a bottle of boot-top mixture instead of cider. I swallowed only a mouthful or two, but quite enough to make me exceedingly uncomfortable.

Lady Holland sent to me the other day some letters to read on the business of O'Meara. It seems General Bertrand inserted in the French journals a sort of disavowal of his being a party to O'Meara's book. This very much angered Lady Holland, who remonstrated. Bertrand answered in a long letter in which he accused O'Meara of having defamed almost all the princes of Europe and having broken the vow of Hippocrates, of which he sent an extract. It appears O'Meara also remonstrated, for amongst the letters were two from the Las Cases family to O'Meara, according to which it turns out that Madame Bertrand praised O'Meara's book up to the skies, and said that nothing but necessity and care for his family had made her husband disavow it. Madame Bertrand said that Count Montholon wished to have disclaimed O'Meara's book in terms much more decisive than Bertrand's.

By another part of the letters it appears that at the latter period of his life Napoleon was very cold towards the Bertrands – that they showed much less respect than before – that Antomorchi the physician was of their party and was detained from visiting Napoleon in his last illness so much as he ought by his attendance on Madame Bertrand. This fact Las Cases junior communicates, on the faith of one of Napoleon's servants returned to Paris. So much for the Bertrands. Lady Holland told me Madame Bertrand was a woman of violent passions – she had a lover in the St Helena garrison to whom she used to communicate everything – she sways Bertrand completely.

⁵⁶: Wilberforce's famous campaign is clearly a great bore to H .The slave-trade had been abolished on Mar 25 1807; slaves were freed in Aug 1833, a month after Wilberforce's death.

As to O'Meara, since the *Quarterly Review*, and more since his defence, he appears an accomplished scoundrel. It is certain he betrayed Napoleon's confidence to Lowe, and was actually in one instance the cause of a hardship of which he afterwards complains in his *Voice* as coming from Lowe. It is wonderful that a man who knew such testimonies of his villainy subsisted[??]⁵⁷ in the hands of his enemy should persist in his charges against that enemy.

What a fate for Napoleon – to go out in a stink, as it were, surrounded by spies and traitors, insulted by his enemies and betrayed by his friends. Yet his character, on the whole, has gained by the various memoirs of his St Helena life – he seems more amiable than was before thought.

Friday March 21st 1823: I went this morning to Savory, my druggist. He told me that the boot-top mixture was made of the oxalye acid, which had killed so many people.

At the House today I said a few words on the Insolvent Debtors' Acts, and also on the petition of a Mr Hay, who had been imprisoned for a sort of contempt of court in Scotland.

I believe I dined at Ellice's.

Saturday March 22nd 1823: Attended the Greek Committee – dined at Lambton's – met Lady Cochrane there – a pretty young woman – she has been in several actions on board ship.

Sunday March 23rd 1823: Rode with Burdett and Kinnaird down to Whitton – Kinnaird went away in the evening.

Monday March 24th 1823: Remained at Whitton. Burdett rode out with Harriett, Isaac, and myself through Richmond Park.

Tuesday March 25th 1823: Rode with Burdett up to London. On Saturday last Lord Lansdowne told me that Chateaubriand, not content with his famous speech, which he thought would satisfy our government as to the French policy, sent Mr Canning another speech, which he did not speak, but which he intended to have spoken, had it not been for the scepticism of the Left of the Chamber.

Went to the House of Commons. Lord John Russell, as a sort of *lark*, asked Canning whether we were bound to support the Bourbons on the

⁵⁷: Word cramped at page edge. Looks like "sulvited".

throne of France – Canning said he could not quite say, being taken in a hurry, but he thought we were bound to support them against Bonaparte and his family – and also that in case of revolution in France, we were bound to consult and concert with our allies.

The night before this Lambton broke out against Plunket. Our Irish Whigs, Grattan and Rice, are very eager that we should support Plunket against the Orangemen – Lord Grey is, however, very decisive the other way. Brougham is rather anti-Orange.

I dined, I fancy, at the House of Commons. News of a conspiracy in the Army of the Pyrenees.

Wednesday March 27th 1823: At House of Commons, Hume manfully brought forward a petition of M.A. [CHECK: "MRS"??] Carlyle's against the excessive fine imposed on her, and opened the whole question of religious persecution. Wilberforce, Acland,⁵⁸ and [the] Attorney General made miserable speeches: Riccardo and Burdett did themselves immortal honour, and on the whole the cause of religious liberty was crowned with a very signal and unexpected triumph.

I did not dare to speak, not having, as Burdett said, "Character enough"!!!

I dined with a party at Ellice's. Came back to the House of Commons and voted with Lord Archibald Hamilton respecting the Inverness magistracy.

Canning tonight confirmed what he said about our stipulations as to the Bourbons.

Thursday March 27th 1823: At the House of Commons, Lord Archibald Hamilton and J.Macdonald made speeches and tried to get up a debate on foreign politics, against the adjournment of a fortnight – but the thing did not take. People were eager to go to dinner, and it seemed agreed that we should wait until papers were printed on the 14th of April. The fact is, there is no inclination for strong measures in favour of the Spaniards on any side of the House. Canning said only a few words.

House adjourned for a fortnight. I dined at Wyvill's: Creevey, Burdett, Birch, [and] Denison there.

Friday March 28th 1823: Burdett and I set off about one o'clock in a post-chaise, and arrived at Carlington a little after six. Put up at Sam

⁵⁸: Sir Thomas Dyke Acland (1787-1871), MP for Devon.

Whitbread's.

Saturday March 29th 1823: Hunted on one of Burdett's horses (Rainbow), with the Oakley hounds. Dined and slept at Carlington. A party at dinner.

Sunday March 30th 1823: Rode over to Oakley and called on Lord Tavistock, whom we found in a very precarious state of health indeed ... [we] persuaded him to give up hunting altogether. His father⁵⁹ is apparently dying, and if both were to go off at once the public would sustain an irreparable loss.

We went to Mr Fyshe Palmer's at Bedford – dined and passed the night.

Monday March 31st 1823: Burdett and I rode my two hacks to [Market] Harborough. Put up at the Angel (a wretched inn), and spent a disagreeable evening, rather.

Tuesday April 1st 1823: Rode to Rolleston and met the Querendon Hounds. Rode a horse of Burdett's – got into a brook. Had a good run. Rode to Kirby and put up there. Dined at Melton with the Old Club – Lord Molyneux, Sir B.Graham, Mr J.Moore and Sir James Musgrave present: very good-tempered and gentlemanlike, but not one word except hunting talked about for four hours.

Wednesday April 2nd 1823: Rode twenty miles to cover beyond Leicester. Had a bad day's sport and came home dreadfully tired.

Thursday April 3rd 1823: Rode sixteen miles to cover. Carlton. Had a bad fall and hurt my shoulder – little sport.

Friday April 4th 1823: Stayed at home. Read Las Cases' *Memorial of St Helena*. A great deal of the book belongs to another work, but Napoleon's conversation is highly delightful. His character certainly gains by this, and by all other portraits of his private life.

Saturday April 5th 1823: Did not hunt – dined at Lord Elcho's, who lives in a hunting box at Ashfordby with his lovely wife, a Bingham,

⁵⁹: The Duke of Bedford.

whom, it appears to me, [it is] a sin to seclude amongst the Houynhymns. The talk [is] all about broken boxes and breaking cover, &c. My Lord is an excellent young man; however, apparently, Burdett did nothing but declare against hunting after our visit, and vow, as he has done a thousand times before, that he would give up his stud.

Sunday April 6th 1823: At home, fomenting shoulder.

Monday April 7th 1823: Went out, though in great pain, and had two capital runs with Osbaldistone's hounds, from Ashby pastures gorse and the Cossloner[??]. Dined at home.

Tuesday April 8th 1823: Burdett and I rode nearly thirty miles to meet the Pytchley hounds on Rockingham Forest – we did not find them for two hours, and when we did find them, had no sport. We put up afterwards at the George Inn, Kettering, dined, and slept comfortably. I read a little book of Lindley Murray's, ⁶⁰ containing accounts of men who had either lived or died piously. I do not think these sort of books are ever written well enough for their subject, which requires skill and address.

Burdett read the *Farmer's Boy*⁶¹ for the first time – thought the versification smooth.

Wednesday April 9th 1823: Set off from Kettering in a post-chaise about nine, and arrived in London [at] half-past five – seventy-five miles and more. Dined at the Clarendon with our new Opposition Club, called "The Clarendon" – twenty-five present. The whole went off agreeably. Lord Duncannon was in the chair – we did little business, but we came to some understanding as to the object of our society. Hume asked several questions as to individual independence, which were satisfactorily answered. It was determined that nothing should be done on Monday next, when Canning explains his view of foreign policy.

Thursday April 10th 1823: Walked and rode about. Did not go to the House of Commons. Dined at Kinnaird's with Lambton and Burdett.

⁶⁰: Lindley Murray, The Power of Religion on the Mind: in Retirement, Affliction, and at the Approach of Death, exemplified in the Testimonies and Experience of Persons Distinguished by their Greatness, Learning, or Virtue (1801).

⁶¹: Robert Bloomfield, *The Farmer's Boy* (1800, numerous editions), one of the age's best-sellers, rivalling Scott and Byron.

Rumour of French having crossed the Bidassoa,⁶² and Bessires being at Madrid. Thank God the King is by this time at Seville.

Westminster meeting on insolvent debtors – went off ill.

Friday April 11th 1823: This morning Mr Butt (the Cochrane Butt), called and left papers for me. Afterwards Mr Barry O'Meara called by appointment of his own, and a conversation ensued which I made a minute instantly afterwards and put it into the hands of Douglas Kinnaird. The long and short of the interview was, that he wanted me to give him an affidavit respecting Lowe's detention of my book from Bonaparte.⁶³ I refused, because I had given Lowe leave to detain it if he thought right.

O'Meara still pressed me, upon which I told him that I was not satisfied with his conduct in the affair, and that nobody was. He looked very mean and spoke very small, but at last he mustered up dignity and rose from his seat, saying he did not come to ask a favour but justice, and that if I did not give the affidavit he should be obliged to state my refusal in his affidavit. I said, "Sir, you may do as you please but if you state my refusal I shall state my reason for it". He said nothing, but walked out of the room without a word or a bow.

The fact is, this fellow, who has not been near me for two years, now thinks that my name may be of some service in helping him out of the mire and showing that he is not universally esteemed a scoundrel. He came up to me with a smile and his hand. I could not help taking his hand but soon showed him by my manner what I thought of him.

Called on Place at House of Commons. Voted against Dead Weight Bill, and against items on Miscellaneous Estimates. Dined there and sat up till past twelve.

Saturday April 12th 1823: Wrote journal. Rode down to Whitton and slept there.

Sunday April 13th 1823: Returned to London and then went with Burdett and Kinnaird to Holland House, and dined. I have not been there for four or five years, i.e., not since the division between Whigs and Radicals in 1818. A party there: Lord and Lady Lansdowne, [the] Duke

⁶²: River in north-western Spain, just over the French frontier. In fact the French invade on April 17th.

⁶³: See *AoB* 65: Lowe is threatening to bring an action against O'Meara; in the event he doesn't.

and Duchess of San Lorenzo, and Tom Moore, the poet. Dinner excellent but overloaded, I think. Lord Holland seemed to talk Spanish with great fluency.⁶⁴

The Duke of San Lorenzo talks French, but badly, and no English. After dinner I had some conversation with him on the affairs of Spain. He talked very despondingly on the present issue, but not at all so on the final result. What the Spaniards wanted were arms – 50,000 muskets sent to the Galicias would do everything. "Otherwise," said he, "it will cost us much blood to wrest them from the French". He said that he was very willing to throw himself at once upon the people, and that as for our government, he had no terms to keep with them. He said that if the money for the arms could be got here, he was willing to give up his estate in pledge for it. He had made up his mind never to live in Spain unless Spain should be free.

He told me that the Duke of Wellington had behaved very coldly to him – had only left his card, although, as a grandee of Spain, and one who had owed obligations to San Lorenzo, he should at least have been civil. Of Canning he said that he was very polite indeed, but that before he left Paris he knew that our government intended to do nothing.

He told me he knew the French would march to Madrid, as it would be more prejudicial to Spain if they took up the line of the Ebro for their defence. He said that all the nobles {grandees} in Spain were for the constitution – at least none of them were for the absolute despotism, or belonged to the army of the faith. I was very much pleased with him, and thought seriously about the means of getting up a subscription for Spain – but did not know how – a Westminster meeting [would] be feared as too radical, or too poor, a City meeting too difficult to procure – but a Baring to be sounded.

Monday April 14th 1823: The details of the manner in which the French army crossed the Bidassoa [are] in the Saturday papers. It appears they had mass said after the passage.

This day at the House, Canning laid the papers relative to the negotiations on the table in a very poor speech. Brougham made a spirited speech. It is impossible not to believe that Canning is Spanish in his heart, but dampened by the rest of the cabinet. Whenever he said anything against French aggression he was cheered by us alone, the Treasury bench remaining mute. As for the papers themselves, they are most disgraceful – the part played by the Duke of Wellington in trying to prevail upon the

⁶⁴: Holland was a Spanish expert, and had written a study of Lope de Vega.

Spaniards to modify their constitution, scarcely credible.

We had a meeting of the Clarendon Club to take into consideration what was to be done relative to Brownlow's motion respecting the Attorney General of Ireland. Harsh words, and came to no agreement. Some [were] for doing anything to hurt Plunket – a rat. Others [were] with the Irish, Grattan and Rice, strongly deprecating anything that might have the least appearance of aiding the Orangemen.

[We] separated, not knowing what to do. It appears Lambton had been in communication with Brownlow – this I thought wrong – we had one or two hard words together, but after all, better to quarrel here than in the House. Burdett and I [are] likely to take different sides – and really not knowing what to do.

Tuesday April 15th 1823: Rode with Burdett to Hackney – the Middlesex Dinner: but [we] only went into the room and walked out again after letting the freeholders know what was quite true, that we were going to the House of Commons not knowing which way we should vote.

Came to the House of Commons, and heard Brownlow declaiming very powerfully indeed, and much cheered by our benches. Plunket's speech, as far as legal argument went, had no great effect, but when he came to the conduct of the Sheriffs and grand jury of Dublin, the stories he told produced an instantaneous change in his favour, and bore down all opposition.

W.Courtenay moved the other orders of the day, thus letting Plunket down, as was determined at Council this day, for the Peelites would not consent to a negative. The debate ended very differently from what was expected, and very agreeably to us (all except Lambton, who hates Plunket), by Brownlow withdrawing his motion and Burdett giving notice of a motion for enquiring into the conduct of the Sheriff of Dublin on the 22nd. So far, the Orangemen defeated.

Late night.

Wednesday April 16th 1823: Prepared for saying something on Lord Althorp's motion for [the] repeal of [the] Foreign Enlistment Bill. At House of Commons, and dined. Lord Althorp made a poor, weak speech, and Folkestone seconded him in a fiery attack on the papers. I did not say anything, for Wilson and Lord John Russell both asked me to let them speak, and Brougham told Denman to answer Canning, who made a most impudent attack on Folkestone, calling him "a Helot", &c &c. But Denman forgot all this, and spoke poorly. He afterwards told me he was

sorry he had not let me speak, but I was glad, for I should have been as much too savage as he was too mild.

House decidedly for peace.

For the motion: 110; against it: 216.

The duc of Angoulême has formed a provisional Spanish government under him.

Thursday April 17th 1823:65 Catholic question day. I was going away from the House to dine with the Royal Society, when Lord Sefton met me, and told me that Burdett was going to say that it was a farce bringing forward the Catholic question annually, by one of the cabinet, not resolved to make a Catholic question of it. Now I had told Mackintosh that Burdett would not do this, so I hurried into the House to have some talk with Burdett. When Burdett came in, he told me that Creevey and Sefton and Wilson and Fergusson had consulted, and thought the thing right to be done. I spoke to Tierney and Abercrombie. They said they saw no harm in others doing it, though they could not do it themselves. Poor Lord Nugent⁶⁶ was in great alarm – Lord Milton also was frightened, and Burdett, good man, did not know which way to take, when Wilson said, if Burdett did not do it, he would, so Burdett resolved, and, that being done, I used my utmost endeavours to make Hume and Bennett take the same line, which they consented to do, after some difficulty, for I thought it of great importance that there should be no mistake as to motions out of doors.

Accordingly, when Cooke of Norfolk moved to bring up a petition from the clergy of his county in favour of the Catholics, Burdett rose and made a capital speech, concluding with a quotation from what Plunket had himself said in 1812 – which produced a wonderful effect, and fell like a bomb amongst the Treasury friends of the question. The Orangemen were grinning with delight.

It was at once seen that the question was knocked on the head – Canning advised Plunket to withdraw his motion.

Then came the disgraceful personal squabble between Canning and Brougham. Brougham certainly went out of his way to attack Canning, but nothing could justify the brutality of Canning's interruption with the lie direct. Had I not been in conflict with Canning, I would have moved his

^{65:} On this date the duc d'Angoulême leads 100,000 French troops into Spain.

⁶⁶: Lavall Nugent, Count Nugent (1777-1862), Irish-born Austrian Field-Marshal. The NDNB makes no reference to his Spanish activities in 1823.

instant commitment for "ungentlemanlike conduct" – this I am sure was the line to take, and Cooke of Norfolk, and Calcraft, told me afterwards that it was, and that if they had had anyone near them to stand by and suggest it, they would have done it. But the fact is, these people have not promptitude and courage in these emergencies, and lose opportunities which they never can recover. Such a proposition respecting a minister supported by only a hundred (which it would have been), might have driven him from office.

Brougham came off but poorly, I thought. We did all we could to keep him silent, but he would talk, and turned on Burdett afterwards. The next day he said to me, "Canning let you go on in a much stronger attack, but I suppose mine came nearer the truth." This was a way of looking at the two cases, consolatory enough for Brougham.

Plunket did not rise until a quarter to ten, when Burdett and thirteen more left the House. Plunket spoke for two hours, in a buzz which rendered him scarcely audible, and William Bankes followed him, in a speech not heard at all. There followed an unparalleled scene of confusion for an hour and a half – two divisions took place, upon an adjournment not understood by the proposers, and the last, by a mistake, adjourned the House (not the debate), by a majority of 313 to 111, so that the question was lost.

Fergusson, Burdett, Creevey, Cooke and I dined at Brookes's, and exceedingly congratulated ourselves on the exploit of the evening.

Burdett and I, walking up and down St James's Street at two o'clock, heard what had happened in the House from Orde, ⁶⁷ who told us the seceders were the only men who had not made themselves ridiculous that evening.

Friday April 18th 1823: At House of Commons, said a word or two about the British Museum, and transferring the Buckingham House Library there. It is, I hear from a person to whom Bernard, the librarian, told it, perfectly true that the books are sent away in order that Nash⁶⁸ may erect a kitchen in the Octagon Room.

I rode to Whitton late this evening.

Saturday April 19th 1823: At Whitton ... the games there –

⁶⁷: "from Orde in the House" (Ms.)

⁶⁸: John Nash (1752-1835), architect of Regent's Street and so on.

Sunday April 20th 1823: At Whitton. Burdett came.

Monday April 21st 1823: Rode up to London. Went to Covent Garden Theatrical Fund dinner with Lambton. [The] Duke of York [was] in the chair. Excessive brutality of Fawcett in giving the ladies "up-standing" when [the] galleries [were] filled with women. Lambton returned thanks for the stewards, and told the Duke of York he would always be popular if he deserved it by such acts as these. The extreme bad taste of this was not seen by the company, who applauded, nor by the Duke, who came up to Lambton and said half-a-dozen civil words, though before dinner he had not spoken to him.

Tuesday April 22nd 1823: At House of Commons. Burdett's motion respecting [the] enquiry into [the] conduct of the Sheriff of Dublin carried – most unexpectedly to me. Orangemen and high-flyers such as Tom Smith and Legh Peck voting with him.

Majority: 34. 219 to 185.

All ministers spoke against the motion.

Burdett did not know what to do when he had carried his motion, and there was a laugh when he walked up to the right of the letters. [The] Orangemen behaved very honourably – Plunket shabbily.

I had a curious conversation with Lord Lowther a day or two ago, respecting Canning. He owned Canning was a damned bad bargain, and said that in this Spanish affair he had endeavoured to trick everybody, and had pleased nobody. The scenes between Wynne and Peel in the House of Commons – one saying he bargained for a more impartial administration in Ireland, and the other denying the bargain, have been of late most singular, and speak great divisions in the cabinet, so much so that it is reported Peel has been out for half an hour, but he is now in.

Wednesday April 23rd 1823: Not well in the head – mother and two sisters came to dress the drawing-room here – after all no drawing-room being taken with gout – fool at home.⁷⁰

Thursday April 24th 1823: Attended, as Chairman of Westminster people, on Insolvent Act, at Willis's room – unwell. Called on Chambers.

