

The Separation, January 1st–April 25th 1816

The Separation

1st January–25th April 1815

Edited from Berg Volume 4 (1 Jan 1816–5 Apr 1816); Broughton Holograph Diaries, Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; and from B.L. Add. Mss. 47232 (5 Apr–25 Apr 1816).

No task is approached by Hobhouse with more energy and resource than that of dividing Byron from the women in his life. We can see this in the entry for 29 July 1812, when he gets the importunate Caroline Lamb out of Byron’s way. That task took a mere hour or so. How much more invigorating for him to be of assistance in the separation of his friend from his wife, a job taking weeks.

The sense of rivalry, unconscious, perhaps, on Hobhouse’s part, was mutual. Hobhouse and Caroline Lamb were able to tolerate each other, at least in company, after the event of July 1812: but Augusta and Annabella disliked and distrusted him. I have included some letters from both women as notes to the entries for Jan 17, 18 and 25, and Feb 6, as evidence of their antipathy.

Byron and Annabella, anxious to avoid the scandal of a public hearing, employed private representatives for the preliminary negotiations leading to their separation and settlement – Hobhouse for Byron, and Wilmot and Doyle, the future Memoir-burners, for Annabella. It is even Hobhouse who, on 5 Mar, puts Byron’s initial case before Doctors’ Commons. Byron’s lawyer, Hanson, appears later in the proceeding.

Byron’s uncontrollable habit of public self-dramatisation and confession, seen in his decision to put *Fare Thee Well* and *A Sketch from Private Life* into circulation, gives his Tory newspaper enemies much ammunition in the last weeks covered here, and allows him to leave England under a cloud.

Monday January 1st 1816: At Whitton – ditto.¹

Tuesday January 2nd 1816: At ditto – ditto.

Wednesday January 3rd 1816: Ditto – ditto.

¹: H.’s last diary entry for 1815 reads, “At Whitton. Writing scenes for farce or comedy – determined to learn a little poetry every night – began with Johnson’s *Death of Levett*”.

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Thursday January 4th 1816: Ditto – ditto.

Friday January 5th 1816: Ditto – ditto.

Saturday January 6th 1816: Ditto – ditto – got a copy of *Letters*² without appendix ...

Sunday January 7th 1816: Ditto – ditto. Looking over book. Lots of errata ...

Monday January 8th 1816: Ditto – ditto.

Tuesday January 9th 1816: Ditto – ditto.

Wednesday January 10th 1816: Ditto. Sent a copy of book to Lord Holland for his opinion yesterday.

Thursday January 11th 1816: Comedy, &c.³ – read at night, Johnson's Preface to Shakespeare – delightful.

Friday January 12th 1816:⁴ Letter from Lord Holland, declining the *censura*.

Saturday January 13th 1816: Comedy, &c.

Sunday January 14th 1816: Letter from Lord Holland, telling me he is *really delighted* with the book, its eloquence, its spirit, its interest, but wishing to make some suppressions. Another from Kinnaird, telling me he is <really> *even surprised* at my eloquence and argument. Another from Ridgeway's declining to publish the letters on his own account. Write to Lord Holland, to Murray, and Kinnaird.

²: The book finally called *Substance of some Letters from Paris*, H.'s account of Napoleon's Hundred Days.

³: H. is trying to write one, perhaps called *The Green Kiosk*.

⁴: On this date B.'s valet Fletcher marries Anne Rood, Annabella's maidservant, at St. James's Piccadilly. It is his third marriage, and her second.

⁵: James Ridgeway had been imprisoned in 1795 for publishing *The Rights of Man*. He did eventually publish *Letters*, but was in 1822 to turn down *Don Juan*.

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Last night I read the third volume of a life of John Wesley by one Hampton B.A.⁶ It tells some odd things, but is one of the purest pieces of biography I ever read. Wesley had such influence that when he left off tea in 1747, many of his friends did the same,⁷ and preached at five in the morning to imitate him. He rode 4,000 miles a year on an average for 52 years, with the reins on his horse's neck⁸ – “he was despotic.” At the conference or methodist annual general assembly, he disliked Whitefield⁹ and his doctrine of predestination. He was at first for the Americans, and then violently against them. Forty of his preachers were ordained by Erasmus, bishop of Crete.¹⁰

Monday January 15th 1816:¹¹ Bad cold – comedy. Sent Parsons¹² to London. Wrote by Murray's direction to Ridgeway asking him to publish the books on my account. I hope there is no trickery in this.

Tuesday January 16th 1816: On Friday last I gave Parsons warning to quit. He can't shave well, and is too expensive. Had two copies¹³ with appendix. This day I allotted fifty pounds, which I had intended for charity, to myself. Not that I do not intend distributing the said sum as designed originally ... but merely because I have not been able to transmit it, and I have been told it would be refused – this is not being indefatigable in well-doing.

Wednesday January 17th 1816: Rode to London. Dined at Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, with Perry.¹⁴ A most noble library he has, and a most noble dinner he gave us. Present: Edward Ellice,¹⁵ Dennison,¹⁶ General

⁶: Note pending on Hampton's Life of Wesley.

⁷: Note pending on Wesley's giving up tea.

⁸: That is, as the Holy Spirit directed.

⁹: George Whitefield (1714-70) one of the co-founders of Methodism. He and Wesley split up on the question of predestination.

¹⁰: Note pending on Erasmus, Bishop of Crete.

¹¹: On this day Annabella leaves B. for her parents.

¹²: George Parsons is H.'s valet. We learn on 16 Jan 1816 that H. gave him notice on Friday 12 Jan; but he is not actually replaced until 15 June 1816, when the more cosmopolitan Joseph Poisson takes over.

¹³: Of *Letters*.

¹⁴: James Perry (1756-1821) editor of the Whig *Morning Chronicle*.

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Ferguson,¹⁷ Lord Norton,¹⁸ Lord Byron, Bennett.¹⁹ We had pleasant talk – General Ferguson very agreeable. Perry told us that Pitt and he used to walk arm-in-arm from the Lyceum in the Strand,²⁰ which was then fitted up to resemble the House of Commons. Pitt never spoke, but when he came away, used to tell Perry what he would have said – he offered Perry a seat in parliament.

I drank too much wine – came home with Byron – drank brandy and water with him till two in the morning.²¹ Lady Byron gone into the country – Byron won't go!!!²²

Going up to town, called at Holland House treated like —— by Lady Holland. Saw Lord Holland, who complimented me most highly on my *Letters*, and was very kind in pointing out faults.²³

¹⁵: Edward Ellice (1781-1863) friend of Burdett, H. and B. – a radical Whig. Son of the Director of the Hudson's Bay company, married to B.'s cousin's widow. Subsequently M.P. for Coventry. It is of him that B. enquires in June 1822 for information about emigration to South American (BLJ IX 173-4). Founder of the Reform Club.

¹⁶: William Joseph Denison (1770-1849) Whig M.P. for Surrey and brother to Elizabeth, Lady Conyngham, future mistress of George IV.

¹⁷: Peninsula War veteran, now Whig M.P for Kirkcaldy.

¹⁸: English Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons.

¹⁹: Either Henry Grey Bennett, the Whig radical referred to at 17 Jan 1816, or Charles Augustus Bennett, Lord Ossulton.

²⁰: The Lyceum was in Wellington Street WC2. It had been a dance hall, a theatre, a circus, and the first home of Madame Tussaud's.

²¹: What really went on at this time is recorded by Augusta: B. and H. returned to Piccadilly Terrace drunk, sent her and George Byron to bed, and called for brandy, of which B. drank two glasses. H., she is pleased to report, seemed so ill as to be dying. He affected great shock at the way B. frowned at her, and told George Byron to tell her that she was angelic, and that it was a good thing for him she was married. Fletcher further reported that H. left the door open when he left at three a.m.

²²: Shortly after Annabella left (on 15 Jan 1816) B. said to H., "They want me to go into the country. I shall go soon, but I won't go yet. I should not care if Lady Byron was alone, but I can't stand Lady Noel." (*Recollections* II 202). For Lady Noel's letter inviting him to go to Kirkby, see LBW 343.

²³: But see next day's entry.

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Thursday January 18th 1816: Sick and sorry.²⁴ Saw Byron – rode down to Whitton. Ridgeway refused to publish, and told me he had read the volumes with the greatest satisfaction – [I] looked for his copy and found the *first leaf unopened!!!* I can't think why he won't publish – fearful of the pillory perhaps.