⁶⁹: Fawcett (unidentified) made a rude joke.

 $^{^{70}}$: Very hard to decipher: "after all no drawing-room being / king taken with gout – fool / fowl / foul at home".

He told me I was unwell, and presented for me.

At House of Commons afterwards, Reform of Parliament. Lord John Russell spoke an hour – pretty well. A Sir Something East answered him: Ricardo made a weak speech in favour of [the] ballot, and against a good deal of Lord John's speech, which knocked up the debate.

Canning said not a word.

Divided: 169, and three or four short out⁷¹ – five better than last time. Went into Lords and heard Lord Grey in $\mathbb{R}[\]^{72}$

Friday April 25th 1823: Matilda breakfasted and dined with me. Still ill. Reading paper on Verona.

Saturday April 26th 1823: Hard rain. Went in chaise to Whitton.

Sunday April 27th 1823: At Whitton. Reading speeches in Lords on Papers.

Monday April 28th 1823: <Rode> up to London with my father. Dined at home. At House of Commons. Debate on Papers. [I] rose, and spoke immediately after [the] amendment moved by Watley, and seconded by Wilson of London. [I] spoke an hour and ten minutes, 73 and afterwards heard it was the best speech I had ever made. I was far from well, and left out some of my best points. [I] spoke out for war – at least for preparing war. 74 Almost all the speakers [on] the other side during the three nights made their speeches on mine. Debate adjourned a little before twelve.

Tuesday April 29th 1823:75 At House of Commons. Dined. Debate

^{71: &}quot;out" conjectural.

⁷²: Could be "Registrations", "Requisitions", "Regimentations", "Radiations", or any of those in the plural.

⁷³: Hansard VIII (1823), pp.1335-50. H. concluded, "Whether the cause should fall or triumph, he hoped that an English House of Commons would that night show to the world that it appreciated our national character – that it appreciated the ancient glories of England – and that it would restore to us the proud and honourable situation we once held – that of being the friend and patron of the liberties of mankind [Cheers!]".

⁷⁴: H. said indirectly that his constituents would support a pro-Spanish war.

⁷⁵: H. writes B. a short letter on this date: BB 328. It accepts B.'s offer to go to Greece on behalf of the London Greek Committee – neither the invitation nor his acceptance is referred to in the diary.

continued. A great commotion at the end amongst Canning and his friends about adjourning. Canning did not choose to speak before Brougham, and did not like to speak so late as to have his speech shut out of the papers. Wynne and Lyttleton were desired to speak (as Lyttleton told me) by way of sandbag, but refused – then Horace Twiss was sent for!!! who said if they would make him Solicitor General he would. At last Wynne moved an adjournment, but on Brougham saying a word, and the House crying out, continued the debate, but no-one would hear, so Lyttleton moved the adjournment, which after some squabbling was carried – at one o'clock.

[NOT IN DIARY: Hobhouse's letter to Byron, April 29th 1823:

6 Albany. April 29, [1823]

My dear Byron,

I shall write more at length in a day or two. For the present I inclose a letter from the Secretary of the Greek Committee, Mr. Bowring an excellent and most efficient person – Your proposition was received with unanimous gratitude and delight, and some reflection is to be made before we give you an answer in form to your proposals. In the mean time it is hoped that you will communicate whatever you think worth telling to the Committee – I trust we shall be able to do something for the Greeks – although the Spanish is rather against us. We shall have a public meeting soon and there determine about a subscription and the sending a brigade to Greece or at least a set of officers on which to form a regular body of troops – Farewell, for the moment, believe me always one of your scoundrel friends.

John C. Hobhouse

(Source: BB 328)

Wednesday April 30th 1823: At House of Commons. Said a few words against whipping. Wynne opened [the] adjourned debate. Every effort was made to get up Brougham first. Lyttleton, ludicrously enough, complained of Brougham for not speaking first. Lord Folkestone, in a miserable speech, announced Brougham's triumphant answer to Canning, who rose at last at a quarter to eleven, and spoke just three hours. A civil speech, part good, but much difficult to lay hold of, though not good. He was amazingly applauded – very complimentary to myself – said I had met the question boldly and fairly, &c. Tried to be pleasant, and mistold the story of Andrews' and Neale's speeches to James I – Bennett and I corrected him when he said "Charles" for "James", and "Williams" for "Neale".

Brougham opened with promising to do wonders, but the House were tired, and he did no great things, though he spoke for two hours.

We had so many friends who did not like the motion, and were so peaceable that it was resolved to ask Macdonald to divide – Brougham did this very injudiciously, and Macdonald as foolishly asked leave to withdraw his motions - Canning very angrily refused. What were we to do? We had some talk together, and a good many of us rose to quit the House - Tierney, Burdett and I amongst the number. Canning and his friends then set up such a shout that we actually stopped, and turned back, and finally set down again. But we determined rather to vote with the amendment, which after all was as good as the address, then to divide – so we let the address be lost without a division (which is what Macdonald should have let be done at first, without saying a word about withdrawing). But when it was put to add the words of the amendment, someone from under the gallery cried out, "The Noes have it!" and accordingly a division was ordered. The opposition lingered a long time before they would go out with [the] ministers. I actually pulled at Tierney myself, thinking it of great importance that no division should take place, and show our weakness to Spain and France.

At last we went. Ten of *ours*, and ten of theirs, amongst them Holmes, were, however, shut into the House, whether by choice or by the overflowing of the lobby, I know not. There were 372 out. The oil trickled from a lamp on someone who could not get away on account of the squeeze, and the lobby resounded with screeches and laughter like the doors of a playhouse. Little Courtenay was highly shocked, and said to me, "Live sport for the Reformers!" I must say the opposition looked rather silly ending their three nights' discussion with such a flash in the pan – and yet it was better so than to divide very weakly, which we should have done.

Hume [was] not up till five in the morning – adjourned over next day.

Thursday May 1st 1823: No House. Dined at R. Williams's.

Friday May 2nd 1823: At House of Commons. Dined with Kinnaird. Enquiry into [the] conduct of [the] Sheriff of Dublin commenced.

Saturday May 3rd 1823: Wrote journal from April 12th. Going to Whitton. At Whitton.

Sunday May 4th 1823: At Whitton.

Monday May 5th 1823: Stayed at Whitton. At House of Commons, enquiry into [the] conduct of [the] Sheriff of Dublin.

Tuesday May 6th 1823: Believe I went to London. ⁷⁶ Found Burdett laid up with the gout. Not at House of Commons.

[NOT IN DIARY: Hobhouse's letter to Byron, May 6th 1823:

London. May 6, [1823]

My dear Byron

I have, since I wrote to you, received your letter of the 17th and find thereby that you think seriously of going up in person to the land of the Gentiles. It will be a very grand & glorious exploit, and, under care and discretion, will, I doubt not, be of the highest utility to the cause - Of course you, who know the country and the condition of the people, will not be expecting too much from the progress already made – you will not like that coxcomb Gell be angry with the poor devils for not having the manners of the Fauxbourg St. Germain nor the taste of the diletanti society. From all the communications we have had from Greece it appears that you will find a great deal of resolution or rather desperation in certain hands of irregular warriors rather nearer to our ancient friends the κλεφτες than to the disciplined soldiers of Xtendom – but that you will see nothing as yet to reconcile you to the change which has taken place since you & I trotted quickly over Attica under care of a single surgee[?]. You, however, will find the elements of a regular government not yet settled into form & constant action but still having some useful operation – At all events your appearing amongst these poor fellows will have a great & beneficial effect. The Committee were, as I told you, very much pleased at your offer and I shall loose no time in communicating to them your present determination which I am sure they will receive grato anime. I have told D. Kinnaird how he may open a credit for you in Greece by speaking to some Greek merchants in London who are in correspondence with the provinces that have thrown off the yoke – Pray loose no time in letting its know exactly how & when & whither you go - We are trying to get up a public meeting and intend having, if we can, Wilberforce in the chair. If

⁷⁶: In fact he writes B. a long and detailed letter on this date in answer to B.'s of Apr 17, 14 and 17 (BLJ X 142-4, 149, 151-2), in which he agrees to go to Greece for the LGC.

the Christians take the matter up it will be completed in very good time & style. Lord Milton, whose name goes some way, is very active amongst us, & generally speaking the Committee proceeds well – I have spoken to Kinnaird about your pecuniares – he says they go on well – you will have the credit you desire directly. I shall tell the Committee about the pouther and pills. You have already done more than all England put together which has hitherto been uncommonly backward - It is very unlucky that we have Spain now on our hands – for as our government has resolved to do nothing the people must come forward if any body does & then the same persons, as is always the case, must help both Greece & Spain – you have read our last weeks debates which went off in flash in the pan after three nights talk. I believe I was almost the only man who talked out openly for war. Canning said so in his reply which if you read what he said you will see was very civil - all his former fury has been of late turned upon Brougham - I fancy, he vagabond as he is, really wishes well to Spain but is counteracted by the Peelites who would like to see France triumphant or at any rate liberty put down – Your old Harrovian crony is a bitter bad one I can tell vou & latterly has got no credit in the house – He does not train on - Willy Bankes made a wretched figure t'other night on the Catholic claims. I was not there but heard he was not heard but only seen and looked very much like a boy chipping a top - John Ward is now Lord Dudley with 80,000£ a year and a great character for economy - I have seen G. S. Rasponi once or twice & taken him under the gallery of the house of Commons as that is the only lion I have to show a stranger – They have been very civil to him at Holland House. Sam Rogers always enquires most tenderly after you - as did Thomas Moore Esq. the only time I have seen him – Ugo Foscolo is about to lecture on Italian literature at Willis's Rooms that being judged the most advisable way of collecting 1000£. He lives in a cottage which he calls Digamma Cottage with two very pretty servant girls whom he calls his daughters & watches like a dragon which he is very like – pray write – your's ever,

J. C. Hobhouse

(Source: BB 329-30)

Wednesday May 7th 1823: At House of Commons for a short time. Sat with Burdett.

Thursday May 8th 1823: At House of Commons a short time. Sat with Burdett.

[The last page of the volume contains Latin and Italian "Inscriptions in Petrarch's House, and on his tomb at Arquà".]

[end of B.L.Add.Mss. 56547, start of B.L.Add.Mss. 56548]

Friday May 9th 1823: Enquiry into [the] conduct of [the] Sheriff of Dublin going on at House of Commons, so I did not attend – Irishmen swearing one against the other, and no great results from the enquiry. Sat with Burdett.

Saturday May 10th 1823: Attended Greek Committee – believe I went to Whitton.

Sunday May 11th 1823: At Whitton.

Monday May 12th 1823: Rode up to London. Lord Grey made a motion this day for further papers relative to foreign affairs – merely to justify himself against the quotation of his former opinions against war for Spain in 1808, made by Canning in the debate on the negotiations. The motive [was] silly, but he made a capital speech. In our House we had Irish affairs. I asked Canning two questions – as to Bowring's letters being opened by the French at Vittoria, and Blaquiere being refused leave to go through the Neapolitan territory on his way to Corfu.77 Canning's answer [was] civil and satisfactory.

I looked in at the Athenian Club this evening, and gave Dr Pearson my puzzle – "Το χι ονδεν ηδιχσε την πολιν ουδξ το καππα" – which Davies Gilbert has put under a lock of Charles I's hair given him by Lord Ashburnham. The motto is from the *Misfrogon* [CHECK] of Lucian, and is to be found on the title-page of the early editions of the Εικον Βασιλικη.

Tuesday May 13th 1823: No House – passed evening, I think, with

 $^{^{77}}$: H. has never mentioned that Edward Blaquiere had been sent to Greece on behalf of the LGC.

Burdett – no, went to Literary Fund.

Wednesday May 14th 1823: Ought yesterday [to] have met Lord Milton and Lord John Russell and Baring, and settle with them on resolutions for public meeting on Greek cause tomorrow, [but] did not meet. I have been lately also engaged at committees on Spanish affairs – a committee or meeting was called the other day by one Richard Taylor, a printer in the City, at [the] Crown and Anchor. I went there, and found Denman, Colonel Davies, J.Williams MP,78 and Henry Hunt – we had discussions about calling a public meeting, and determined so to do – appointed a committee. Hunt, not being [] [],79 called the meeting "a rump", took up his hat, and went away. We determined to meet (our committee), again, and appoint a day. We did. Few present, but Leicester Stanhope, Davies and myself resolved we three should depute ourselves to call on Jabat, and ask him what he could do on the part of his government in getting money for Spain – two millions, on the best terms possible – and had received no satisfactory answer from Jabat.

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At House of Commons, saw resolution for Greek meeting drawn up by Lord Milton – poor things, but no quarrel with good men.

Thursday May 15th 1823: Greek meeting at Crown and Anchor. Room only half-full, but a great number of gentlemen, MPs, &c. We had done our utmost to get Wilberforce to come, but only got his name at last – which, however, was something.

Mackintosh seconded [the] first resolution. I moved the third – fired away at a great rate. Hunt came uncalled, and said he had resolved to subscribe £100. He reminded Lord Milton of his former attacks on the

⁷⁸: There is no J.Williams in the House at this time. Perhaps MP for Lincoln (see 1 July, 23).

⁷⁹: Looks like "approached one" or "appalled me".

Reformers – in short, did his utmost to show division amongst us. Lord Glenorchy manfully attacked him and the coward called question himself.80 With this exception, all went off well, and seven or eight subscribed on the spot.

At [the] House of Commons, [the] slave trade question came on. Canning [is] said to have made a good speech – I did not hear it. [The] West India owners spoke against abolition, which I thought very indecent, but so it is in [the] House of Commons – no man blushes to have it supposed private interest sways him. No division.

Friday May 16th 1823: At [the] committee for Spanish affairs. Cartwright there – no one MP but Colonel Johnson. [We] resolved to ask Lords Holland, Lansdowne, William Bentinck, Messrs Alexander Baring, and Francis Burdett, all in succession, to take the chair. Went away – wrote to Lord Holland in [the] name of [the] Committee – of whom [we] sent him a list, and seized Richard Taylor.

Took a chop with Burdett. Went down to Whitton.

Saturday May 17th 1823: At Whitton.

Sunday May 18th 1823: At Whitton.

Monday May 19th 1823: Rode up to London to see Burdett and to hear Lord Holland's answer. Letter from him – in negative. Wrote a letter to Lord Lansdowne in [the] name of [the] Committee, asking him to take the chair.

Saw Burdett. Rode back to Whitton with Kinnaird. Dancing, &c., [in] evening – Pocockes there.

Tuesday May 20th 1823: At Whitton, lazing about with Kinnaird. Rainy

⁸⁰: Meaning unclear. Handwriting unambiguous.

day.

Wednesday May 21st 1823: Rode up to London. Presented [a] Westminster petition against [the] Insolvent Act at the House of Commons. Lord Lansdowne wrote a long letter, refusing to take the chair, and expressing the greatest zeal for the Spanish cause, and fears that our attempting to do something, and doing nothing, might hurt them. Burdett said it was like the lover whose passion made him impotent, and to whom the lady said, "Aimez-moi moins, donc ..."

Voted with Mackintosh on [the] Criminal Law.

Thursday May 22nd 1823: I tried to get Brougham to speak to Lord William Bentinck to take the chair at [the] Spanish meeting, and I asked Alexander Baring myself – the latter refused.

Dined today with Douglas Kinnaird. Met my father, and Walter Fawkes, and two daughters, and Sir C.81 Flint, the head of the Irish Office here. He told me that Canning would have gone to war for Spain if his colleagues had permitted it. I believe it.

Friday May 23rd 1823:82 Dined at Westminster anniversary dinner. Burdett not able to go – he wrote a letter – had fourteen or fifteen MPs – Lord Ebrington on left – Lambton on [the] right of me in the chair. Coke of Norfolk gave my health, and owned that he had been in error in being against me at first.

In my speech, I appealed to the Electors whether or not I was not right in saying they would have supported a war against France for the liberties of Europe. I had a most unequivocal reply in [the] affirmative. [The] cheers lasted for many moments. Upwards of four hundred present – [the]

^{81:} Could be "O".

⁸²: On this date the Spanish constitutionalists withdraw from Madrid to Seville: see below, June 24.

meeting went off admirably – the best account [is] in the *Chronicle*.

The Duke of San Lorenzo, who had been invited and said he would come, thought better of it, and did not.

Lambton had a little sparring with Hume, to which Colonel Torrens (like a fool or a rogue), drew the attention of the company. Lambton was mightily out of sorts, and said a fatality attended him – he would give up public life. I told him no notice would be taken by the papers, and so it turned out.

Saturday May 24th 1823: Attended Greek Committee. Rode to Whitton. Wilson arrived at Vigo83 – well received.

Sunday May 25th 1823: At Whitton.

Monday May 26th 1823: Rode up to London. Dined at [the] Athenian Club. A Dr Luke there told me that Dr Baillie told him he attended William Pitt the night he died, and all Pitt said was, "What would you have more – have I not given you all you asked?" He was in delirium. The story of "Oh, my country!" was a lie.

[I] went to [the] House of Commons and saw Sir B.King examined at the bar – he bullied the House completely – I would not take part in the business. [I] spoke to Lord William Bentinck about taking the chair at the Spanish meeting – he said he would give an answer in a day. [I] had a talk with Lord Holland on [the] same subject today at Burdett's door: all [are] inclined well, but are afraid to act for fear of failure.

Tuesday May 27th 1823: A large meeting on Spanish affairs at [the]

⁸³: Sir Robert Wilson has gone to Spain to assist the liberals against the French: he had been offered the command of the entire Portuguese army. However, it became clear that the Legitimists were more popular than he thought; and, wounded in the thigh at Corunna, he was evacuated. Lady Wilson died while he was ashore again at Cadiz; he recorded the day as the most unhappy of his life.

Crown and Anchor. [We] resolved, after reading Wilson's letters, to call [a] public meeting on Monday next. [We] commenced a subscription. Lambton put his name down for a thousand pounds. [We] named a select committee to prepare proceedings and get a chairman. In the evening came news of Abibal's treachery, and [the] probable defection of part of the Cortes.

Dined at Brookes's. Heron[??] came in and announced [the] termination of [the] Irish enquiry.

Evening with Burdett.

Wednesday May 28th 1823: Met [the] select committee on Spanish affairs at Colonel Grant's, Craven Street. Lord William Bentinck, Lambton, Fergusson, J.Wilks, and one or two more. Edward Ellice [and Lord] William Bentinck accepted [the] chair,84 but strongly recommended no meeting until we knew how the affair of Abibal had terminated. All of us [were] of that opinion. Wilks alone hesitated. But we could not have the Great Room at [the] London Tavern on Monday, so that [was] settled. We agreed to wait for news until Monday next.

[I] dined at Burdett's. At House of Commons, voted for []85 beer to malt duties.

Thursday May 29th 1823: At Greek sub-committee. Dined with Lady Pococke. Davies Gilbert told me some etymologies in [the] House of Commons yesterday: "Troy weight" – "London – []",86 – so it is "London weight", a Saxon weight not changed since Edward [the] Confessor's time. "Admiral" – "Emir Alos", Turkish and Greek. I do not believe this. "Avoir dupois" – "Avoir", "goods" in old French – "goods of

⁸⁴: Absence of punctuation leaves open whether the chair was accepted by Ellice, Bentinck, or H.

^{85:} Either "transfer" or "transferral".

^{86:} Looks like "noranl".

weight".

Friday May 30th 1823: Did not stay at House. Dined at Piazza Coffee House, and went to Drury Lane. New, smaller theatre. Kean in Shylock: second rate actors, wretched. I find playhouse amusement tedious, and I can't hear well.

Saturday May 31st 1823: Journal from May 8th. Going to Whitton, after Greek Committee.87 Went to Whitton.

Sunday June 1st 1823: At Whitton.

Monday June 2nd 1823: Rode up to London. At the House of Commons all night till half-past two in [the] morning – Scotch Representation, and Game Laws.

Went this day to [the] Spanish Committee – determined on having our public meeting on Monday next.

Tuesday June 3rd 1823: At the House of Commons till half-past one in [the] morning, on Borthwick's [CHECK] case. Abercrombie moved that the proceedings against him were unjust and oppressive. Rae, the Lord Advocate, made a miserable speech, and the ministers took no part. Numbers: 102 to 96. Five or six Orangemen voted with us, and Daly and Colonel Barry told me that had the motion come on before all of them, i.e., 36, would have voted with Abercrombie: but the Whigs had used the Orangemen shamefully in the course of the Sheriff of Dublin examination. Brougham said to me, "Oh, the Orangemen are fine factious fellows".

Wednesday June 4th 1823: Meeting of [the] Spanish Committee. Lord William Bentinck hesitated about taking the chair on Monday next, and

 $^{^{87}}$: This seems to be the meeting at which B. is appointed representative of the LGC: see below, July 8, 23n.

begged delay. We [were] in great embarrassment, the thing having been decided on, but we agreed not to announce the meeting yet, thinking it of great importance to retain Lord William Bentinck. Lambton was out of humour with me, and said that it was my fault for putting so much stress on Lord William Bentinck presiding. Afterwards, however, he begged pardon upon my remonstrance. He is a spoilt child, but a good man.

At the House of Commons, John Williams' motion on [the] Court of Chancery [was] adjourned over, but [we] divided twice on adjournment. John Williams' speech [was] lauded to the skies, but I cannot say that it struck me as anything extraordinary.

Since the Duke of Angoulême's arrival at Madrid, grandees of a certain class, amongst whom [are] three women, have addressed him, and all ministerialists, and some Whigs, have given up the cause for lost. Maberley [is] particularly depressing.

Thursday June 5th 1823: [We] adjourned [the] debate on Chancery, divided, and [the] House [was] up at half-past two in [the] morning, 89 to 174. [The] lawyers all shone on our side. Scarlett, praising Williams, said that he had proved there was no lack of abilities in the "middle" ranks of the bar!! Lord Milton, talking with me, owned that Scarlett had disappointed everybody in the House of Commons. This [is] a serious confession from the heir of Scarlett's constituant.

Friday June 6th 1823: At [the] Spanish Committee, where Lord William Bentinck agreed to take the chair positively this day week. Orator Hunt had a meeting last Monday, by himself, which totally failed. He since has tried to communicate with us, but we refused positively.

I rode down to Whitton this evening.

Saturday June 7th 1823: Rode over to Sir George Wood's,88 Gatton

^{88:} Two of Sir George Wood's brothers, and one nephew, were strong Tories.

Park Reigate, with Matilda and Sophia – a beautiful place indeed. Saw the clump of trees, containing an open porti[c]o, under which the members for Gatton are chosen!!

Sunday June 8th 1823: Passed the day strolling about the Park with my sisters and Miss Wood – a most agreeable variety after the turmoils of London.

Monday June 9th 1823: I rode up to London, and on the way was giddy — I have for some time been unwell, with pains in my feet like gout first, and then with sickness at stomach. Stayed all night at House of Commons, and voted three or four times. [I] expected the subject of [the] King's library to come on, but it did not.

Tuesday June 10th 1823: At [the] Spanish Committee. Mackintosh, Ellice, Fergusson, Lord William Bentinck, and the greater part of [the] members [were] there. [We] agreed on the resolutions for [a] public meeting. They were drawn out by me. We have had no encouragement whatever from the [g]randees.89 Lord Lansdowne declines attending – so does Lord Grey. Lord Ellenborough, the new convert to what he calls "constitutional opposition", sends a very laconic refusal, and makes "the present state of the world his excuse". Lord Grey told me he looked upon the cause as hopeless, and that he could not conscientiously recommend others to make sacrifices in such a cause. He talked very despondingly to me of the general complexions of politics all over the world and at home – wished he had never to put his foot in the damned House of Lords, and ended with saying that we were in the old age of our country – everything rotten, corrupt, and worn out.

James (1756-1829), was MP for Gatton, 1806-7; Mark sr. (1750-1829), ditto, 1802-18; and Mark jr (1794-1837), ditto, 1816-18. H. may be cultivating the family on account of Bessy Wood (see 30 Jan, 21).

^{89: &}quot;randees" (Ms.)

This is the character of Lord Grey – always desponding, always out of spirits, unless he thinks he is riding the winning horse.

Out of a hundred letters from our Committee for money and help, only three answers, and only one favourable – that from Lord John Russell, sending ten pounds. This is always the way in which I have found the great Whigs proceed – it takes as much trouble to persuade them to do what is right as it does to prevent their opponents from doing what is wrong.

No House today. Dined at Brooks's. Sat with Burdett.

Wednesday June 11th 1823: This day I was very ill indeed – attack of giddiness – Dr Chambers called – I sent for him again – he was not at home. Went to House of Commons – dined on fish at Brooks's. Called on Chambers – he told me to get cupped, which I did, at Miner's in Lower Brook Street. Not better. Sat at home.

[NOT IN DIARY: Hobhouse's letter to Byron, June 11th 1823:

June 11, 1823

My dear Byron

I wrote a line or two yesterday at the bottom of Mr. Bowring's letter which I trust will come safe to hand – yesterday evening I received another note with two inclosures from you through Douglas Kinnaird – Your letter which has been partly published has been very much admired and the Committee will be glad to receive another such from you. But you must not be waggish as you have been in your two last folios: which I had some doubt whether I should send to the committee fearing that these grave gentlemen would think you not in earnest – Your fun would be caveor to our elderly folk so Mr. Bowring; has picked out two or three passages containing your points of information and suppressed the remainder – The remainder indeed was more of a private than public letter and I had, as I told you above, some doubts of sending it to Mr. Bowring – that gentleman is a great enthusiast and, as you may suspect from his letter, a warm admirer of your's so I recommend you only to show the grave side of your face to him. If you are for a lark communicate then

with me who am used to your ways of pleasantness – but I repeat do not be jocose with your admirers of the committee. You need not inclose letters except from Blaquiere or from some person containing positive information - Karvella's trash and Diddler-like correspondence need not be sent. I have shown him up to his countrymen here. The letter from the banker also is not worth communicating to the Committee who want no proofs of your zeal, of which I assure yiu they have conceived the highest opinion. They are going to make to you a solemn request & appeal, I fancy, to go up to Greece at once to the sake of showing, in the most positive manner, the interest the English take in their cause – and for the sake also of getting certain information on which they can depend – I have put the order for the tooth Powder canteen &c into Mr. Murray's hands who will provide them forthwith & send them as soon as possible – If you go to Greece I do not see the necessity of your staying long – Just go to headquarters and look about you and come away again - A few days or weeks in the Morea would be quite sufficient. Schinas & the Greeks here say they think your going to Greece would be of the utmost possible service to the cause - We have not money enough to do any thing considerable for them, nor can we hope to do good except by the encouragement to be derived from our sympathy of which no proof would be so decisive as your visit – both personally and as coming from the Greek Committee to which I trust they will attach an importance very disproportionate with its real influence –

We are going on with our subscriptions – but not so speedily as could be wished. I believe the multitude believe the Greeks to be the Blacklegs for not one farthing have we had from that class - It is unfortunate also that we have new another subscription running side by side with that for Greece, namely the Spanish. Our public meeting for the Spaniards takes place the day after to-morrow. After overcoming many obstacles we have succeeded in getting up this meeting but whether or not we shall get a large sum of money remains in the womb of time – Lambton, however, has put down his name for 1000£, Burdett for 500£. The Corporation of the City of London have given 1000£ to the Spaniards, & will give 700£ to the Greeks. Between ourselves there is not so much sympathy for foreign patriots as could he wished - all the efforts, money, time, & talking, all come from the same set of people, namely Simpson & Co i.e. our dear selves, about four or five good men & true. It is not without the greatest difficulty we get any others to move – The news from Spain is rather good than otherwise. The French news all lies. The King will see Cadiz very shortly – for it is most probable the French will reach Seville without opposition. But there is an excellent spirit in some provinces, especially the Galicia, whence the news from Wilson is very encouraging. I do not despair on the whole, although the enormous sums of money diffused in all quarters by France will work the usual wonders performed by silver spears – Pray let me hear from you – how are you? ever yours very truly

J. C. H.

(Source: BB 332-3)]

Thursday June 12th 1823: Attended [the] Spanish Committee, and the committee on Penitentiaries. Dined on fish at Brooks's. Sat with Burdett.

Friday June 13th 1823: Went with Lambton to the Spanish Meeting at [the] London Tavern. [We had] advertised for twelve – and [the] room [was] quite full before – but half [the] Committee people did not come, nor Lord William Bentinck. By half-past twelve, news was brought that Hunt had taken the chair. Ours were thrown into confusion at once. When I offered to go into the room and endeavour to appease the assembly, Hume volunteered to accompany me.

I had thought it possible this would happen, and had made up my mind what to do. Going into the room, I saw Hunt on the table, bowing as if in the act of retiring, amidst a storm of hisses and huzzahs – I jumped on a chair on the table, and at once asked the people "if they would suffer themselves to be insulted, &c". A loud shout was set up, with eight or ten contrary cries, but after a few words I got the whole assembly with me, and concluded, amidst tremendous cheering, by requesting the patience of the meeting, until Lord William Bentinck should arrive. Hunt did not answer, but retired into a corner, where I afterwards heard he had a personal altercation with a Mr Ravencroft.

Retiring into the committee room, I thought it best afterwards that Lord Erskine should take the chair, until Lord William Bentinck should arrive – accordingly we all proceeded to the great room together, and the business of the day began. Of this, an excellent account was given in the

Times newspaper. Hunt endeavoured at an interruption, which completely recoiled against himself – not above a dozen hands were held up for him. He tried to insult me, not by name but by implication – those near me advised me to take no notice, and this being my own opinion, and the man being so thoroughly set down by the meeting, I did not allude to him at all.

Everything went off admirably. I shall mention here that I had endeavoured to get a letter from the Duke of San Lorenzo to the meeting – this he had wanted to, and Mora, the Spanish journalist, had agreed to draw it up, and did so: but when he presented it for signature, the Duke refused. His wife interposed, told him he was too much mixed up with politics already, and prevailed with him. This I had from Mora himself, who in excuse said, "C'est un home extremement foible". To this I remark that such weakness looks like wickedness, and that Spain, if composed of such men, deserves no help from us.

I was very ill today – I rode down to Gatton. Did not sleep all night, being in a very high fever.

Saturday June 14th 1823: Strolled about with my sisters to Reigate Hill, and enjoyed this lovely country. Party at dinner.

Sunday June 15th 1823:⁹⁰ I was ill today in the head, but walked about to Upper Gatton. Read Benvenuto Cellini – [the] necromancer in the Colosseum.⁹¹ Very ill in the night, as if dying. [I] see by [the] *Times* that the editor therefore approves of what I did at the meeting on Friday. This is the first time, as well as I recollect, that this wary paper has ventured to

^{90:} On this date B. sets sail from Genoa for Cefalonia.

⁹¹: Early in the *Autobiography*, a necromancer conjures legions of devils for Cellini and his friends in the Colosseum. They fiends disappear when one of Cellini's friends shits himself and makes a smell. Cellini is anxious that the conjurer should reunite him with his Sicilian girlfriend Angelica. The episode anticipates B.'s *Manfred*, to which H. never refers.

mention me with any praise – but people in my line must look to other motives of encouragement.

Monday June 16th 1823: Rode up to London. Went to a dinner of Vintners at [the] Freemason's – the Duke of Sussex in the chair – no other MP there but me, but there was a large party. Torrens [was] the hero of the day. The vintners, &c., intend to set up a Bell and Lancaster school (or, as they call it, "chrestomatic"),92 for teaching their children the higher branches of learning, for five pounds a year. Another propose of the meeting was to support the *Globe and Traveller* newspaper.

After I left the meeting I went to the House of Commons, but [there was] nothing doing in my way, so I walked to Dr Chambers and consulted him. Home – bed early – slept very well indeed – attribute it to a "*Hume's pill*".

Tuesday June 17th 1823: News of a counter-revolution in Portugal⁹³ – but Mina [is] going on well.

Wrote journal for seventeen days. Better this morning. [The Holy] Alliance withdrew their ambassadors from the court of Würtemberg. Did not go to the House of Commons, but stayed with Burdett, I believe ...

Wednesday June 18th 1823: All the morning at the Spanish Committee. At five, returned to [the] Crown and Anchor and presided at the anniversary of the Master Bakers' Orphan School – three hundred present. At House of Commons, said a word or two in favour of the Usury Bill. Up till two in [the] morning.

Thursday June 19th 1823: All the morning at [the] Spanish Committee. At [the] House of Commons, presented C.Butt's petition, and had a set-to

^{92:} In modern jargon, "cascading".

⁹³: There were two unsuccessful Portuguese counter-revolutions in 1823, one in February, the other in May.

with the Attorney- and Solicitor-General. Dined at Brooks's. Returned to House of Commons, and voted twice with Hume. Up till near two.

Friday June 20th 1823: In today's paper appeared a letter from the Spanish Embassy to the Spanish Committee, sending £530 to the subscription, and our answer, refusing the money. The letter was written by me. The resolutions of the Spanish meeting were written by me also. Very few ever attend the Spanish Committee: Fergusson, Bowring, Jolly, Grant, and now and then Lambton. I am there almost every day.

I was at the House of Commons in the evening, and moved an amendment to the grant of £40,000 for removing the late King's library to the British Museum: I tried to get it for Whitehall, or the Mews. Almost every man [was] against me – Mackintosh made a very unfair, though complimentary, speech – Croker alone (of the Admiralty), [was] in my favour, though he recommended another amendment, in favour of which I withdrew mine, and we divided, 34 to fifty-odd. Croker attacked the Trustees of the Museum in a very humorous speech, which old Bankes took for earnest, and answered in sober sadness.

Saturday June 21st 1823: Attended [the] Spanish Committee. Rode down to Whitton.

Sunday June 22nd 1823: Read six cantos of Rose's Ariosto – very good, but fails in [the] simile of the rose – "the Virgin has her image in the rose".94 Fuller with us.

Monday June 23rd 1823: Rode up to London. Attended [the] Spanish Committee. Returned to Whitton. Fuller there.

Tuesday June 24th 1823: Rode up to London. [The] King of Spain [is]

⁹⁴: Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, I, 42, 1, tr. William Stewart Rose (Vol I, John Murray 1823). The original is, "Le verginella è simile a la rosa".

removed to Cadiz – force used. [It is] said that our ambassador, and [the] American, and [the] Swedish, remain at Seville. At Spanish Committee.

At [the] House of Commons, voted with Sir Henry Parnell for [an] enquiry into [the] state of Ireland – only 39 for it. Up till two.

Wednesday June 25th 1823: At [the] Spanish Committee. Called by appointment on Mr Croker at the Admiralty, who showed me a plan of his for converting the Banquetting Room of Whitehall into a library. Afterwards walked arm-in-arm with him to the House of Commons. [We] met several members, who laughed and stared at the couple.95 [I] stayed in [the] House all night, and voted with Mackintosh for mitigating part of the [] [].96 Only 19 against 34.

Thursday June 26th 1823: At [the] Spanish Committee. Wind at last from the west brought us the confirmation of the news from Lisbon – a complete counter-revolution – Pepe says, "tout est perdu!" But no news from Spain. Great despondence among our friends. Yet yesterday John Smith MP,97 communicated to me that someone incognito had given him leave to say that the Spanish Committee might overdraw their account at Smith's bank [by] £5,000!!! – Smith had the money. I wrote a long letter today to the man, begging him to allow the money to be announced anonymously.

[I] dined at the Southwark dinner. Lambton [was] ill, [and] could not come. Erskine there, and Hume, and Whitbread, and John Williams. I made a speech which I was told was very grand indeed, and all that. I did my best to keep up their spirits, about Spain, and to tell them to do their duty at all events.

⁹⁵: The high Tory Croker (he "killed Keats"), and the radical Whig H., bonding in public.

⁹⁶: CHECK. Looks like "criminal vote".

⁹⁷: John Smith (1767-1842), MP for Midhurst. He had been B.'s banker in Nottingham. A liberal. Cousin of Wilberforce, admirer of Owen and of Mrs Fry.

[I] went to the House of Commons, and sat up till past two voting with Brougham on [the] administration of [the] law in Ireland.

Friday June 27th:

Birthday - 37.

Looked over a case respecting special juries — wrote journal. Wish I could make any agreeable reflections on the return of this day — and more than this — wish I could make any good resolutions with the hope of keeping them and breaking the bondage of bad passions, which are inexcusable and disgraceful at my time of life. I have to record that I am much more deaf than I was a year ago — that I have a lameness after exercise in my left ham — and that I have symptoms of near approaching gout. As to my public life, I cannot say that I have anything to regret.

Went down to Whitton.

Saturday June 28th: At Whitton.

Sunday June 29th: At Whitton.

Monday June 30th: Rode up to London. At Spanish Committee – counter-revolution in Portugal complete – news of Wilson having been in great danger at Braga in Portugal – now retired to Vigo. At House of Commons, spoke a few words against private madhouses, and presented a petition from St Anne's parish. Brougham defended private madhouses, and particularly Warburton's at Hockston[?] Bennett told me Brougham had an *uncle* there.

Tuesday July 1st 1823: At [the] Spanish Committee. 98 At [the] House of Commons, [I] spoke against [the] British Museum again. Croker divided

 $^{^{98}}$: There seems to have been no meeting of the London Greek Committee since May 31st.

the House on a proposition for [a] general plan for national literacy and beaux arts establishment, previously to any grant of money to [the] Museum, and for giving the superintendence of [the] scheme to the Lords of the Treasury. We were in a majority.

I stayed to hear the debate on the motion, made by Hume, for entire toleration as to religious matters. He spoke well – so did Ricardo, and Peel spoke miserably: but as there could not have been above five at most for Hume, I continued to persuade him not to divide. All the lower bench [were] absent. To say the truth, I do not think agitating the question with a reference to Carlile99 has done Hume or the cause good – many people tell me the contrary: John Williams of Lincoln, for instance. Another objection is that on speaking on the subject, it is required to pretend an entire difference from the sentiments of Carlile – now how many in the House can do this conscientiously? The fellow is coarse – but his opinions are those of all anti-religionists.

A curious thing happened in the debate. Ricardo mentioned Owen of Lanark 100 as one who did not believe in a future state – I told Ricardo I thought Owen would not be pleased – "Oh," said Ricardo, "I have asked him, and he said 'he should like to see it of all things." Owen was under the gallery. Presently, Fowell Buxton told me upstairs that Owen was much hurt at Ricardo's illustration, and had directed someone to ask Ricardo in what part of his works Ricardo found such an opinion – and accordingly Mr Money did put the question to Ricardo, who in reply said that he had collected as much from Owen's plan, which made man an "irresponsable" 101 animal. But Ricardo very generously never said a word about his conversation with Owen. I say [either] that Owen is not an honest man, or [that] Ricardo misheard him. Besides, Owen at the Crown

^{99:} Richard Carlile (1790-1843), printer, much more radical than H.

¹⁰⁰: Robert Owen (1771-1858), paternal philanthropist. New Lanark near Glasgow was the site of his "co-operative" cotton mills.

¹⁰¹: Sic Ms.

and Anchor called the Christian Religion¹⁰² "the Imposture", and his opinion is well-known.

Dined at [the] House of Commons.

Wednesday July 2nd 1823: At [the] Spanish Committee. Went down to Whitton and found Burdett there.

Thursday July 3rd 1823: At Whitton. Rode out with Burdett to Perivale and Castle Hill, near Ealing – at the latter Burdett passed all the early years of his life. His father's 103 house was where that of the Duke of Kent stands. He pointed out to me the wooden footbridge over the little stream which he used to pass over every Sunday, going to Perivale church. He told me the pastor used to read so fast his father would pull at his surplice to stop him, but the worthy divine merely jerked up the robe again over his shoulder, and rattled on.

Friday July 4th 1823: At Whitton. Rode out with Burdett all the morning. Not sure whether I did not go up to London. Spanish Ball tonight at Covent Garden.

Saturday July 5th 1823: At Whitton. Dined at Ellice's with Burdett. Ball very pretty, but not Page – Duke of York kept people away. They say £372 [was raised] to [the Spanish] Fund.

Sunday July 6th 1823: At Whitton, riding with Burdett.

Monday July 7th 1823: Up to London. This day an anonymous subscriber of £5,000 to the Spanish fund. John Smith MP, about ten days ago, told me that the Committee might overdraw their account with him [by] £5,000, and that I might communicate this to some of the Committee.

¹⁰²: Sic Ms: not "Xtian religion", which is what H. would once have written.

¹⁰³: Note on Burdett's father.

I did so, to Hume, Fergusson, and Colonel Grant. We determined not to draw without having the sum publicly entered to our account. I wrote a long letter to be communicated to the unknown, begging to have his permission so to do. After a long negotiation, permission was given, and John Smith communicated the name of ye person to General Fergusson.

We guess Haldimand – it must be somebody well acquainted with Spain, for we have received directions from him as to the disposal of some of the money in sending clothing to the Asturias.

I sat up late at the House of Commons, voting against flogging in prisons, and for introducing trial by jury into New South Wales – hardly anyone in House.

Tuesday July 8th 1823:104 At Spanish Committee – rode down to Whitton – Burdett, &c.