Friday January 19th 1816: At Whitton, doing nothing.

Saturday January 20th 1816: Sent for my book from Lord Holland – he transmitted it with a complimentary letter, notes marginal and others, and a sly hint not to publish. He tells me he is my *enemy* at Cambridge.²⁵

Sunday January 21st 1816: Correcting *Letters* for cancels²⁶ – to the amount of about forty-eight pages!!!

Holland had *corrected* two expressions *into* faults – “neither his lordship nor the Duke of Wellington's baggage *was* detained”* he wrote *were* – “The restoration of the slave trade *was commenced*”* – he wrote *revived*.

Monday January 22nd 1816: Sent the volume to Bickersteth²⁷ for a *legal* opinion – correcting cancels.

Tuesday January 23rd 1816: Correcting cancels.

Wednesday January 24th 1816: Sent up *Letters*, cancelled, to the press.

Thursday January 25th 1816: Rode up to London – dined at the Royal Society Club – went in the evening to the Society, where met Byron, who was inaugurated by my father, and who heard a memoir on cutting the right

²⁴: The effect of the previous night's roister is revealed by Augusta: Hanson is convinced that Sir Ralph and George Byron should both speak not only to H., and also to his father, to dissuade him from taking B. to the continent, a course which all are positive will end in B.'s death.

²⁵: H. is intending to stand as M.P. for Cambridge University.

²⁶: A cancel is either a page which has been suppressed, or the page which substitutes for it.

²⁷: Henry Bickersteth (1783-1851) afterwards Lord Langdale and Master of the Rolls, was a close friend of H. who shared his radical views. He married Lady Jane Harley.

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hand of nerves in rabbits and plating them with tin²⁸ – went to Drury Lane behind the scenes, &c. Slept at Cocoa Tree and supped in Oyster.²⁹

Friday January 26th 1816: Called on Bickersteth, who told me he had been kept up till six in the morning reading my book, of which he is much afeard. Rode home. Dined at Roger Wilbraham's where met a Mr Lynch, related to the Mayor of Bordeaux, and a French count. Mr Lynch was at Bordeaux when Bonaparte landed – he owned there was no conspiracy – he heard Marshall Massena say to the Count, “Bonaparte puts us in a most dreadful predicament – we must break our oaths if we join him, and join him we must if he succeeds”. The duc d'Angoulême told the Count he should march into Lyons as easily as a knife cuts a pat of butter.³⁰

I was ill at Rogers'.

Saturday January 27th 1816:³¹ Bickersteth's cancels come down – I employed the morning in looking at them. The Hatfields dined with us – Ben Goling &c. &c. singing.

Sunday January 28th 1816: Cancelling – about *thirty-eight* more pages left.

Monday January 29th 1816: Sent cancels to London.

²⁸: Note pending on weird experiment.

²⁹: Oyster unidentified. H. again omits much of what happened that evening: B. and H. went to the Royal Society, and then the play. They came home with B. in a dreadful humour, saying that they intended to go to Paris. H. told Augusta she looked as if she didn't like him, and as if she thought he was responsible for B.'s heavy drinking. B. was defensive of H., and Augusta demanded to know why, when no-one had accused him of anything? She, she said, would be very happy to tell H. what she thought of him. B. was very aggressive, and queried her right to speak about H. at all. H., said B., was a great defender of Annabella. Augusta asked B. whether he thought well of H., and B. responded by saying that he would go off with the first woman who would accompany him, mentioning Lady Frances Wedderburn Webster. Augusta thought that B. is trying to bully her into leaving so that H. will be able to replace her place.

³⁰: Angoulême did not march into Lyons at all. Bonaparte got there first.

³¹: Augusta is by this date convinced that H. is driving B. to his destruction.

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Tuesday January 30th 1816: Calves' Head day.³² Began to write on Lord Elgin's letter.³³

Wednesday January 31st 1816: <writing in the letter> Went to Osterly – a *battu* with Ellice and General Ferguson and Kinnaird and Mr Whitbread. Ellice told me that the family of Whitbread were angry with the executors for having given up the brewery, and wanted to get young Sam into it – he told me that in seven years Whitbread would have £30,000 a year. Wiltshire the Executor laughs at this, and says after paying the jointure he has not five at present. Had great sport – killed ninety-four pheasants and hares – seven pheasants. I shot dreadfully – say ridiculously. Tremendous frost – came home not well.