[NOT IN DIARY: Hobhouse's letter to Byron, July 8th 1823:

John Cam Hobhouse to Byron, from London, July 8th 1823:

(Text from National Library of Scotland Acc.12604 / 4124C; BB 335-6) [Pour / Le tres honourable Milord / Milord Byron / Pair d'Angleterre / à Genes / Italie]

London. July 8, 1823

My dear Byron -

I am much suprised at your having received no letters – any have been written – I trust, however, you will duly get the resolutions of the Committee passed at the last meeting, when, after very proper acknowledgments, you were formally appointed representative of the friends of Greek liberty in England –

I shall be extremely anxious to hear of you & I trust that you will

¹⁰⁴: H. writes to B. on this date: BB 335-6: "I trust ... you will duly get the resolutions of the Committee passed at the last meeting, when, after very proper acknowledgments, you were formally pointed representative of the friends of Greek liberty in England". H. has not referred to this decision in the diary: see above, May 31, 23n.

not suffer your zeal to lead you into the least risk – The object is not that you should fight – but that you should be at the seat of government to encourage the enthusiasm of the people and also to

1:2

give weight authority & utility to the efforts of the Greek Committee – Never fear about Blaquiere – he is not our agent – We pay some of his expenses & he writes its letters but he is not in your line & cannot be in your way – I am sorry you do not like the publication of your letter. 105 It was not all published, only selections were made – I can assure you it produced the best effects here & made money come into our subscription. I shall communicate what you tell about the steam boat – although I am afraid our funds will not allow us to engage in such an adventure – I repeat take care of yourself in every way – I hope the canteen will come after you – I chose a most excellent one for you – The other articles Murray sent out before – I am almost afraid that

1:3

this letter will not reach you at Genoa but I suppose you have given orders to have your missives sent after you. If there is any thing I can do for you here pray use me in any way –

I am extremely glad that you have taken this step on many accounts which it will be too long to mention here & which if read by the Austrian police would not be over-edifying. The Island 106 is much admired & if you choose ever to come back into our cloudy country I have no doubt you may carry all before you – I suppose you see our newspapers so that I need not tell you we are making an effort for the Spaniards – Our subscriptions amount to $16.000-\pounds$ one individual having given $5000~\pounds$ without letting us know his name – This could not happen out of England – The last news from the peninsula is rather good – The cortes know they are fighting with ropes about their necks

¹⁰⁵: B. to H., June 9th 1823: "Your Committee have printed my letter – with what view or advantage is more than I can conjecture – as I hear nothing <u>from</u> – and <u>little</u> of them". The publication made it impossible for B. not to go to Greece.

¹⁰⁶: In his diary, H. never mentions *The Island* (or *The Age of Bronze*, or the later cantos of *Don Juan*, or *The Vision of Judgement* ...).

1:4 [above address:] and will therefore stick to what they have begun – Parliament will be up in a few days – I wish to god I could join you in your [below address:] expedition – We might then see what difference thirteen or fourteen years had made in our feelings as to Greece – Farewell dear Byron – believe me always your very affect.

J. C. Hobhouse

Wednesday July 9th 1823: Rode in morning with Burdett – dined with him at Roger Wilbraham's – Lord Crewe there, 81, Davenport, MP,107 near 90 – Roger [Wilbraham], 79. Adair108 there.

All three old men [were] very agreeable, gentlemanly – memories fresh about them, and manners, as Burdett observed, certainly superior to the present day. Wilbraham told [us] that Charles Fox mentioned to him that the first year he came into parliament, 1769, old Sir Mildmay took him up from Kensington, and, putting him down at [the] House of Commons, said, "I have not been here since the Hanover succession, 109 and I was then Under Secretary of State" (or some such placeman). 110 They talked of the dissension between Fox and Sheridan – Wilbraham mentioned that all observed Sheridan altered his style after Hastings' trial, and adopted Burke's flowery rhetoric. Wilbraham remarked Richard Fitzpatrick observing it to Fox one day, whilst Sheridan was speaking.

Davenport gave an account of Tierney's early career – a complete adventurer.

But Adair, a most formal person, seems to do everything, and say everything, upon some plan for superiority, and for holding a place in society to which he is not quite sure he has a very strong claim. He said he had lost sight of Sheridan after his coolness with Fox – now Sheridan

¹⁰⁷: There was a Davies Davenport (1757-1837), MP for Cheshire: but in 1823 he was only 66. No Davenports in earlier parliaments were still alive in 1823.

¹⁰⁸: Presumably Sir Robert Adair (see May 16, 10&n).

¹⁰⁹: That is, not since 1715.

^{110:} H. does not include speech marks, so the brackets are conjectural. Could be "I was then Under Secretary of State (or some such placeman)".

survived this at least sixteen years: Burdett said Sheridan never had sight of Adair.

Wilbraham said he had been re-reading Sheridan's plays – none would stand the test except *The School for Scandal*, and that [was] only an interchange of witticisms for all the characters.... Someone said that Sheridan used (Wilbraham quoted) "King George in a fright" throughout.

Thursday July 10th 1823: At Whitton – rode out with Burdett.

Friday July 11th 1823: Rode up to London. Went to Spanish Committee – Morillo a traitor – great despondency.

Went to [the] House to present a petition for [the] radicals of Somersetshire, headed by Henry Hunt, which has lain for months in Burdett's hands – but did not. Dined at Brooks's.

Saturday July 12th 1823: At Spanish Committee – rode down to Whitton – did not dine with Ellice ...

Sunday July 13th 1823: Rain all day. Rode to Wyke alone – dined at Whitton.

Monday July 14th 1823: At Whitton. Rainy weather. Cullen dined with us.

Tuesday July 15th 1823:¹¹² Rainy weather. Walked about between showers with dear Sophy, then took leave of her, and Whitton, as for the season. I think [I] rode up to London. Got wet – hurt myself pulling boot on, and got ill in my head again, but let Kinnaird and his brother take me down to Wyke. Large party there: Creevey, Lord Grey, Baillie, Cullen, &c.

¹¹¹: All three Sheridan comedies survive in the repertoire today (2006).

^{112:} On this date, Don Juan VI, VII and VIII are published.

[We] talked of [the] Queen's case. Cullen coolly asked Lord Grey, what was his report to [the] King in 1806!!! Grey was minister then. Lord Grey entered a good deal into [the] conduct of [the] Whigs then, respecting the Queen – said there was not evidence enough to go to trial. Lord Grey said that he had no doubt whatever of [the] Queen's guilt, but that at the trial he thought no proof had been brought forward to warrant a verdict. I told him I thought he had pronounced absolutely "not guilty" – he said, "No". He told me that [the] Lord Chancellor had said to him during [the] late trial, "Lord Grey – do you not recollect, in 1816, Manby and ——113 making affidavit[s that] they had never had any criminal connection with the Queen?" I should like to have the cross-examination of Canning, if he made such an affidavit.

Returned to town.

Wednesday July 16th 1823: At [the] Spanish Committee. [It was] agreed [that] I should write a sort of remonstrance to [the] Spanish ministry at Cadiz, to be taken by Lord Nugent, who is going out.

I dined at home, and wrote after dinner.

Today an Elector at Westminster – a bookseller – asked me to present a petition for [a] reward for discovering [the] Philosopher's stone!!!!

Thursday July 17th 1823: Wrote after breakfast, and finished the dispatch, which I read at [the] Committee, where it was approved. Mr Elliot arrived from Coruña, where [he had] left Wilson in a perilous state. Wilson had actually promised a corps of 10,000 men from England: he had directed Elliot to take his papers first to Canning, then to Lambton, then to Jabat. Canning, next day, sent the papers, unopened, to Grant, with a letter directed to no-one, saying that it was a little too much to expect that he, the King's minister, should be in communication with a person who was acting in defiance of [an] act of parliament, and of a policy

¹¹³: Ms. gap signifies "Canning".

approved by ye parliament and the nation.

I agree with Canning – Wilson is an ass. Elliot left Corunna only Sunday. Murillo's men desert him – Quiroga [is] appointed Commander-in-Chief, with Wilson to assist – but Coruña [is] no longer a safe place to send stores to.

Dined at [the] Mansion [House], then, with Lord Mayor Heygate, sat next to Sir J. Cockburn. Several ministerial members there, not one opposition. Lord and Lady Mayoress cheek by jowl at [the] head of the table. Tat[t]le, but bad dinner. [The] American minister Rush [was] there, to whom I was introduced after dinner. Said he did not despair of Spain.

Friday July 18th 1823: Arranging bills. [I] find I have £500 credit at [the] bankers. Have given for patriotic purposes this year, £156.

Walking along the street, [I was] taken ill in the street, and [was] obliged to go into a shop and drink sal volatile and water – but [I] went on to [the] Spanish Committee. [We] altered [the] destination of [the] arms from Galicia to Alicant, if Coruña [is] taken. [We] wrote to Wilson by Elliot.

Home. Ill. Dined. Read a volume of Peveril. 114 Ill at night.

Saturday July 19th 1823: Wrote journal from June 28th. Giddy again – do not know what to do – whether to go to [a] sea place or not. [I] read Faller / Fuller for [the] Holy Alliance – [the] best thing there [is his] translation of Catullus to Sirmio [CHECK].

Lord Mayor Heygate told me the other day that on or about the day or the prorogation of parliament in 1822, he saw115 Lord Londonderry standing on the steps of Eyles' Coffee House, who seemed to wait for him. When he came up, Lord Londonderry said, "Are you tired of this? I

^{114:} Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*, published Jan 7 23.

¹¹⁵: "say" (Ms.)

am!"116 This [was] a few days before his death.

[I] dined at Douglas Kinnaird's this day – large party there.

Sunday July 20th 1823: Walked about with David Baillie and Pearce. Dined with [the] Duke of Sussex at Kensington Palace.

Monday July 21st 1823: Preparing for going to Brighton. Dined with Lady Cork – a large, dull party. Horace Twiss the most prominent young person in the room. The King's Mrs Fitzherbert¹¹⁷ there – a fine, goodnatured woman.

Tuesday July 22nd 1823: Rode down to Gatton Park. Slept there.

Wednesday July 23rd 1823: Went in stage coach to Brighton. Took rooms at [the] Norfolk Hotel, East Cliff – 8s 6d *per diem*.

Thursday July 24th 1823: At Brighton, riding and walking and dining alone. Very dull, and very ill in the head as usual. Pacing up and down by Westfield Lodge and Westcliff Lodge, where I had been in my healthier days with my family, became duller and dizzier still.

Friday July 25th 1823: The same – or worse. Saw Mr Newnham, the surgeon, who told me my head ailments were common, and proceeded from nervous exhaustion, working on and augmented by the stomach. He had had it himself, and much worse. Bathed in bath []118 at 92.

Saturday July 26th 1823: As before. Brighton [is] increased much since 1818.

¹¹⁶: ... I am?" (Ms.)

¹¹⁷: Maria Anne Fitzherbert (1756-1837), wife of George IV. Separated from him with £6,000 a year since 1803.

^{118:} Word looks like "tessud".

Sunday July 27th 1818: The same solitary life. Dreadful weather, like a hot winter.

Monday July 28th 1823: The same, but varied a little with races on [the] downs, and theatre in the evening, to which I went and felt better.

Tuesday July 29th 1823: Races again. A day or two ago, news of [the] repulse of [the] French before Coruña, and Wilson's wound. Lord Nugent goes to Spain, [and] takes a dispatch from [the] Spanish Committee to Calatrava, drawn up by me, which he is to use or not as a private document just as he thinks fit, for those who signed it with me turned afraid, and wanted me to have my name alone, which I refused.

Lord Nugent tells me that our government are trying to induce the Cortes to give in, and that propositions have even been made to him, as going out there, to try his hand. He sends me a cypher to correspond with him.

Wednesday July 30th 1823: Kinnaird here – [we] go to [the] races together – I dine with him and his *cara*.119

Thursday July 31st 1823: Dreadful weather – very ill – but go to play in evening – see Downton Russell and Mrs Glover in *Simpson & Co*₁₂₀– very good.

Friday August 1st 1823: Rode – dined with Mr Henry Wormbwell at Stene Hotel.

Saturday August 2nd 1823:121 Rode over to Lewes race ground. Dined

¹¹⁹: If the *cara* is Maria Keppel, then H.'s attempt to prove her infidelity (see 31 July, 20), didn't work.

¹²⁰: Simpson and Co., a comedy in two acts by John Poole (1823).

¹²¹: On this date B. lands on Cefalonia.

with Kinnaird, I think.

Sunday August 3rd 1823: Rode and walked and read. Since being at Brighton, [I have] read [The] Fortunes of Nigel,122 Zouch's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, 123 Wine and Walnuts, 124 Annals of the Parish, 125 Rapp's Memoirs, 126 [and] two volumes of Baron Trenck's Life 127 (from what he says of Englishmen - Fielding and Lord Mansfield - it is clear he is a liar), and a little Tacitus. Zouch's book is not well done. The memoir is unconnected, the episodes too long and frequent, and the whole has the air of a controversy, which is wrong in a piece of biography – but it recalls the sayings and sentiments of some great men. It is Sir Philip Sidney who lays down the rule never to threaten. Lord Burleigh tells his son never to let his sons pass the Alps, and to marry his daughters early, lest they marry themselves. I think it is Lord Clarendon who says no man ever made a figure who did not in early life consort with his superiors. Languest seems to have been a fine character. Zouch is a bigot in everything - he comments that Lord Leicester should [not??] have disgraced his lineage by taking part with the parliament against Charles I - as if the point were settled.

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Rapp's *Memoirs* are delightful – read them again. *Annals of the Parish* show that Walter Scott is not the only man who can give pictures of life in the north.

^{122:} Scott's *The Fortunes of Nigel*, published May 29, 22.

¹²³: Thomas Zouch, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney (1808).

¹²⁴: Wine and Walnuts, or, After Dinner Chat, by "Ephraim Hardcastle" (William Henry Prynne), 2 vols 1823.

¹²⁵: Annals of the Parish (1821), by "Rev. M. Balwhidder", a pseudonym for B.'s and H.'s old Mediterranean acquaintance John Galt.

¹²⁶: Jean Rapp, *Memoirs of General Count Rapp* (1823). Not Rapp the Harmonist (*Don Juan*, XV, 35, 1).

¹²⁷: The Life of Baron Frederic Trenk, translated from the German (1821).

Monday August 4th 1823: Leave Brighton on horseback. Ride to Cuckfield, thence to London in stagecoach. Giddy still.

Tuesday August 5th 1823: Adams called, and also a man respecting [the] Benefit Society. Went to the Spanish Committee. Dined at home, and sat with Pat Holmes of the Ordnance.

Wednesday August 6th 1823: Hoppner from Venice called. [He] told me [there were] 180 state prisoners at Milan. [The] Marquis Cannonici128 [is] not released, though [the] Emperor of Austria promised his wife and father at Verona.

[I] passed all morning in the chair of a public meeting of a benefit insurance company rebelling against their trustees, who are trying to get the entire management of this concern into their own hands.

Dined at Douglas Kinnaird's. Lady Kinnaird and family there.

Thursday August 7th 1823: Ill – sisters called – went down to Whitton.

Friday August 8th 1823: Rode out with my sister Harriet Spencer. 129 Heard from her the wickedness of Lady Shaftesbury, who endeavoured to ruin her (Harriet's) character in order to prevent the marriage between her and George Spencer – [I] thought these things never happened in real life.

Saturday August 9th 1823: Rode out with Harriet to Harrow. Mr James Smith, author of *Rejected Addresses*, at dinner, and William Spencer. The former sang his funny songs, one after the other, in the evening.

Sunday August 10th 1823: Wet day. Do nothing. Sit up with Smith and Spencer late. Smith told us that Horace Twiss pretended to extemporise

¹²⁸: See 1822, Appendix.

¹²⁹: Harriet (second name Theodora), married George Spencer, son of William Spencer, in January. George (1799-1866), becomes Bishop of Madras.

verses on [the] characters of eight guests at a party where he was. He went out as if to make water, and stayed some time. It was found out afterwards that Twiss had, a fortnight before, asked the host who were to dine with him. One person had come unexpectedly, and it was to compose about him that Twiss had stayed so long at the pot. James Smith wrote this on the occasion:

What noble extempore verses are Twiss's,
He ponders them o'er as he seemingly pisses
'Twould puzzle the college itself to unriddle
Which flows the more slowly – his rhymes, or his piddle;
And 'twould puzzle them more to say whether or not
The one or the other goes soonest to pot.

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Smith said he met Lords Londonderry and Bathurst, Plunket and the Speaker, at Twiss's, at dinner!!! He told several extraordinarily base things of this man, and repeated the answer that he (Smith) sent to Twiss when asked by Twiss to come to Lady Cook's: "Dear Twiss, I regret that on the evening you mention I am engaged to roar in a stuffed lion at Exeter 'Change, and that my brother Horace is to heat hot Hasty Pudding at Bow Fair. I beg you to believe that nothing but so important an engagement would prevent me from attending at her Ladyship's berth".

The best of the joke was that Twiss, meeting Smith next time, only said, "I am sorry you could not come to us the other evening".

Smith told [us] that when the eight English officers were desired by Washington to settle amongst themselves who should be hanged by way of reprisal for an American officer who had been put to death unjustly, 130 Asgill drew the lot, and said, "I was always an unlucky dog – I always drew the flogging lot at school". Harry Grenville was put to sit with him,

 $^{^{130}}$: The American captain was called Huddy; the anecdote is from the correspondence of Diderot and Grimm.

partly to watch, partly to console him, and all he could say was, "Come, never mind". Asgill was to be hanged next day, but he was not, ands the intercession of the Queen of France finally saved his life.

Monday August 11th 1823: Rode up to London with James Smith, who told me that he heard Byron say that he could not enter into the Maid and Magpie, as he had never been "innocent of stealing a silver spoon"!! Smith told me Hook certainly wrote in *John Bull*. He himself was suspected of writing a song called *The Queen's Alphabet* in it. Lord Westmoreland complimented him on it, and said, "That paper will save the nation!" At the same party, the Duke of Sussex complimented Smith for discovering¹³¹ the authorship.

Dined at Lady Pococke's. Looked at horses for Sophy.

Tuesday August 12th 1823: Wrote journal. Rode down again to Whitton. Paid [my] servant Evans all his wages, &c. up to tomorrow.

Wednesday August 13th 1823: Remained at Whitton – rainy weather.

Thursday August 14th 1823: At Whitton, sometimes ill, sometimes a little better, but rainy season keeps me back. I read for the first time all Miss Edgeworth's *Popular Tales*₁₃₂— very good indeed, and two of them affecting: *Rosanna*, and *The Contrast*.

Pistol shooting with Isaac and Tom. Riding with Sophy and Harriet and Isaac.

Friday August 15th 1823: At Whitton – as before.

Saturday August 16th 1823: Harriet and her husband left Whitton on horseback – pouring rain. Sauntered about doing nothing. News from

^{131:} Could be "divining".

¹³²: Maria Edgeworth, *Popular Tales* (3 vols 1804).

Spain worse daily.

Sunday August 17th 1823: As before.

Monday August 18th 1823: Rode up to London by appointment to meet Bennett and the Trustees of the Mutual Insurance Company at my rooms. Had a long discussion with them, which ended in their agreeing with one or two of our propositions.

Went to [the] Spanish Committee, which I find now meets only once a week. Wilson's foolish correspondence with Morillo has enraged everyone – this brave man will not keep his hand from the pan. He says in excuse that he only meant to gain time for Vigo. Count Cornaro told me that he and several other Italians were fighting in the battle of Coruña when the Spaniards said to them, "If you want to get killed, why did you not fight in your own country?" This is a good reception for strangers in Spain.

Returned to Whitton.

Tuesday August 19th 1823: At Whitton, rode with Sophy and Isaac, &c.

Wednesday August 20th 1823: At Whitton. Dined this day with Roger Wilbraham. Met Foscolo there. Walked home – beautiful moonlight.

Thursday August 21st 1823: Sophy and Amelia went to Remenham, [the] Rev George T. Spencer's curacy. I walked about.

Friday August 22nd 1823: At Whitton. Foscolo came. He is very entertaining. Since his obtaining so much – some say £1,300 – for his lectures, he is a better-tempered man. He pleased all my sisters amazingly.¹³³

¹³³: Matilda (H.'s favourite) falls in love with Foscolo.

Saturday August 23rd 1823: St Swithin's forty days are over. It has rained more or less every day during the forty, and a fortnight before. I never recollect anything like it. 134

Foscolo and I took a walk - he told me a curious anecdote. A great Milanese lady sent for him, and directed him to come up the back stairs to her room. He found her in bed - she told him she was with child - her husband was absent – she could not bear the disgrace of discovery. She had ridden hard, and taken physic, to procure abortion – nothing would do - she was determined to kill herself. She showed Foscolo a shotgun135 for that purpose: but she wished to know if he was acquainted with any mode of abortion. He told her there was a way of introducing a lancet into the womb, but that [it] was dangerous and might bring a cancer. She then said she would die. Foscolo talked about religion – she laughed at it, and told Foscolo that when very young she became superstitious – it made her very ill. She happened to see the famous Abbate Caluso, 136 and communicated her terrors¹³⁷ to him. "Quoi, Madame?" said he, "vous croyez à ces bêtises?" (this for Caluso, said Foscolo, was extraordinary). But at last Foscolo consented to send her some poison, and went away. He did send her some ipecachuana, 138 and steel filings in pills.

He heard no more of her for some time. In three or four months she sent for him, to her country seat. There he learned from her that she had taken the pills – they had made her very sick and ill, but were not strong enough to kill her. She had heard her husband had died in Russia. She had so continued as to absent herself and make it just possible the child should be her husband's. She had been brought to bed safely – the child was living, and she was very happy.

¹³⁴: H. never writes this in the still wetter summer of 1816.

¹³⁵: Could be "short gun".

¹³⁶: Friend of Alfieri: see Oct 13, 16&n.

¹³⁷: Conjectural reading: one word over another, both illegible.

¹³⁸: South American purgative: see *Don Juan* X, 41, 5.

Thus Foscolo had gained his end. He [had] thought the apprehension of immediate death might change the lady's wishes, and make her try an alternative. She was only twenty-one.

Foscolo told me that an Englishman made him the confident of a scheme to destroy himself quietly. He was to go in a steam boat from Ramsgate in a stormy evening, and, putting his arms through the straps of a trunk loaded with stones and lead, drop overboard. Foscolo believes he did so, for he never heard of him afterwards.

Foscolo said religion was a sentiment like love – men had want of him. 139 We had a great discussion at night about poetry. He denied Pope to be a poet, and at the end of the *Elegy* ... he could not feel Dryden – he did not understand Shakespeare, but admired some passages. I quoted the moonlight "sleeping" on the bank. 140 Foscolo said "sleep" was too strong for Italians – "repose" they might say. He said poetry was images. I quoted Pope's description of Caesar's triumph in his Prologue to *Cato* – "Pooh!" said he – "it was not so!" Now what had that to do with it? I think I had the best of it, but to be sure Foscolo does not understand English.

Foscolo is an extraordinary man – he talks poetry. He said Napoleon's dominion was like a July day in Egypt – all clear, brilliant, and blazing, but all silent – not a voice heard – the stillness of the grave. He partly confirmed Las Cases's report of Napoleon's account of Robespierre. He knew that Robespierre used to succour in their garrets the concealed nobles whom he was, whenever they were discovered, publicly bringing to the scaffold, for fear of Billaud, de Varennes and Tallien, and other butchers who called for blood. But he said that he knew some of Las Cases to be lies – what Napoleon says of *Battaglia* at Venice is false.

Sunday August 24th 1823: W.R.Spencer told me the other evening that he was at Versailles when the Parisians attacked it. He heard the Queen or

¹³⁹: The Ms is clear.

¹⁴⁰: The Merchant of Venice.

France herself say to M. Necker, "What are we to do? Speak – say a word – it depends on you!" Necker sat in a corner. He was *bien poudré*, and held a great pocket handkerchief to his eyes – he spoke not a word. Spencer mentioned this to Madame de Staël, 141 who said to him violently, "Ne m'en parlez pas! Ne m'en parlez jamais!"

After the court were forcibly established at the Tuileries, Spencer went there. He walked without interruption up to the apartment where the Queen was – she was knitting. 142 She looked up and said to Spencer, "La dernière fois que je vous ai vu comfortablement, il était au Trianon". This was all she said.

Spencer said he knew much of what Madame Campan has reported to be true – he attributed the coldness of Louis XVI during the first year of his marriage to a physical defect – the fremum was contracted – someone thought of cutting it – the operation made a man of him.

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This day I sauntered about. Ellice called.

Monday August 25th 1823: Rode with Isaac to London. Made preparations for going northwards. Returned to Whitton. Baillie dined with us.

Tuesday August 26th 1823: Rode to Barnes, and called on General Long on Spanish affairs. He tells me []143 does not despair of Cadiz holding out.

Baillie told me that Mr Ward, a diplomat from Spain, told him that A'Court, by desire of the Spanish ministers, told the French general Bourdesoult that if the French bombarded Cadiz the Cortes would not answer for Ferdinand's life. The Frenchman said, "Je connais mon metier"

¹⁴¹: Necker's daughter.

¹⁴²: "knotting" (Ms.)

¹⁴³: This name has been made illegible. Could be "Vigo".

- he thought it *ruse de guerre*. The French were enraged at the English frigate Tribune breaking the blockade.

Kinnaird dined with us today.

Wednesday August 27th 1823: I left Whitton on horseback, and rode down to Remenham rectory – [in] lovely country on the banks of the Thames. Found Harriet and George Spencer very happy in their parsonage, and living as well on a very few hundreds a year as I with four times as much. Sophia and Amelia there.

Thursday August 28th 1823: Walked with Sophia on the banks of the Thames – rode with Harriet and Sophy. Dined at Remenham. Happy party.

Friday August 29th 1823:144 Went with Sophy to a little island in the Thames called Our Freeman's Island. Rode afterwards with Harriet and Sophy – evening at home.

Saturday August 30th 1823: Wet day – read Madame Campan – walked a little before dinner.

Sunday August 31st 1823: Left the happy people at Remenham, and rode thirty-three miles about, to Woodstock. Put up at [the] Bear. Walked before and after dinner in the noble park of Blenheim – had no notion the water was so magnificent – nothing like it all over the world. Strolled about till late. The inscription on the great column (which by the way is very great), dreadfully long – [a] recital of acts of parliament.

Monday September 1st 1823: Ride without stopping to Stratford-on-Avon. 145 Put up at [the] Red Horse. Went in search of Shakespeare's

¹⁴⁴: Don Juan IX, X and XI are published on this date.

¹⁴⁵: H. was briefly in Stratford, with Baillie, on Sep 14, 12.

house – saw written over a butcher's shop, "In this House the Immortal Shakespeare was born". Found a new person in the house. All the pretended relics which I saw when here in 1812 disappeared with the woman who then had it, one Hornsby, who also whitewashed the room upstairs to efface the names in pencil written by visitors. She offered the present owner not to do it if she would give her ten pounds. Hornsby afterwards set up a room with the relics over the way, and tried to take the custom from the house. She afterwards removed to another street. The relics were all discovered to be forgeries.

There is a family of Smiths in the town, who, by connection with the Harts, belong to the poet's family. They are in a small way of life. The Harts have gone to Tewkesbury.

I walked to the churchyard beyond the town on the banks of the Avon – a beautiful spot. Sat down on a tombstone and saw opposite me a black upright slab, on which was written, "To the memory of Mr Thomas Hart, the fifth in lineal descent from Joanna, daughter of John Shakespeare, and sister of the immortal William Shakespeare". This Hart died in 1794, aged sixty-three. I conjectured that the neighbouring church held the ashes of the great poet, and found it to be so. 146

Walking afterwards in the green meadows near the wharf, I spoke to an old labouring man about the Shakespeare family. He seemed to know something about the matter. He pronounced the name as Kemble used to do – "Shakkspeare".

I strolled about the town – it was a fine evening. Had I been well I should have enjoyed myself mightily, but thick-coming fancies oppressed me,147 and I was rather wretched than otherwise.

Tuesday September 2nd 1823: Fine day in the forenoon. Rode to

¹⁴⁶: Tourism and bardolatry are still in their infancy, if H. has to "conjecture", in Holy Trinity churchyard, where Shakespeare is buried.

¹⁴⁷: Macbeth, V.

Birmingham, and put up at the Hen and Chickens – took a mutton chop – then rode sixteen miles to Lichfield. Fine evening after rain. Put up at the George. Did not find my groom with a horse as I expected. Walked about – struck with the difference between Birmingham and Lichfield – neatness of the latter. Stumbled upon Johnson's father's house in the marketplace – best house in the square, now a brazier's, W.Evans. Michael Johnson must have been a substantial man. Walked to the beautiful cathedral, the front of which has been lately rebuilt, chiefly by [the] present Dean, Wodehouse.

Dined at my inn and read magazine.

Wednesday September 3rd 1823: Walked in morning to cathedral, and went into it. Saw Chantry's famous group, Mrs Robinson's Children, and Johnson's and Garrick's busts, and Mrs Seward's monument. I have never seen anything which I prefer to the Children. Left my horse at Lichfield, and went by the Chester Mail to Chester. Lord Belgrave [was] a fellow-passenger. [He] asked me to go to Eaton. 148 Arrived at Chester at six – my servant not arrived – put up at Royal Commercial Hotel – good inn. Chester [is a] singular town, like a foreign town – its raised arcades with shops, fine position over the Wizard stream, which winds majestically below. Read magazine, and travels in Spain.

Thursday September 4th 1823: Servant not come – enraged. Got up, and got calm. Breakfasted. Walked about, and luckily saw my servant land from a Shrewsbury coach. Went in a post-chaise thirty-four miles, by Holywell and St Asaph, to Colonel Hughes' Kimmel Park – there stayed.

Friday September 5th 1823: Rainy morning. Went up the Vale of Clwyd to shoot, but no corn cut – did nothing. Fine afternoon, and beautiful scenery to return home by. Dined, &c., at Kimmel – my friend lives in

¹⁴⁸: Belgrave belongs to a very rich Whig family indeed. See notes below.

great state and has a fine place – but the residence [is] rather dull, I should think.

Saturday September 6th 1823: Rode after breakfast with Mr Wakefield, a sensible young man, who has travelled – son of the surveyor in Pall Mall – and went up the Vale of Clwyd to my friend Madocks, ¹⁴⁹ who has a beautiful country seat in this charming country. Madocks returned with us to Kimmel. Went by Denbigh, which looks, on its rock, with its old castle ruins, like an Italian town, something like Athens also, and came back through the still more lovely vale of the Elwy, [which] reminds me of the scenery in the Alpine countries, or in Scotland.

Dined at Kimmel.

Sunday September 7th 1823: Maddocks, Mr Wakefield and I rode near the sea to Mostyn by Rudeen, where Edward I held his parliament. Sir Thomas Mostyn's old house in a fine, well-wooded park overlooking the see – armour in the hall, and the old hall tables, but house scarcely habitable by modern notions. Magnificent garden, but not very productive.

Returned by another road to Kimmel. A tower on a hill to [the] right [is] said to be a Roman work.

Monday September 8th 1823: Left Kimmel in a post-chaise, and went, by Holywell (whence, or from Bagyllt rather, a steam-boat daily sails to Liverpool), to Eaton – Lord Grosvenor's. Walked the last four miles and a half – much struck with the length of the avenue: up to the house, nearly two miles – but no fine trees, only a hedge on each side.

Arrived, and self-introduced to Lady Grosvenor and Lady Elizabeth

¹⁴⁹: William Alexander Madocks (1774-1828), MP for Chippenham. Famed reclaimer of North Wales marshes. Admired by Shelley

Belgrave¹⁵⁰ – both very *nice* people, I think – the latter a daughter of Marquis Stafford's, a piquante young person, with a very sweet, deeptoned musical voice. Lord Grosvenor, whom I did not know personally, very attentive indeed. [He] walked about with me to show me points of view of the great and costly Gothic structure, which he has created himself, and which is indeed equal to the rumour of its magnificence. Everything [is] Gothic, even to its minutest details. The four figures in the niches of the dining room are by Westmacott, in a style very superior, I think, to his usual exploits.

There was no-one but the family at dinner excepting a Miss Harboard, Lord Suffield's sister. We had but little talk, an that little dull enough. Although Lord Grosvenorisi does not want for talents of a certain kind – and though the same may be said of Lord Belgrave. 152

Tuesday September 9th 1823: Went out shooting with Lord Belgrave – few birds – corn not cut. Coming home, found Birch, MP, 153 and family, looking at Eaton. Birch told me that Canning, lately at Liverpool, told him that he considered the cause of the French in Spain up – they could not get money enough to carry on the campaign.

By the way, I was within an ace of meeting Canning at Eaton yesterday. He and Huskisson and Lord George Bentinck had been looking at Eaton just before I came, and Lord Belgrave asked them to dinner. He told Canning that I was coming. Canning continued his route to Winstaye.

Lord Grosvenor took me all over his paddocks and showed me his foals, yearlings, and two-year-olds, and Blücher and Sir Gilbert, the

¹⁵⁰: Lady Belgrave, née Lady Elizabeth Mary Leveson Gower.

¹⁵¹: Robert Grosvenor, Viscount Belgrave (1767-1845), from 1831 first Marquis of Westminster, sometime MP for Chester. At Harrow and Trinity. Replanned and relayed all of Belgravia (sic) and Pimlico. Father of, and employed William Gifford as tutor to.

¹⁵²: Robert Grosvenor, Viscount Belgrave (1795-1869), now MP for Chester.

^{153:} Joseph Birch (1755-1833), MP for Nottingham.

stallions – a beautiful sight. 154 I saw Plover, a contemporary of Meteora, whom I recollect running when I was at Cambridge, and I saw a grand-daughter of Violantes' and of Meteora's. The whole establishment [is] on a great scale, but nothing very superb in the interior 155 of the mansion.

We had two gentlemen and a lady from Chester at dinner, and my old travelled friend William Bankes, MP, who talked incessantly, and sometimes very funnily, but too much, and all about what had occurred to his dear self. His estate is near Holywell. He told us the story of the Bey of Maina trusting him with letters which he trusted to Psallidas of Ioannina, which Psallidas is said to have given up to Ali Pasha, a piece of treachery which is reported to have been fatal to two of the Bey's sons at Constantinople – but I believe only one has been killed. Petros Bey is now at the head of the Greeks in the Morea. 156

Wednesday September 10th 1823: Lord Grosvenor showed [me] over some other parts of his house – even to the furniture of the bed – before I went, which I did after breakfast, walking to Chester – three miles and a half. Went in [a] post-chaise to Birkenhead – sixteen miles. Crossed the Mersey to Liverpool: a noble sight, reminding me something of Cadiz, but with a forest of shipping. Steam-boats ply almost every instant across, and the Mersey is shadowed with trains of black smoke from the steam-boats, that carry passengers up and down and across the river – but I crossed in a sailing-boat.

Arrived at Liverpool. Put up at the Waterloo Hotel, where I had no sitting, but a good bedroom. Before dinner [I] walked down to the new docks, called the Prince's, opened in 1821. I never remember being so much struck with any appearance of wealth and activity and power as these docks and their fleets of merchantmen present, together with the line

¹⁵⁴: Grosvenor was a famous horse-breeder.

^{155: &}quot;Internal" (Ms.)

¹⁵⁶: H.'s only reference to the details of the war in Greece so far in 1823.

of other docks, thronged by their crowds of artisans and sailors. The vast walls inclosing the docks have the air of fortifications – the whole bank of the river, for *miles* along the docks, is faced with strong, handsome stonework, or quays – that under the wall of the Prince's docks is a noble promenade. I was also exceedingly struck with the new Exchange. The Liverpool people seem to think a great deal of their sights, for scarcely a bookshop but exposes a *Liverpool Guide*. The place to me has the air of a foreign town. 157 There are a great many shows and exhibitions and foreign faces in the streets.

I dined, and went to the playhouse, and saw Elliston is some character – theatre well-built, but not very splendid.

Thursday September 11th 1823: After breakfast, walked about the upper part of the town, where [the] streets are well-built, like some in Bath. Went to the Lyceum – an immense reading-room, with a circular and a sort of circulating library of 22,000 volumes, where the people very civilly offered every accommodation for looking about me. Saw there a collection of modern pictures. Looked in at the Athenæum, another immense news-reading subscription room. Then went to the Royal Institution, and saw the gallery of pictures of foreign school, and [of] deceased British artists. Saw a portrait of Roscoe¹⁵⁹ on the staircase – I believe him to have been a principal founder of the Institution.

Took luncheon, then walked down to the docks and perambulated those wonderful works for several hours. No man who has not seen Liverpool can have any idea of British enterprize and industry.

Came home. Dined, and went to play and saw Elliston in *Vapid*, and young Wilding in *The Liar*.

^{157: &}quot;town something" (Ms.)

¹⁵⁸: Robert Elliston (1774-1831), leading actor-manager who had mounted *Marino Faliero* (see Apr 25, 21).

¹⁵⁹: William Roscoe (1753-1831), Liverpool banker, Whig MP, and historian of Italy. Wrotes lives of Lorenzo de'Medici and Leo X.

Friday September 12th 1823: At half-past nine, left Liverpool in the majestic steam-boat, *Captain Oman*, for Greenock. Paid, for [the] passage, £2 for myself and £1 for my servant.

There was not much motion until we came to the Isle of Man, where we anchored in Douglas Bay [at] about a quarter past four – that is, twenty-four leagues from Liverpool. I went on shore with several passengers, some of whom remained at Douglas. The town is an uncomfortable, desolate-looking place, with one decent street on the bank of a small stream which runs from a valley that is not altogether disagreeable to look at. We saw a crowd of listless-looking people 160 on the pier-head, like the population of a watering-place: and indeed, since the steam-boat invention, Douglas has been much resorted-to by both Scotch and English. The Duke of Atholl's great house stands on the beach, to the east (some way), of Douglas.

Some of our company drank claret for five shillings a bottle, and brandy for £1 2d. Returning to our vessel, we weighed anchor, and ran down the island, or up the island. It was quite dark before we came off Ramsey harbour, and the easternmost point, where we went close to the great revolving light. It came on to rain, and a breeze sprang¹⁶¹ up. I went below, and, [at] about nine o'clock hearing a noise on deck, went up again, and found that the wind had chopped¹⁶² round into our teeth, and that so suddenly that the men had some difficulty in getting down the great foresail. We continued, with no sail set, depending only on our engine, with the wind and a strong tide against us, between ye Isle of Man and the Mull of Galloway, rolling about very unpleasantly. I took a peep on deck, and saw nothing but the flashes of the breaking waves. I went below again, and [at] half-past ten took to my bed. The noise from the

¹⁶⁰: "a croud of people (listless looking)" (Ms).

¹⁶¹: "sprung" (Ms.)

^{162: &}quot;chopt" (Ms.) Could be "chapt".

engine, and the heeling of the vessel, and the straining and the creaking of the timber besides my narrow berth, 163 kept me awake till four o'clock, about.

[in pencil: ?? Lord G's is ?? Glasgow ?? ?? ?? Sep. 12. ("??" in shorthand)]

Saturday September 13th 1823: When I fell asleep the wind had dropped, and [the] vessel went much smoother. I did not get up till eight – going on deck I found we were running up the Clyde mouth, the Isle of Arran and its mountains on our left, the green declivities of Ayrshire on our right. We had pleasant progress through beautiful scenery to within six miles of Greenock, when the pipe of one of our boilers burst, and our vessel stopped immediately. Had this happened last night, we must either have made Ramsay harbour or have been lost. I cannot think after all that steam-boats are, or rather can be made, secure in a heavy sea off a lea shore – they are very large for their depth. Watt¹⁶⁵ had no idea that his invention could be applied to the sea, and Napier¹⁶⁶ of Glasgow, who made the sea engines, was laughed at at first. Now, three steam-boats leave Liverpool for Glasgow every week.

The breeze carried us to Greenock just as the *Post-Boy* steam-boat came up to tow us. Into the *Post-Boy* we got, and proceeded up the Clyde between low green banks narrowing exceedingly as we advanced to Glasgow. We encountered a great many steam-boats, full of passengers, for the intercourse with Argyllshire and the western islands, and almost every place on [the] west coast of Scotland, is now carried on by steam. This wonderful invention has changed the face of the country and the manners and aspect of the people in some respects, and it is yet perhaps only in its infancy.

The company on board our [] was mostly Scotch – intelligent, civil, and well-mannered. One had been a great deal in Portugal, another in America for twenty years, another in the East Indies. No people travel so much and to such purpose as the Scotch. The American traveller told me that the English were becoming daily more popular in the United States –

¹⁶³: "birth" (Ms.)

¹⁶⁴: "dropt" (Ms.)

¹⁶⁵: James Watt (1736-1819), developer (not inventor) of the steam-engine.

¹⁶⁶: David Napier (1790-1869), steam-boat pioneer. Established the Liverpool-Greenock line in 1822.

since their ships had beaten ours, ¹⁶⁷ their jealousies had subsided. Thus their ¹⁶⁸ good opinion of themselves had begotten kindness towards others – an usual process.

[We] arrived at Glasgow about four – put up at the Black Bull – dined, walked about this grand town – saw the jail, and the fine streets on the banks of the Clyde. I have not been in Scotland since 1808, and if I had not been in search of health I should be much delighted.

Bought an account of the great dinner given to Brougham the day before yesterday. Brougham gave¹⁶⁹ Burdett – myself – the Electors of Westminster – with appropriate comments – very fine indeed – "mention honourable au bulletin". I can't say I think very much of Brougham's vain speech of thanks, but Lord Archibald Hamilton, the chairman, and Denman and Lord Kinnaird, seem to have done better.

Went by the mail forty-nine miles to Crieff this night. Arrived halfpast one in morning.