Thursday February 1st 1816: Parliament meets – writing to Elgin.

Friday February 2nd 1816: John Russell³⁴ spoke on <debates> the address, and very well. Only one man sat on the first Opposition Bench – division by Sir G Heathcote:³⁵ *Twenty-three!!!* Castlereagh told Romilly *not* to wander by discussing foreign politics!!! Writing letter to Elgin.

Saturday February 3rd 1816: Ditto – ditto.

Sunday February 4th 1816: Ditto.

Monday February 5th 1816: Rode up to London with my father. Called on printer to hasten him with the book – afterwards went to Bickersteth and to Cullen,³⁶ who agreed to review me in the *Edinburgh* – if he can!!!

Called on Lord Byron, and finding him very low indeed, he at last told me with great agitation that he had received a letter from Sir Ralph Noel³⁷ in

³²: A revolutionary celebration, commemorating the execution of Charles I.

³³: I do not know what H. wrote to Elgin.

³⁴: Lord John Russell (1792-1878); Whig statesman, mover of the 1832 Reform Bill.

³⁵: Heathcote unidentified.

³⁶: Cullen unidentified.

³⁷: The letter, drafted by Lushington (see 12 Feb 1816) had been sent once in an earlier form and intercepted by Augusta. Printed at *Recollections* II 209-10, and at *Burnett* 101, it runs thus: 'My Lord. However painful it may be to me, I find myself compelled by every feeling as a parent, and principle as a man, to address your Lordship on a subject which I hardly suppose will be any surprise to you. *Very recently*, Circumstances have come to my knowledge, which Convince me, that with

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London, demanding a *separation* between him and his daughter – on general grounds of *ill-treatment*, *dismissal* from his house, and avowed intent of going abroad and living in London as a single man. Amicable arrangement he offered – but if not, hinted at legal measures. Lord Byron replied very properly that he should give no answer till he knew whether his daughter authorised him to take such a step. He received the letter on Friday. Mrs Leigh wrote to Lady Byron the same day, and Lord Byron the next. Byron showed me a letter of Lady Byron's to him³⁸ dated the 16th of January last, beginning *My dearest duck!!* couched in most playful affectionate terms, telling him there is a large room for him to sit and *sulk* in, saying she wants nothing but her dearest Byron, and signing herself *pip-ip-p.*, a nick name of hers, given her by Byron, of *pippin*. This I thought inexplicable.

Byron had received no answer from Kirkby – he was completely knocked up. He instantly accepted my offer to write to Lady Byron, which I did in great agitation,³⁹ conjuring her not to take such a step, reminding her when she promised me to be happy at handing her into the carriage at Seaham, &c. In short, just what the moment of this dreadful news prompted.

your opinions it cannot tend to your happiness to continue to live with Lady Byron, and I am yet more forcibly Convinced that after her dismissal from your house, and the treatment she experienced whilst in it, those on whose protection she has the strongest natural claims could not feel themselves justified in permitting her return thither.' In the first version the last sentence had run '... her return to you after her dismissal from your house and the treatment she experienced whilst in it is not consistent either with her Comfort, or, I regret to add, personal safety'. (LBW 382). Noel then proposes a settlement of separation.

³⁸: 'DEAREST DUCK, – / We got here quite well last night, and were ushered into the kitchen instead of drawing-room, by a mistake that might have been agreeable enough to hungry people. Of this and other incidents Dad wants to write you a jocose account, & both he & Mam long to have the family party completed. Such a W.C.! and such a *sitting-room* or *sulking-room* all to yourself. If I were not always looking about for Byron I should be a great deal better already for country air. *Miss* finds her provisions increased, & fattens thereon. It is a good thing she can't understand all the flattery bestowed upon her, "Little angel". Love to the good goose, and everybody's love to you both from hence. Ever thy most loving. *Pippin ... Pip—ip.*' (LBW 351). Compare the tidied-up version at *Recollections* II 202-3. Annabella subsequently described the letter to Lushington as having been styled jestingly to fit in with B.'s mood.