Sunday September 14th 1823: Set off in a post-chaise for Lord Glenorchy's ¹⁷⁰ on Loch Tay. ¹⁷¹ Had a most romantic drive, by Loch Earn and between wild hills, for seven and twenty miles, stopping two hours at [the] Loch Earn head Inn for [the] horses to refresh – there being no horses at Loch Earn. Found an English shooting party there from Richmond. It was a drizzling, rainy day, but I still enjoyed the dimly-seen highland scenery about me. The roads [were] good, but [the] tolls enormous – ten shillings in twenty-nine miles, and then £1 15s 0d for the chaise *per diem*, and the same back, and the turnpikes back, and the postboy, makes the expense amount to five pounds, all but a shilling or two, for posting twenty-seven miles.

Found at the village of Killin that Lord Glenorchy was not arrived, so continued my route to Killin Inn – good accommodation – beautiful situation, where two streams, issuing from separate glens, meet and rush into the lake. The mountains [are] from three to four thousand feet – Ben More behind, over [the] valley of Glen Dochart, then lowers before over the upper part of the lake. Some of the declivities near the lake [are]

¹⁶⁷: In the War of 1812, at the Battle of Lake Erie and several other engagements.

¹⁶⁸: One word: could be either "thus" or "their".

^{169: &}quot;gave" means "proposed toasts to".

¹⁷⁰: John Campbell, second Marquess of Breadalbane (1796-1862), MP for Okehampton. Made Marquess of Breadalbane in 1834.

¹⁷¹: In Perthshire.

clothed with wood, of which the present Earl of Breadalbane, the owner of [the] mountain and [the] lake, has been a persevering planter. With the climate of Switzerland these highlands would almost rival the Alps – as it is, they are wilder, or perhaps more romantic. What are called the "Moor Lakes", on the summits of the heathy hills, are of a character not to be found, as I remember, elsewhere.

The habitations of the people are wretchedness itself, but their black huts, with dunghills before the doors, suit with the scenery. These regions, for seventy miles in length, they say belong to the Earl of Breadalbane. One farm of ten miles, up Glen Loch, lets for £900 a year.

After dinner I pondered on what I should do if Lord Glenorchy did not arrive the next day. Went to bed early.

Monday September 15th 1823: Heard Lord Glenorchy was come, so removed, after breakfast, to Auchmore, his country house on the other side of the River Dochart. A green meadow intervenes between the little lawn and the lake, and a mountain torrent pours through a small grove at the side of the house. A couple of eagles, in a shed on the lawn, [make] a suitable menagerie for the mountain scenery around. The ground about is sheltered by many fine trees, of which indeed there is no want anywhere on the borders of Loch Tay.

I found only one guest with Lord Glenorchy – Lord John Hay, a captain of the navy – brother of the Marquis of Tweeddale. ¹⁷² He has lost an arm in the service – a very intelligent, shrewd man indeed – a little formal at first. Lord Glenorchy I take to be a man of very good sense, and much spirit. He was at Geneva for three years, but has not a foreign manner at all. He married a Miss Baillie of Berwickshire, a pretty, agreeable person of seventeen, without any fortune. If he has no son the whole Breadalbane property goes to a Mr Campbell, an apothecary – so he tells me.

Lord Glenorchy is inclined to be a little radical in his politics. His father votes for the Whigs, but is not much interested with public affairs.

In the afternoon we took our guns, and went among the low brushwood to look for black game – killed two, and a hare. Came home, and drank like three young men of the last age.

¹⁷²: H. has just met his future brother-in-law. Hay is nephew to Lord Lauderdale and "King" Tom Maitland, governor of the Ionians. His sister is Lady Julia Tomlinson Hay, whom H. marries on July 28 1828.

Tuesday September 16th 1823: Went to the hills shooting – very poor sport, and very great fatigue.

After dinner today, Lord John Hay read aloud from the *Courier* the death of David Ricardo MP. I do not know that I have been so much shocked by the death of anyone, except a dear friend or near relation, in my life. I heard a day or two after, from Joseph Hume, that Ricardo died after a long illness: he had first an abscess in his ear that nearly distracted him, then a complaint in his bowels, and then an affection of the brain, that killed him. My sister Matilda tells me in a letter that when Ricardo talked of his friend Mr Thomas Smith's death last year, he said "No man's death after fifty could be called premature", and that after that period it was a happy event, and he did not wish to live much beyond.

The *Chronicle* contains a formal eulogy on him, I think by *Mill*. It calls Ricardo "a truly great man". He did attain to the highest eminence in the science which he undertook to illustrate – he was a man of unblemished integrity, both public and private – and of the utmost perseverance in the pursuit, and the most unshaken constancy in the maintenance of truth. He was liberal and wise in the expenditure of a very large fortune, acquired solely by his own industry. In all the private relations of life he was kind, amicable, and engaging, as well as just and generous. He seemed free from any bad passion, and those who came within the sphere of his gentle but resistless influence pronounced him at once to have been formed for the consolation of all

Our public occupations prevented me from seeing so much of this excellent man as I could now wish – little did I think we were so soon to be separated for ever. The last time I saw him was in the House of Commons about a week before the session closed. He had always an unhealthy appearance, and, I remember, was extremely deaf in one ear. I take him to have been about fifty years of age. ¹⁷⁴

Wednesday September 17th 1823: Again on the hills, shooting — with the same poor sport, but less fatigue, for I rode. Dinner, &c., as before. Lost my watch.

Thursday September 18th 1823: Went up Glen Dochart and on the mountain opposite Ben More, shooting – bad sport. The River Dochart, in

¹⁷³: It is impossible to tell which word H. intends.

¹⁷⁴: Ricardo was 51 when he died.

part, something like the Reuss.¹⁷⁵ Beautiful view of the Lake Dochart in the sun, from the hills above – rode there, and back to Auchmore.

Friday September 19th 1823: Went out by myself shooting, and looking for my watch: no success at either attempt.

A General Turner, with one arm, dined with us – a coarse, hardheaded ¹⁷⁶ highland man. He abused the Spaniards – said that when their whole army ran away before the French at Toulouse, the Duke of Wellington said, "Damned fine – beautiful – never saw 25,000 men run away in my life before!" General Turner is the son of a tenant of the Duke of Argyle – he told us that he was in waiting on the Emperor Alexander when he visited the Chelsea military establishment. ¹⁷⁷ He particularly remarked that Alexander noticed nothing, but held out his hand behind to be kissed. When Alexander and the King of Prussia visited Portsmouth, Alexander was evidently displeased with the great naval superiority of the English. A small ship / vessel ¹⁷⁸ was given to the King of Prussia, who, tapping Alexander on the shoulder, said, "You will not be jealous of my fleet!" Alexander kept the Duke of York waiting a whole day at Woolwich, and made no apology at last. He kept the Prince Regent waiting at Portsmouth.

I never had heard these things before. ¹⁷⁹ I suppose they are true.

Saturday September 20th 1823: Lord Glenorchy, Lord John Hay, and a young highlander who was, luckily, taken on *afterwards*, went, in a Thames wherry¹⁸⁰ of my Lord's, up Loch Tay to Taymouth.¹⁸¹ It came in to blow freshly with rain – there was a considerable swell, and our little wherry would have filled had we not kept near the shore. We tried once to cross the lake, but were forced to put back towards the shore. Lord Glenorchy and the highlander rowed nearly the whole way.¹⁸² The lake is sixteen miles in length, winding like an "S", and about a mile and a half at [its] broadest part. Near Taymouth the woody hill of Drummond and the

¹⁷⁵: In Switzerland, near Lucerne. See Aug 22 1816.

¹⁷⁶: "hard head" (Ms.)

¹⁷⁷: The Chelsea Hospital, for veterans.

¹⁷⁸: H. writes both words.

¹⁷⁹: With his ear always to the ground, H. should have heard these things.

¹⁸⁰: A wherry is a light rowing-boat, used to take passengers.

¹⁸¹: At the north-east end of Loch Tay.

¹⁸²: Hay's excuse is that he has only one arm: H. ...?

Nuns' Island, where are still some ruins of the nunnery, and the green bank on which stands the church, and the bridge over the head of the Tay, form altogether a scene not to be surpassed, perhaps, even by my favourite, Como.

It took us four hours to row up the lake. We landed. Lord Glenorchy led us up the hill through the woods, to the first terrace, and, opening the door, suddenly gave us the prospect of the noble castle of Taymouth in the green flat, on the banks of the Tay beneath. The castle has been built by the present Earl, and a *bit* of the old house shows the proportion between the former and the present grandeur of the family.

Walking down through the woods, we saw two *roes*: they abound here. We walked on the green moss walks under fine lime tree alleys, ¹⁸³ every now and then coming on the margin of the rapid Tay. These walks are the finest things of the kind I ever saw. But there is a *Temple of Venus!* in bad taste; and some of the vistas are cut too artificially.

We then walked over the castle – all Gothic – inferior to Eaton – but suited to the spot. The external appearance is most magnificent. There are a few good pictures, particularly of Rich, Earl of Holland, ¹⁸⁴ and the Earl of Warwick, his relation. The house is not finished. Lord Glenorchy told me his father had the building ever since he could remember, and was now almost tired – he is sixty.

We took some cold meat, and rode home through the rain, a tiresome ride, though beautiful if in a dry, sunny day – sixteen miles. Reached Auchmore at eleven.

Sunday September 21st 1823: Rain again. It has rained every day since last Sunday. I am getting ill again – cannot sleep. **Wrote journal since September 7th.**

Monday September 22nd 1823: Left Auchmore on a pony, sending my trunks, &c. &c. with a cart to Callander. Rode and walked through a most wild and romantic country, the latter part of the way by the side of [a] lake, and the river Teith. To Callander – twenty-two miles. Found the MacGregor Inn full. Marshall Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, [had] come up in a Greenwich stage with a large family party, apparently ... he had been touring about the lakes. I dined at Callander, and proceeded in a cart at seven o'clock to Stirling, sixteen miles. I walked the last five miles –

¹⁸³: "allies" (Ms.)

¹⁸⁴: Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland (1590-1649), executed by Parliament.

arrived a little after ten o'clock.

Tuesday September 23rd 1823: Rainy morning, but went up to the castle – very well worth a visit ... comprises a great deal of Stuart history. 11,000 stand at 185 arms. [I was] shown the prospect by an artillery sergeant, who was very fluent on the events which had immortalised the plains beneath – Bannockburn 86 with a cannon-shot of the castle, Sheriffmuir 187 at no great distance. Rhoderic Dhu's prison shown in the castle. The prospect [is] very extensive, but [the] great part of it [was] hid in rainy mists.

Stirling [is] a small town, the inn good. I dined and took my departure in the mail to Edinburgh, thirty-six miles, about. Arrived at a little before eight at Edinburgh, and put up at Oman's Waterloo Hotel, a very large establishment, with an enormous coffee subscription room, in which I found all the papers, and amongst them *John Bull* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, which I now looked into for the first time. It is written with some little humour, but is fierce and blackguard in the extreme. An Irishman, I hear, is the principal contributor, but Wilson and Lockhart both write occasionally.

Wednesday September 24th 1823: After breakfast, took a walk on Carlton Hill just by – wonderfully struck by the appearance of the city, and the magnificent site of it. The New Town is spreading much since I was here in 1808, so as to be scarcely recognisable – it stretches down towards Leith, and will soon join it. Lord Nelson's monument [is] a poor thing, but the inscription [is] good.

I walked into the Old Town, and up to the Castle, where I saw the newly-discovered regalia of Scotland – rather a trumpery show, but they say the crown was really worn by Robert Bruce: it was carried before George IV on his late visit. 188

I met Cullen. He took me to the University – still unfinished: saw the library and the museum. The arrangement of the specimens seems good and handsome. Saw the room in which the Speculative Society hold their

¹⁸⁵: "of" (Ms.)

^{186: &}quot;Bannock-burn" (Ms.)

¹⁸⁷: "Sheriff Muir" (Ms.)

¹⁸⁸: George IV visited Edinburgh in August 1822. See lines 767-77 of *AoB*, a poem to which H. has never referred. It was published on April 1st 1823.

sittings. [It is] in the college, and belonging to them. [There is] a picture of Horner¹⁸⁹ there. The table of theses hung up seem rather wide discussions: one was "On Poetry" simply, and "Ought England to go to war for Spain?" The young men [are] chiefly Whigs. John Hope, who was brought to the Bar of the House of Commons, and now is Solicitor-General, ¹⁹⁰ [is] allowed to be the cleverest of the other side, and [is] chosen as such, though violent in the extreme. Lord Melville's family still, with the Hopes, govern Scotland. ¹⁹¹ [The] late Lord Melville [was] a great benefactor to Scotland as to roads, bridges, institutions, &c. A large and very handsome column [is] erected to him in St Andrew's Square, and a statue in one of the courts.

I went to see the Parliament House and the Courts. The former [is] a large hall, handsome, but inferior of course very much to Westminster Hall: the latter [are] more commodious than our courts. Little boxes with advocates' names on them gave occasion to us to ask our guide, a doorkeeper, the character of the lawyers. Cranstoun's 192 eloquence he praised most, and said that he always went to court to hear him when he spoke. Jeffrey, he said, spoke so quick and thick as not to be easily understood. John Murray 193 he praised much, adding, he had such a beautiful face.

I walked into one of the closes which abound in the Old Town – quite pestiferous in appearance and odour – and so, a young surgeon in our company told us, in fact.

¹⁸⁹: Francis Horner (1778-1817), co-founder of the *Edinburgh Review*.

¹⁹⁰: John Hope (1794-1858), had appeared before the Commons in July 1822; though found guilty of breach of privilege, he incurred no penalty, and was made Solicitor-General in October of the same year. Son of Charles Hope (1763-1851), lord president of the Court of Session.

¹⁹¹: Robert Saunders Dundas, second Viscount Melville (1771-1851), son of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville (1742-1811): The most powerful men in Scotland. H.'s father defended the latter successfully in an 1806 trial for corruption.

¹⁹²: George Cranstoun, Lord Corehouse (d.1850), advocate.

¹⁹³: Sir John Archibald Murray (1779-1859), judge. Friend of Jeffrey and Brougham.

At five o'clock I dined at Mr Fletcher's in Castle Street. I had dined there about twenty years ago, when his wife was reckoned a great beauty, and a learned lady, and he was a considerable Whig lawyer. There was no-one there but Cullen and a Mr Cairn and a Mrs Taylor, daughter of Mr Fletcher. Mr Cairn had just come from Greece – he talked against the Greeks, but still thought they would emancipate the Morea. Their army serves without pay. Mr Cairn had just come from Southey's. He described Southey as *enormously* virulent against Lord Byron, but the Scott party – Wilson and Lockhart and Scott himself – idolising Byron. *Blackwoods Magazine* does indeed rather stand up for Byron.

After dinner a Marquis di Bossi and his wife came – he a Milanese exile, she a Genovese, driven from Switzerland by the late order of the Emperor of Austria. The lady [was] very intelligent, [and] owned that she was much astonished to find that in England so little was known of the Continent: and also that Fashion ruled everything here much more than in France – both true.

Thursday September 25th 1823: After breakfast, [I] walked down to Leith and looked at the port. Saw on a stall of books in the Walk, my confounded *Poems and Translations* 194 – I never saw them on sale anywhere. They were offered at half price.

Returning, [I] walked about Edinburgh again. Went into a churchyard, and saw a record to "The Martyrs" – one hundred noblemen and gentlemen who had suffered under James II and Charles II, from the Marquis of Argyll downwards to 1688, and who were all buried there. [It] said that eighteen thousand had perished for the Covenant. 195 [I] strolled about the churchyard – came upon the burying-place of William Robertson, the historian – the inscription to him too long. Saw a burying – a large body of mourners in black, but no service was said – the coffin

¹⁹⁴: In fact, *Imitations and Translations* (1809): the "Miss-sell-any".

¹⁹⁵: See Scott, Old Mortality, passim.

[was] let down into the grave and the sod put over it. When done, the sexton pulled off his hat, and all the company returned the salute and separated. I spoke to the sexton afterwards. He told me no service was performed, as in England, nor anything more than I saw. This was at the Grey Friars Church. One minister preaches at one end, and one at the other – by turns.

I strolled into Herriot's Hospital, that boards, lodges, clothes and apprentices 170 freemen's children. 196 There is the statue of "George", as a little boy told me, in a niche over the gateway within. Herriot was the Jeweller – Scott's model. The boys are taught Latin and Greek.

I should like to have seen a great deal more of Edinburgh, but I had settled to be with my friend Ellice at Chisholme, so, after dining at my hotel, I set off in the Carlisle mail to Hawick¹⁹⁷ – fifty miles. Left Edinburgh at five, arrived at Hawick at half-past eleven. [I] slept at the second inn, the principal one being, for a wonder, quite full.

Friday September 26th 1823: After breakfast, went in a post-chaise to Chisholme, a small, comfortable house in the midst, as it were, of dreary, interminable moors, with a few trees about it. [I] found Ellice and Colonel Roberts, MP, and a brother of Ellice's, and a Mr Russell, Writer to the Signet, and his wife, and a Miss Young, assembled on this shooting party.

Went out shooting. Saw a great quantity of black cocks and packs of grouse – but very wild. I shot badly. Dined, and some sat down to whist – not I.

Saturday September 27th 1823: Went out shooting – as before – walked very hard.

Sunday September 28th 1823: Rode with Ellice and others to one or two

¹⁹⁶: "childred" (Ms.)

¹⁹⁷: In Roxburghshire.

gentlemen's houses in the neighbourhood, and went out by the banks of the Borthwick first, and then of the Teviot, 198 passing by the curiously-situated house of Wat of Harden, 199 a border robber, in a glen, and seeing the ruins of the Peel of Goldielands, 200 and catching a glimpse of the Branxholme House 201 – all places renowned in Border history, and sung, I believe, by Scott. I was much pleased with the scenery on the Teviot side, which is highly cultivated in comparison with the hills. Beautiful weather – the sun setting lighted up many colours on the heathy downs. Dined &c. as before 202

Monday September 29th 1823: Shooting, and as before. Mr Russell [is] a humourist – has drank himself into a shaking head – reckoned a good lawyer – his wife a pleasing woman.

Baillie here.

Tuesday September 30th 1823: The same life. I write a letter, generally, to one or other of my sisters, and hear from those dear girls occasionally, which is my greatest pleasure.

Chisholme, who married Ellice's sister, used to live in this house most part of the year. He took no delight in sporting – he never read – his great employment used to be to walk up and down his dining room, whistling. He was no fool, however. He had lived very hard in India. He caught a cold at Rome and died of a consumption in London, upbraiding his wife that he had caught his death by pleasing her in taking a journey to Rome – he was about forty-one. I recollect him – a rough sort of man – he was angry at his wife because she had no children, and used brutally to tell

¹⁹⁸: The Borthwick and the Teviot both run north-east, and feed the Tweed.

¹⁹⁹: Harden Castle, on Harden Burn. Wat o'Harden appears in Scott's *Jamie Telfer* and nn.

²⁰⁰: Peel of Goldielands, a border stronghold, watchtower for

²⁰¹: Branxholm Castle, chief seat until 1756 of the Duke of Buccleugh.

²⁰²: Last two words could be "at 4".

Roberts that it was not his fault – he had [been] working hard all night!!

Wednesday October 1st 1823: Shooting, &c. Lieutenant-General H. Grey and his good-natured, red-haired Irish wife arrived.

Thursday October 2nd 1823: Shooting, &c. Nothing done. Nothing to record. News about Spain worse daily: Santona, Pamplona, St Sebastian taken – Riego, after a desperate attempt to seize Ballesteros, taken himself and sent to Madrid.²⁰³

Friday October 3rd 1823: Shooting, &c. The party diminished by the Russells – Baillie gone two days. He told some singular anecdotes relative to our diplomacy, which he had, I think, from Lionel Henry, who I understand doubts after all whether Canning will send him out on his Mexican mission. Baillie remarked on the impropriety of taking such men as Lord Stuart and Vezey Fitzgerald and Wynne and Bloomfield, and putting [them] over the head of the educated diplomatists. Wynne has left Switzerland, and the salary of the Swiss legation is reduced. This is worse than if it were continued, and shows the meanness of the Wynnes and the weakness of the ministry. Baillie mentioned some anecdotes of Lord Stuart's 2004 meanness – he imported six tun (I think) of wine, duty-free, when he left his embassy – his charges for extraordinary expenses [were] abominable – Canning has refused to sanction some.

Saturday October 4th 1823: Shooting ... and eating, and guzzling, and doing nothing. I do not get well – no wonder ...

Sunday October 5th 1823: Wet day – sat at home all day. Read some of [the] *Anti-Jacobin* – very good indeed: quote the last lines – but "French

²⁰³: Riego was shot trying to escape, and his corpse was hanged on Nov 7 1823.

²⁰⁴: "Lord Stuart's (Lon)" (Ms.)

in heart", &c205 – of the long poem at the end, and apply them to Canning's present policy with regard to France.

Had a letter from Mr Hall of the Spanish Committee, giving an account of the conversation between General Long and myself relative to him – which I made Long promise not to divulge with my name, and only to make use of in such a way as to protect the funds of the Committee, in case this Mr Hall should be not quite honest.

I determined at once to transmit the letter to General Long as the only person responsible, he being the reporter of the conversation, and to write to Mr Hall, telling him I had done so – writing at the same time a short note to General Long. Roberts, Ellice and General Grey all said I could take no other line. I wrote the letters, and sent them next day.

Sam Whitbread came.

Monday October 6th 1823: Shooting. I saw a Scotch laird's family – one Staroot,²⁰⁶ a singular kind of gentleman, and an establishment like nothing in England – perhaps what country figures in England once were. There was a sulky fellow, a cousin of²⁰⁷ the laird's, who had been at Liverpool, and wanted to show he could think little of the English landowners – so he said nothing, and looked savage.

Great slaughter shooting – thirty-four brace of all kinds.

Tuesday October 7th 1823: Shooting again – shot partridges well. Not well today.

Wednesday October 8th 1823: Rainy day. Did not shoot. Going to ride.

²⁰⁵: The last four lines on the last page of *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin* (1799: written in part by Canning): "But, French *in heart*, tho' victory crown our brow, / Low at our feet though prostrate nations bow, / Wealth gild our cities, commerce crowd our shore, – / London may shine, but England is no more"

²⁰⁶: Could be "Stavoot".

²⁰⁷: "at" (Ms.)

Wrote journal since September 22nd. This is a poor life, after all, and I do not think much contributes to health.

Thursday October 9th 1823: As before – shooting, &c.

Friday October 10th 1823: Ditto, ditto ...

Saturday October 11th 1823: As before. Rumour of Cadiz being taken.

Sunday October 12th 1823: Set out in Colonel Roberts' carriage from Chisholme. Went through Hawick and Horsley to Cambo in Northumberland, about forty-four miles – changed horses but twice, there being none kept in this line of road. Passed over the Carter's Fell hills, which divide England and Scotland208 – nothing can be more wild and desolate than this track of country, which seems a very natural division for these two kingdoms. Came down then upon the Reedwater,209 in a more civilised-looking country. Beyond Horsley the country [is] more wild, and moorland again. We saw nothing to remind us of "civil" life but a gibbet, in a spot most admirably adapted for murder. We learned at Cambo that about thirty years ago, three murderers were executed on the spot.

We set out from Chisholme about ten, and arrived at Cambo a little before six. Found a note there from Sir John Swinburne of Caphheaton, inviting us to his house. A singular thing has just happened in his family: Beaumont, M.P. for Northumberland,²¹⁰ was just about to marry one of Sir John Swinburne's daughters, when he was suddenly turned out of the house by Sir John. After many conjectures as to the cause, it was found out that Beaumont had gone mad, and that his madness has burst out in certain proposals to a sister of his intended – also in an accusation against

 $^{^{208}}$: The Cheviot Hills divide England from Scotland. Carter Fell is a summit in them, south-east of Hawick.

²⁰⁹: The river Rede.

²¹⁰: Thomas Wentworth Beaumont (1792-1848), reformist Whig.

Lady Swinburne, that she had played false to Sir John with Lord Grey, General Grey, Mulready the painter, and the aged butler of the family. Lady Swinburne is a remarkably prim woman. Lord Grey and the General were fools enough at first to think of fighting Beaumont, so Brougham told me, who added that he supposed it was because they were criminals in "bad" company.

Beaumont talked religion also, and before he went away, thanked God he had saved the souls of two of the family. His father is an idiot from drink.

Cambo is a neat stone village – the inn very decent indeed. Walking about, I saw some rude sculptures in the wall of a barn or stable – apparently sepulchral – very different, the appearances of English habitations from those on the other side of the Carter's Fell. Rich, cultivated country, with gentlemen's seats – the Trivillians have a fine estate here.

Monday October 13th 1823: A beautiful morning – set off for Newcastle – twenty-one miles, about – and stayed an hour there, walking about the town, which, with the exception of a street or two, is most filthy. A great deal of activity, apparently, on the quay. They are pulling down the old walls of the town. Saw Ord and Ellison – a public dinner today. Proceeded to Lambton, called ten miles, through a district of chimneys,²¹¹ as it were, smoking in every direction.

Went through two miles of new plantations to Lambton Hall, where we saw the English flag flying on a round tower above the house, which, it seems, is hoisted during our friend's²¹² residence at his house, and struck when he leaves home. He is building his house into a castle, and has

²¹¹: "chimnies" (Ms., passim).

²¹²: John George, future first Earl Lambton (1792-1840), MP for Durham. Reforming Whig (though he had in 1820 fought a duel with George Beaumont). Future ambassador to St Petersburg and Governor-General of Canada.

already finished one side of it. Two of his rooms are of most magnificent dimensions, but the front of the house looks upon a flat of no extent with low copses before it, and though the bank behind, which slopes down to the weir, is handsome and well-wooded, yet it wants extent, and the great house seems overgrowing the little domain.

The weir itself is a very dingy, dull little red river, and the tide comes up as far as Lambton. There are very few points of view which do not take in clusters of red chimneys, and every sign of a large mining population. It is not like the country. There is little game there, but Lambton's sole field sport now is racing – and for this he had assembled an immense party in his house, chiefly of young sporting men such as Mr John Mills, Mr S. Duncombe, [and] Mr White. But we had ladies arrive afterwards: Lord and Lady Wilton, Lord and Lady Normanby, Sir M. and Lady Ridley, Mr and Miss Roberts, John Dundas and his new bride, Mr and Mrs Brougham

We sat down to dinner about eighteen the first day, and afterwards, until Saturday, from thirty-five to near fifty. I believe there were nearly forty guests sleeping in the house – the whole on a very grand scale, and very well got up, except that the cooking was not good. Lambton himself [is] a very good man, but spoiled by ill-health and ill-temper, and coming very early to an enormous fortune. His talents are very respectable, and his speeches in parliament above his talents. He is a writer of poetry, also – such as serves for a newspaper. His library is very good in a common way; but he is foolish enough to leave lying on his table a great folio, richly ornamented, with this inscription: "The Lambton Pedigree". His uncle Ralph is a banker at Newcastle. Lady Louisa is a mild, sensible woman, who seems unmoved by her husband's tantrums, but she is reserved, and not so popular as Lambton's first wife. Lambton is thirtyone years old.

Tuesday October 14th 1823: I went to see the racers gallop.

Lambton showed me his stables, and his paddocks and his brood mares. This establishment is large, but not in good order – nothing to be compared with Lord Grosvenor's at Eaton.

I found many letters waiting for me at Lambton – amongst others, one asking me for a loan of £300 to £450 (I could not make out which), from a recent connection of ours.²¹³ A letter from General Long, in which he seems to take our affair in the proper light, confessing he told Colonel Grant, and Colonel Grant was guilty of a breach of confidence. He did not say he had been guilty, which he had to me.

Cadiz is taken, and [the] King restored to his absolute power.214

Here is a blow for liberty – irrecoverable, I think, in our time.

There was a Marquis de San Marson, a Piedmontese exile, at Lambton – a very agreeable young man of thirty-two, who had been aide-de-camp to Napoleon in 1814. He told me that he was sent by Marshall Marmont to Paris, to tell the Empress Maria Louisa that the Marshall could not defend the capital, and that she must retire with the King of Rome to some place of safety. He was introduced to the Empress, and told his fatal news – when she said, "Savez-vous l'Empereur sera bien faché"!! He was astounded at her stupidity, and could only answer, "Madame, je puis bien le croire".

San Marson told me that when the ex-Empress came to Vienna, she was treated *comme une putaine*, and Neipperg was put near her person purposely to make her so; thus again verifying the Prince de Ligne's *bon mot*, "Mieux que l'archeduchesse soit f—— que la monarchie".

I had some most agreeable rambles with San Marson, who confirmed to me what I had often before conceived – that foreigners know nothing of England.

²¹³: Probably Foscolo.

²¹⁴: H. surrounds this with under- and over-linings.

After dinner today we sat until eleven, betting, principally, about the race for the cup tomorrow. I think this amusement, if it may be so called, unfit for a gentleman's table. Afterwards we had hazard – the ladies [were] left by themselves, in spite of Lady Wilton's eyes, which are the finest in the world.

Wednesday October 15th 1823: Races began. The cup [was] won by Lord Normanby's horse, Why Not, who, it was thought, could not win. Mrs Siddons, the second favourite, [was] beat by a head. St Leger, the first favourite, came in last. None but gentlemen ride, and the horses supposed to have some flaw in their pedigree [are] called "cocktails", though I should suppose the blood of some as nearly complete as possible. The riders, with one or two exceptions, bad - the course in Lambton's park – the people admitted as spectators and a sort of fair outside the gate - carriages of neighbours brought with a rope, &c. The Doncaster judge Lockwood judges, and all as good as a thing of this kind can be – but it makes gentlemen too sharp with each other, and spoils company. My friend Lambton was quite sulky at not winning the cup, so much as to talk of giving up the races – his ill-humour lasted all dinner-time. It struck me that Why Not had won by chance, and, to put Lambton in sorts again, I offered to run Mrs Siddons against him - the same race, weights, and riders, all over again, for £100. Lambton consented to lend me the mare if I would have the match entered in my name - to which, after some demurring, for fear I should be taken for a gambler publicly, I agreed, and Lord Normanby made the match with me, but only for £25. This was doing as is done at Rome: but I think I was wrong. At night, too, I played at "chicken hazard"215 - also wrong. I cannot imagine anyone spending large sums of money, like Lambton, for such a purpose.

Thursday October 16th 1823: Racing again. A great party at dinner –

²¹⁵: A low-stake dice game.

near fifty. Lord Ravensworth's family – pretty daughter, whom I recollect at Rome when he was Sir T. Liddell. Brougham [is] here, and quite out of his element. He [is] silent, except when speaking to his neighbour. His wife [is] a mawkish sort of woman.

We had some talk on politics. Agreed that no measures were to be kept with [the] government, or their good friends the Holy Allies. Brougham had sent a letter to me, inviting me to Brougham Hall, very kindly indeed – he is now certainly in our line – how long he may continue so, God knows.

Friday October 17th 1823: Racing before dinner – betting – and hazard after – a most unsatisfactory life indeed.

Saturday October 18th 1823: Racing – four very good races. Lambton's stable chiefly successful, which pleased him, and Mrs Siddons won *cleverly*, though [the] odds [were] against her. Mr White, our rider, performed wonders today, and is certainly the best of the gentleman jockeys.²¹⁶

[The] party at Lambton thinned today.

[I received a] letter from General Long, in which he talked of my doing what common justice, &c., demanded with respect to Mr Hall, &c. I answered the next day, by Lambton's advice, rather shortly, throwing the whole responsibility upon General Long, the original reporter of my private conversation, and refusing all further interference myself in this business.

Sunday October 19th 1823: Walked about paddocks again, and wrote letters, &c.

Monday October 20th 1823: Took a ride with Lambton and his wife,

²¹⁶: There were no professional jockeys.

and San Marson, and W.Lambton, who were our whole party at dinner – much pleasanter than the noise of the race-week.

Tuesday October 21st 1823: Left Lambton in a post-chaise and travelled to Burton Hall, Marmaduke Wyvill's, MP for York²¹⁷ (son of the Reformer Wyvill),²¹⁸ about eight miles beyond Catterick Bridge, a very pretty place, above a woody dell, through which runs a mountain rivulet, the Be – very sequestered. No-one there but his wife (a sister of Orator Milnes), and his sister. Played whist in evening.

Wednesday October 22nd 1823: Went out walking in the dell beneath the house, and shot pretty well. Wyvill and I dined alone. He showed me a marble slab, presented to an ancestor of his by Queen Elizabeth on a visit to Burton Hall. He has one or two good pictures.

Thursday October 23rd 1823: Left Burton, and went by Ripon and Ripley to Harrogate.²¹⁹ A fine country – Harrogate a straggly place. Walked thence eight miles to Farnley Hall. Arrived late in the afternoon. Found, besides the Fawkes family, Turner,²²⁰ the artist, whom Mr Fawkes has much patronised, and who has nothing striking in his manner or conversation, and two Miss Wickhams, sisters of Wickham the diplomatist, and a Mr Jakes, a Yorkshire reformer – a fine, hale old man.

Fawkes himself [is] a most excellent, friendly person, and very agreeable – full of anecdotes, which perhaps he takes too much pains to introduce – lively, and perhaps flighty – but certainly what may be called a clever man. His house is handsome and comfortable. The old part of it was, I believe, taken from an ancient mansion house of the Fairfax family,

²¹⁷: Marmaduke Wyvill (1791-1872), MP for York, 1820-30.

²¹⁸: Christopher Wyvill (1740-1822), advocate of reform and toleration.

²¹⁹: "Harrowgate" (Ms.)

²²⁰: This does not seem to be J.M.W.Turner, who was an established artist by 1823.

and Fawkes is fitting up a sort of museum of relics connected with the Civil Wars, which he calls "Fairfaxiana". Turner is making designs of his drums, helmets, swords, &c.

Friday October 24th 1823: Went out shooting. Had an opportunity of seeing the valley of the Washbourne, [check] and its red stream. Also the fine and more cultivated Vale of the Wharf, which runs the whole length of the county, in front of Farnley, and separates it from the high land opposite, called the Sciven, a Saxon word, I understand, for dorsum or ridge. On the declivity of this high land are large masses of rock in the midst of woods and fern, and here Fawkes has lately made a deer park.

I shot ill. An agreeable party. The same at dinner. Fawkes told us an epigram of his against Lascelles, who set up the cry of "No Popery!" during the Yorkshire election, and who is the younger brother of the late Lord Lascelles, commonly called Beau Lascelles, that dressed at the Prince of Wales:

What has Lascelles to hope From this cry of "No Pope!" And his zeal for the Faith's great Defender? Since we all of us know That his brother the Beau Has long been the only Pretender.

Fawkes told me that in Yorkshire the people cared little for the Queen's cause – and he hinted, even, that there was no great zeal for reform. He said that the town of Leeds would give its votes to Mr Fountain Wilson, who has made a present of £7,000 to the town.

But I learned otherwise from "Dicky Derby", a queer sort of retainer of Fawkes's, who was the chief collector of the signatures to the great Reform Petition last year, and who represented the people as very ardent in the great cause. Dicky is an original, and one of the curiosities of Farnley. Mr Fawkes's brother Hawkesworth was once talking of his having had an ancestor killed at ye battle of Hastings – to which Dickey said, "Happened I had an ancestor killed there too myself". In Yorkshire, the language contains much old English. Miranda in The Tempest talks of "degging the salt sea with her tears". Some commentators have altered this to "decking", whereas "degging" is a word now in use by the

²²¹: *The Tempest*, I ii 155: "When I have decked the sea with drops full salt". The line is Prospero's, and the Folio reading is *deck'd*, not *degged*.

washerwomen who talk of "degging" their linen, i.e., "sprinkling" it.

Saturday October 25th 1823: Went out shooting, and went also to the deer park – a very romantic spot indeed, where the view of the two valleys is exceedingly fine.

Same party at dinner. A most beautiful day.

Sunday October 26th 1823: Walked to the Sciven Hills. A sombre day, and in a melancholy mood. At dinner, Fawkes told me that he was acquainted with Gibbon at Lausanne – that he was pedantic in his conversation, and talked chiefly of himself.

Monday October 27th 1823: Took leave of Farnley. Walked, as usual, the first two or three miles, and being overtaken by my chaise, proceeded to Leeds. Travelled on through Wakefield and Sheffield and Chesterfield to Mansfield, where I arrived at eleven at night – saw nothing, therefore, of all the great towns through which I had passed.

At Mansfield, enquired about Newstead Abbey. The people talked of Lord Byron's time as of an age gone by.

Tuesday October 28th: Set off for Nottingham. When I came opposite the Hut kept by the widow of Mealey²²² whom I recollect, I turned down into Newstead Park and walked to the Abbey. The road [was] not mended, but signs of plantations and enclosures [were] fresh – every step familiar to me, and a crowd of melancholy sensations came over me as I caught the first view of the turrets of the old house, and the castle above the lake – I found workmen busy upon the new building and could with difficulty get into the house. When I did, I was shown up into the old gallery, now refitted and scarcely to be recognized – it was there that Lord Byron placed the old stone coffin, and I recollect that passing through the gloomy length of it one night late I heard a groan proceeding from the spot. Going to the coffin, a figure rose from it in a cowl and blew out the candle – this was my friend Matthews, who is now gone.²²³

I wrote a note to Colonel Wildman, who was in his dressing room and sent for me – he is a good natured little fellow²²⁴ and has shown a great deal of taste in his repairs, or rather reconstructions, of the house, but more particularly of the garden, which is laid out in the old style. I went over the cloisters, which are also under repair. The graves which Byron opened in my time, and found the monks lying cheek by jowl, are now closed up – the bath also is filled up. The chapel²²⁵ is repaired. When the whole is finished the effect will be excellent – but Wildman had better not have carved his coat of arms over the principal front. He has two handsome boats, with streamers flying, on the lake.

After looking about the place I walked back to the chaise and

²²²: Owen Mealey (sic) had been Steward at Newstead. Byron dismissed him in 1815 (BLJ IV 317) after he had told Hanson tales about happenings in the Newstead area. He later took over the Hut Inn, opposite Newstead main gate.

²²³: See 7 Aug, 11.

²²⁴: Hobhouse was himself only 5ft 5ins tall.

²²⁵: "Chappel" (Ms.)

proceeded over all the well-known grounds to Nottingham – just before entering the town I overtook a procession of framework-knitters, who were in a wagon. They had wigs and masks on – and were knocking each other's heads against a piece of machinery. This I understood was a procession of journeymen complaining of low wages or hard work²²⁶ – they had come from a neighbouring village.

From Nottingham I went to Melton – walked over thence to Great Dalby – saw my horses – went to Kirby and there found my friend Burdett well and in spirits.

Wednesday October 29th 1823: Went out riding. My head [was] much affected, and was afraid I should not be able to hunt. Dined at home.

Thursday October 30th 1823: Walked to Melton and Dalby. Dined at home.

Friday October 31st 1823: Rode into the Harborough country to hunt, but a most violent storm of hail, wind, and rain drove us back – I never remember anything so violent. Dined at home.

Saturday November 1st 1823: Hunted at Norton by Dalby. Poor sport. Better today.

Sunday November 2nd 1823: Walked to Melton, &c. At home, reading plays of Farquhar and Vanbrugh, &c.

Monday November 3rd 1823: First day of regular hunting. Met at Kirby Gate – poor sport. Dined at Sir H. Goodrich's.

Tuesday November 4th 1823: Did not hunt. Wrote journal. Walked.

²²⁶: Sign that the problems about which Byron had spoken in his maiden speech to the Lords on 27th February 1812 were by no means solved.

Dined at Old Club.

Wednesday November 5th 1823: Hunted at Bunny – very wet indeed – tolerable run. Dined and slept at Bunny, Lord Rancliffe's – where [I] met a party of dull fellows. I slept in the room where was the original of the portrait of Lady Rancliffe which my father has at Whitton.

Thursday November 6th 1823: Hunted at Widmerpool – tolerable run – returned to Kirby.

Friday November 7th 1823: Hunted at Kettleby – a fine run, which I did not see. Dined at Melton with Sir H. Goodrich and Hollyoak.

Saturday November 8th 1823: Thought of going to London, but did not. **Wrote journal.**

Sunday November 9th 1823: Went by the Leeds mail to London. Set off from Melton at a quarter to nine, arrived in London half-past ten 106 miles. Went to Albany, my old lodgings.

Monday November 10th 1823: This morning, saw General Long. He explained to me how he [had] reported our conversation – that is, under the impression that I had not told him it was confidential. He showed me some documents, by which it appears that Mr Hall had not behaved in the manner imputed to him by my informant, Foscolo: so I told Long I was satisfied I had been misinformed, and should let Mr Hall know it myself.

Called on my father – he [was] looking very well and in spirits. Dined at [the] Guildhall with the Lord Mayor, Mr Waithman. The judges, six of them, [were] there, and several officers of the Life Guards, which, considering the dispute between Waithman, when Sheriff, and them, was handsome both in inviter and in accepters of the invitation. [The] Duke of Sussex [was] there, Lord Nugent, Mackintosh, Hume, Ellice, Lushington, Byng, Whitbread, and a few other opposition members – but no quality!! Mackintosh made rather a spirited speech, but the noise and hubbub was so great the whole while that I thought it no good to speak at length when <my> health was drunk. I remarked that Judge Bailey, alone of all the judges, applauded Mackintosh. I learned afterwards that the *Courier* and

²²⁷: "at" (Ms.)

²²⁸: The coach leaves at 8.45 am, and arrives 10.30 pm.

some other papers took care to omit the fact of the MP for Westminster being drunk – and this recalls to my mind that Place told me, last session of parliament, that I was no favourite with the reporters – a very powerful body, who have a club, and agree whom to raise and whom to depress. If mere daily fame were a man's object, he would court these varlets. The fact is that before my health was given there was a call upon me – which no paper noticed at all, and I am ashamed to notice it here.

Waithman asked Lord Nugent to open the ball with his daughter, and he had consented, until we quizzed him. He then passed over that duty to Major Cormac of the Life Guards.

Tuesday November 11th: I called on Foscolo at his Digamma cottage, South Bank, Regents Park, which he has fitted up with great taste and indeed built together with another at an expense of £2,000. He has a sort of outhouse in his garden where he has a set of types, sufficient for <his> thirty pages, and which he set up in order to enable him to have a leasehold property, as exercising a trade, though an alien.

I found him in great distress. He had two sisters for servants, one twenty-five, the other seventeen, the latter "beautiful as Hebe," he told me. Both have turned out prostitutes, and he read to me a letter to the youngest on her sad situation — a very kind, good letter, backed by a present of fifty pounds, which he is about to put in a savings bank for her. The poor fellow burst out in tears several times whilst reading to me this letter.

I told him my affair about Hall, and he showed me several letters, which made me alter my opinion about Mr Hall – so I wrote to Long to suspend operations. But Long since wrote to me that my letter had arrived too late, and he had told Hall what I had told him. Perhaps the best way will be to have no further communication on the subject.

I dined at Ellice's. Met there Douglas Kinnaird and Lord Nugent. The latter told me that he had left Cadiz empowered by the constitutional government to negotiate a loan in England by pledging the national property in Cuba, and that when he got off the coach at the White Horse-Collar in London, he for the first time heard of the surrender of Cadiz, of

which he had no more suspicion than he had of the surrender of London.

He told us several most extraordinary things of Wilson. Wilson was completely duped by Sir William A'Court at Gibraltar, who persuaded him to stay three weeks there, though the government at Cadiz wrote to him to come to them, and thus gained two points – namely, to make the Cortes suspect Wilson, and to deprive them, also, of Wilson's services. However, when Wilson did come, he was very active, and fortified positions in twenty-four hours which the Spaniards had neglected for months.

It seems that one Sunday, when the troops were drawn up on the Almedea or public promenade at Cadiz, is was thought that it might do some good if the English harangued them. This was accordingly done, by Wilson, by Nugent, and by Major Bristow. Wilson began by saying, "I, a liberal, have been chased from the banks of the Seine to the shores of the Tagus: however, it is my consolation to find myself at last in the cradle of Spanish liberty!"

This he meant to say, but his Spanish was such that he actually said, "I, being a *book*, have been *cacked upon*, &c – but it is my condition to find myself at last in the *cunno* of Spanish liberty!" The soldiers heard this extraordinary speech without a smile. I could not help remarking what that national cause must be which could admit to being bolstered up by the harangues of three strangers. Nothing more sublime than the occasion, nothing more farcical than the incident and the event.

But Lord Nugent told another, more incredible story of Wilson. He (Nugent) and Major Bristow wrote to Wilson a letter purporting to come from the Bey of "Tetuan", announcing a revolution and an intention of establishing a Mauretanian republic, and also of restoring in the end the Republic of Carthage, and requesting Wilson's immediate assistance in consolidating the new order of things, and putting himself at the head of the free Mauretanian armies. They appended a seal to this letter, on which

they cut a large half-moon, and scratched several queer figures to pass for Arabic letters. They sent the letter. Shortly after they called on Wilson, and on their arrival found him huddling some paper into a drawer. Wilson began to talk to them with great mystery of his probable departure from Cadiz on a business of importance – and at last let out the whole business of the invitation to Tetuan. Lord Nugent and Major Bristow stared at each other, and now were in a fright lest they should get their bones broke for a joke – at last, however, they thought it best to tell the truth, and Wilson took the matter in great good part – but what a man to be concerned in the destinies of nations!

Wilson is suspected of having sent from the Cortadura a message to the Spanish ministry, tell[ing] them the troops would not fight, and that they ought to surrender. Nugent said he did not know it, but had heard it from a good authority.

Nugent told me that he had read my paper addressed to the minister Calatrava to him [(Calatrava)], and [that] Calatrava had sent an answer. It seems my name alone was attached to the paper: but on Nugent telling Calatrava [that] the person signing did not chose to be responsible alone for the sentiments, which were those of the Spanish Committee, Calatrava took a scissors, and cut off the same. General Long tells me that he has been told that the ministers in England have got hold of this paper, and mean to proceed upon it.

When Long detected a Captain Nestor in attempting to defraud the Spanish Committee, he was threatened anonymously that, if he proceeded, his conduct as a member of the Committee should be laid before the Commander-in-Chief, the parties threatening having certain documents to prove that the Committee had endeavoured to enlist men, and to proceed in other respects contrary to law. Long spurned [the] threat, and continued the enquiry, which turned out to the disgrace of Captain Nestor. Long asked me to get the original letter to Calatrava, which is in my

handwriting with the signatures of the Committee. I promised to write to Colonel Grant, or send to him for it, but on second thoughts resolved not to do so, as that step might look like an anxiety about the document.

Lord Nugent told me that Arguelles had avowed to him that he had been mistaken in attempting and succeeding in making the revolution *moderate*, and also in disbanding the army, who had made the revolution. Arguelles was the Whig, Galiano the radical. Unfortunately the former triumphed, and Spain was lost. Nugent still has hopes for Spain.

I went to bed at twelve.

Wednesday November 12th 1823: Set off at six in coach to Leicester – arrived there at half-past eight. Slept at [the] George Inn.

Thursday November 13th 1823: Hunted at Stamford Hall. Returned to Kirby.

Friday November 14th 1823: Hunted at Oadby Turnpike, Returned to Kirby.

Saturday November 15th 1823: Did not hunt. **Wrote journal.** Papers full of Weare's murder.²²⁹

Sunday November 16th 1823: At Kirby, I believe, but not sure whether Burdett and I did not walk over to Sowerby and pass the day and night there with [the] Rev. J. Empson, brother of Empson the lawyer, author of the article against Chancellor Eldon in [the] last *Edinburgh Review*.

Monday November 17th 1823: Hunted, and I think stayed with Empson.

²²⁹: On Oct 24 John Thurtell killed a fellow gambler, William Weare, near Elstree. He was the first man hanged (on Jan 9, 1824) with an efficient drop.

Tuesday November 18th 1823: Hunted, and at Kirby again.

Wednesday November 19th 1823: Hunted, &c.

Thursday November 20th 1823: Hunted, and either dined at home, or with some of [the] Melton sportsmen.

Friday November 21st 1823: Hunted, &c., and hunted every day except Saturdays and Sundays during [the] time where this hiatus²³⁰ is left.

Saturday November 29th 1823: Hunted, or went to hunt.

Sunday November 30th 1823: Write letters and read newspapers.

Monday December 1st 1823: Hunted, &c.

Tuesday December 2nd 1823: Hunted, &c.

Wednesday December 3rd 1823: Hunted, &c.

Thursday December 4th 1823: Hunted, &c.

Friday December 5th 1823: Hunted and went over to W.Powlett's at Somerby.

Saturday December 6th 1823: Hunted with Lord Lonsdale's hounds, & <shot at> Somerby.

Sunday December 7th 1823: Returned to Kirby. Wrote letters, &c. Accounts from Lord Byron at Cephalonia – answered his letter, ²³¹ and transmitted his news to Bowring of the Greek Committee.

²³⁰: H. writes no diary entries for November 22nd-28th 1823.

²³¹: BB 337-40. H. congratulates B. on his caution in Greece.

[NOT IN DIARY: Hobhouse's letter to Byron, "December 6th" 1823:

Kirby Park. Melton. December 6. 1823

My dear Byron –

I cannot tell you how much pleasure the receipt of your letters of the 14 & 17th of September gave me. In the first place your long silence had made me almost afraid that I was not likely to hear from you again – & secondly I thought it probable that you might find the transmission of letters difficult & therefore decline the effort altogether – On both these accounts your missives were the more unexpected and accordingly the more agreable. I am delighted also to hear so good an account of your health which I pray you to attend to as the one thing needful – particularly the organs of digestion – I say this feelingly having been ill for nearly six months with a complaint in the head which the learned say belongs fairly to the stomach ... if one was sick at the stomach I suppose they would say that was a disease of the head. I could be very diffuse not to say smart on this point – you recollect Swift,

"But should some neighbor feel a pain Just in the parts where I complain" ²³²

But I will content myself with iterating my advice to you to take care of the entera and mesentera and pericardia and in short all those regions dolorous – I wish I had joined you in "the immortal islands & the well known sea" instead of jaunting after health in Scotland and the North England the hospitality of whose natives is, as you say of that of your Cefalonian friends, no good prescription for a weak digestion – I think you have done a very wise not to say a very spirited and honorable deed by going to Greece. It gives me the greatest satisfaction to find that your visit is properly appreciated by the people whom you go to encourage – and you may depend upon it that it is looked upon quite in the proper light here. It is long since I have been enabled to attend the Greek committee, for the Spanish business, and my own parliamentary affairs occupied me entirely during the latter part of the session – but I have repeated communications with the most active of the committee and have been made aware of their proceedings respecting you – which I trust

1:2

²³²: Swift, Lines on the Death of Dr Swift, ll.135-6.

you approve – They have put, I learn, the whole of their means, small enough alas, at your disposal and they anticipate the greatest advantage from being represented by a person like yourself. I have had much pleasure in learning from good authority that since the Committee has been known to take an interest in Greek affairs, Englishmen have been looked upon with a much more favorable eye in Greece. Other informants tell me that the Turks also, since Lord Strangford's interposition in their favor with Russia, are equally pleased with the English – so that between both our puir hill folk²³³ will come off well as travellers in your parts – Immediately on receiving your letters, I wrote to M^r. Bowring – he returned for answer that "Parry with his artifices, laboratory, battery, &c sailed on the 9th of November, in the Ann Capt. Longridge for Malta Corfu & a port in the Morea – she was to wait at Corfu for orders from you or from Colonel Stanhope who I suppose is by this time with you – The goods in the Ann amounted to 584 packages including mathematical and surgical instruments – medicines – printing and lithographic presses - types &c - Lauriottos is soon expected in England to negotiate a loan -With these points I presume you are already acquainted but I think it as well to insert them in my dispatch – Of course the Committee will leave to yourself the entire election of the line you think right to pursue – If by going to Tripolizea you can do good without any personal risk to yourself - then you will do very right to go - But pray do not forget that no one wishes you to run the least risk – On the contrary all your friends are very anxious that you should not expose yourself to any danger – This can do no earthly good, and may have a very different effect – you see what Wilson has got by putting himself in peril's way – Nothing but sneers and a little instance of that feeling which no one likes to encounter I mean pity - Besides you know well that things are not carried on in a regular manner by the Turkies – your prisoner of war is a rare animal amongst them – you I am sure, then, will take care not to get within reach of their trombones – But this sort of caution is not of such importance as that which I would urge respecting health – do not go into the country in the sickly season – All the medicines in that famous chest of yours

1:3

²³³: Scott, *Waverley*, Chap VII ("the scattered remnant of HILL-FOLK": not "puir").

once at Malta, nor all those of the good ship Ann are of service against the pestilence of some districts – particularly in the Morea – so pray do not think of altering your quarters unless on mature preparation in every respect – You have done quite right in waiting for orders and invitations from the Government – and by the way let me add, to what I have said above, that you are not called upon to make great pecuniary sacrifices – do no such thing – You have done a great deal in going at all – the moral influence is more than any money which any individual can advance – The expense might hurt you and would hardly be felt by them – In short whatever you do recollect that our first anxiety, or at least mine, is certainly for yourself – you will be of great service by being on the spot – This alone will be of importance and as much as any one can expect or would wish – I have great thought of coming on myself at the end of the next session of parliament, when, if you are there, we can renew some of our old pastimes and habits – I wrote to Murray immediately respecting the articles ordered but not arrived – He returned for answer that the man did send them properly packed – of the which he is ready to take oath – also that the Canteen was most carefully made up – to which he will swear – Murray adds that he asks me to give your Lordship assurances of his unabated attachment. I hope the story of the letters is not true – To D. Kinnaird I also wrote telling him exactly what you wished to have done and what not done – I am sure you may depend upon his activity fidelity and every good quality which can adorn a power of attorney – He, who is at or approaching, his little climacteric, has been very unwell but is now quite whole & in spirits - To Hunt I also wrote. He returns for answer that he will send out no more proofs & has sent out none since he learnt you left Italy – Of the Juans the 16th Canto is the only one not corrected by you - this he thinks of stating in order to account for any errors of the press in the 16th – The 12th. 13th. 14th Cantos were published a few days ago.²³⁴ The 15th and 16th will follow, he says, after a necessary pause – When he learnt your wish respecting the number of Cantos to be published together it was too late to change the arrangement – so that unless you supply another canto the two in hand must appear and a less price be charged for them –

1:4 [above address:] Hunt adds that although the <u>injunction</u> is removed & the pirating continues yet little injury is done to the work as the genuine cheap edition keeps down the sale of the spurious one – Hunt supposes you know all his previous proceedings from D. Kinnaird – We shall look

²³⁴: Not true; they were published on December 17th.

out most anxiously for further accounts from you – The enemy has taken care to publish that you entertain an unfavorable opinion of the issue of the contest in Greece - The Committee shall know the exact truth of what you think, and I have written a letter to them on that head but they of course [below address:] will take care to contradict any disingenuous rumour which may injure the cause & can be of no service to any one – You have by this time been informed of the fall of the Spaniards. A most fatal blow to the cause of liberty all over the world, of which no one or very few seems to see the full consequences. Our blockade at home I mean the blockheads on our side, hug themselves that we did not go to war – as if there would have been any necessity for doing more than speak one decisive word – and if we should not have to go to war after all for some trifle not one [worth?] thinking of – But you have politics enough where you are and are at the last post where any contest for freedom can be made, so I shall not dispirit you with the account of the failure of the struggle elsewhere – Burdett, at whose hunting seat I am, sends his kindest regards & best wishes – Pray write, & believe me ever your's most truly, J. C. Hobhouse

(Source: BB 337-40)]

Monday December 8th 1823: Hunted.

Tuesday December 9th 1823: Hunted, &c.

Wednesday December 10th 1823: Hunted.

Thursday December 11th: Hunted, &c.

Friday December 12th 1823: Hunted.

Saturday December 13th 1823: Did not hunt – went to Colonel Cheynes' at Gadsby and passed the evening – symptoms of frost – Crabtree at Kirby.

Sunday December 14th 1823: Returned to Kirby. Wrote letters &c.

Monday December 15th 1823: Hunted, &c.

Tuesday December 16th 1823: Hunted, &c.

Wednesday December 17th 1823:235 Hunted, &c.

Thursday December 18th 1823: Hunted, &c.

Friday December 19th 1823: Very hard frost, but tried to hunt at Barkby Hall – and did find a fox at Munday's Gorse, but could do nothing.

Saturday December 20th 1823: A frost. Determined to leave Leicestershire – to be sure, a more unprofitable life cannot be imagined, to say nothing of the great expense of keeping horses and the perpetual vexation from stable reports of lame, and sick, and vicious, and then the great gravity and earnestness with which the sport is pursued, and the total absence of all other occupation for every day in the week. Even health, at least not my health, is not much a gainer – the exercise is too hard and too irregular.

I did nothing at Kirby but read *Adam Blair*,236 one of the secondary Scotch novels, and Congreve's and Farquhar's plays. I think Congreve more wonderful every time I read him, and Farquhar very inferior to him indeed.

Burdett and I used to chat from dinner-time at six to bed-time at ten, or pore over the newspaper. He owned with me that it was too bad to devote so much time and energy to hunting, and talked of selling [his] horses – but he has done so any time these ten years. He was laid up for a fortnight by a sprained ankle.

Burdett told me that Horne Tooke had engaged Porson to assist him in an English dictionary, in which Porson was to show how certain words were derived from Greek, and Tooke would take the Saxon derivations:

²³⁵: Don Juan XII, XIII and XIV are published on this date.

²³⁶: 1822 novel by J.G.Lockhart.

but one day Porson, in a drunken fit at Tooke's, said to him, "I have a mind to give you a blow in the face". – "You had better not," said Tooke, "my arm is stronger than yours – feel it." Porson felt it, and was quiet for some minutes, but then said, "I'll give you a kick in the leg". Tooke, whose leg was sore and swathed, said, "You had better not – for see, my leg is twice as big as yours". Porson said nothing, but looked at him so savagely that Tooke thought the only thing to do was to make him dead drunk. Accordingly he called for brandy, and filled his guest's glass till he fell under the table. Porson never came near Tooke afterwards.

I recollect Porson at Cambridge insulting a large party at William Bankes's (MP), because no-one could tell who the Cobbler of Messina²³⁷ was – this, afterwards, I found, was a *nodus* of his. The Cobbler of Messina is mentioned in some Oxford magazine – he used to assassinate for pay, I believe, and wrote on the walls, "Beware of the awl of the Cobbler of Messina!" Porson said he would stab the *King* with the awl of the Cobbler of Messina, and then, turning upon us, he said, "You know who the Cobbler of Messina was?" He asked us all round – no-one knew – on which he began his abuse, and notably against Lord Byron, who was present. To him he took up the poker, and said he would knock his stupid brains out if it were not for fear of dirt[y]ing the carpet. He was very drunk.

Sunday December 21st 1823: Having paid all my stable bills I left Kirby, and rode to Southill – William Whitbread's. I left Kirby at half-past nine, changed horse at Uppingham and at Higham Ferrars, and came to Southill at half-past five. Found good Whitbread well, and kind as usual.

Monday December 22nd 1823: Hunted with the Oakley hounds, and had a capital run. Returned to Southill.

²³⁷: See BLJ VI 12; for the Cobbler, see N&Q 1861 series 2, XI p.129.

Tuesday December 23rd 1823: At Southill, read Lord Holland's *Life and Writings of Lope de Vega*²³⁸ – very much pleased and informed. Wrote to Bowring respecting Lord Byron's last communication from Greece.

Wednesday December 24th 1823: Hunted – a great distance and very wet – no sport. A[n] Xmas party at Southill – W. Brougham, Sam Smith, Captain Cameron and others.

Thursday December 25th 1823: Rode over to Oakley and saw Lord Tavistock. He looks very ill indeed, but is better, and recovering, I think. He said (well enough) that the best division of the human race was into men with good stomachs, and men with bad stomachs.

He told me that he had heard from Lord Holland, who had been dining with the King at Brighton, and said that he passed three hours in conversation, during which His Majesty talked "not improperly and very agreeably". Lord Holland thinks himself coming in. He is always thinking so.

Returned to Southill.

Friday December 26th 1823: Hunted at Hardmead – found at Cross Alban woods – fox crossed the river Ouse – hounds followed – river amazingly swollen. We, that is the horsemen, came to the ford [at] Newton Mill – a Mr Pinfold, a mad sort of man, was in first. Colonel Robins, and two farmers, and myself, followed, and got over easily, though up [to] the saddle-flaps in water. But four men who immediately followed got into a hole, and were over head and ears in an instant. Only one, however, Mr Edwards, was drowned – his horse seems to have struck him on the forehead. I did not see anything of it, but a man who came up

²³⁸: Published 1806; reprinted 1817.

to me did see it, and galloped on – so much for fox-hunters!

We did not know who was lost, nor how many – Colonel Seymour thought I was lost. We did not know the exact truth till next morning. The poor man left seven children and a wife, who were waiting dinner for him.

Saturday December 27th 1823: Went to Bedford with Whitbread. Returned to dinner. Chantry at Southill, and R.Talbot, who was private secretary to Lord Grey in 1806. He told us Sheridan had a very quick and strong memory. He recollects him repeating Goldsmith's *Retaliation*²³⁹ after twice reading [it] ... that is not much.²⁴⁰

Sunday December 28th 1823: Rode to Bedford. Returned. Wrote letters – read a MS. translation of an episode in Klopstock's *Messiah*, by Talbot. Singular – bad Milton.

Monday December 29th 1823:²⁴¹ Set off from Southill at [a] quarter to six in [the] morning, and arrived in London before eleven. Whitbread brought me up in his light carriage.

Went to Albany. Walked about. Home. Dined. Read, in Napoleon's memoirs, the whole account of the conferences at Chatillon – both parties trying to cheat one another \grave{a} la mode.

Tuesday December 30th 1823: Went down on horseback to Whitton – found all my friends there quite well and happy.

Wednesday December 31st 1823: At Whitton, idling as usual but very merry indeed.

²³⁹: Published 1774.

²⁴⁰: Retaliation is 145 lines long.

²⁴¹: On this date, B. leaves Argostoli for Missolonghi.