³⁹: H. wrote one on the 5th, and another, much longer, more pompous, ignorant and alienating, on the 6th.

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At the same time Byron wrote, and either by my advice or Mrs Leigh's, put the letter under cover to her maid – Fletcher's wife – <who has written>

Byron told me he could make no sort of guess at the cause of this measure – that they parted good friends, and that he was thinking of going down the following (last) Sunday.

George Byron⁴⁰ had been down at <Seaham> Keeble, and found Lady Noel like a fury ... Byron confessed he had been often out of temper with her, refused to live with her friends, told her she was in his way – but then he had a liver complaint, and from one to four executors in his house at a time. I never saw him so much affected in my life – it is a terrible blow indeed, and as he told me this day, quite unexpected. I took leave of him in a little less better state than himself ... and rode home to Whitton – at night I told Sophy the story.

Tuesday February 6th 1816: Employed the whole morning in writing a long, long letter to Lady Byron,⁴¹ in which I stated the case in every point of view as far as I knew it, and showed the unreasonableness of her leaving him for fear he should leave her, and of a couple separating after a twelvemonth merely for difference of taste and feelings. Read the letter to Lady Holland, and afterwards to my father.

Dined at Colonel Espinance's.⁴² Stupid day, indeed – snow on the ground – up till four, writing my letter over again.

Wednesday February 7th 1816: Sent letter to Lady Byron for Lord Byron to read and transmit if he pleased. Did nothing I believe but correct proofs of cancels.

⁴⁰: B.'s cousin, who inherits the title on B.'s death.

⁴¹: There are two letters from H. to Lady Byron, one written on February 5th and one on the 6th. The first is printed at *Recollections* II 221-7. Annabella copied it for Lushington, saying she didn't think its deep art deserved notice. H.'s manner to her on the few occasions they've met, she says, has always been affected and nervous. On 19 Feb 1816 she further tells Lushington that H. is trying to ruin B.; that he is responsible for B.'s mistreatment of her; that he hates her parents, and that his flattery of her has always been gross and insincere.

⁴²: Espinance unidentified.

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Thursday February 8th 1816: Received a letter from Adair,⁴³ transmitted by Lord Holland, asking “my dear Hobhouse” to translate a letter from Ali Pasha to him. I sat down to this letter and hardly made out two lines in the whole day – a most difficult job indeed, but I was ashamed to send it back and own my incompetency –⁴⁴

Friday February 9th 1816: Went with my father in his carriage to town. A tremendous frost, the hardest known for years.

Called at Byron’s. Mrs Leigh not up.⁴⁵ Went to Flahaut, who read to me notes on my book, which as far as I can see, does not please him⁴⁶ – I can’t help that. However, I make use of his notes at the end, and make two cancels to please him. My French I find damned bad. I shall never do for a philologist.⁴⁷ In my way to town, picked up a letter from Douglas Kinnaird in terms of rapture about my book, and what is better, when I called on him in the morning I caught him reading it – he tells me it is more entertaining than a novel.

From Flahaut’s I went to Murray’s, where I saw little Gifford the poet⁴⁸ for the first time, and wrote out Flahaut’s notes, at least the substance of them, and afterwards carried them myself to Davison’s⁴⁹ who promised a proof by half-past six. I took cold pie⁵⁰ at the Cocoa Tree. Came to Murray’s. Nothing there – and then for the second time called on Lord Byron.

⁴³: Sir Robert Adair, whom they had met in 1810 when he was English ambassador at Constantinople.

⁴⁴: H. finally has it translated by 13 February. His embarrassment is caused by the parade of philological expertise he makes in *Travels through Albania*.

⁴⁵: Augusta was living with B. from choice; as Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Charlotte, she had rooms at St. James’s Palace.

⁴⁶: Flahaut was probably embarrassed by the book’s whole-hearted Bonapartism, given the fact that he was himself now on good terms with the Bourbons.

⁴⁷: H. is thinking too of his current difficulties with the letter from Ali Pasha (see previous day).

⁴⁸: William Gifford (1756-1826) author of *The Baviad* and *Maeviad*, Murray’s literary advisor, editor of the *Quarterly*, and B.’s cultural idol. The third edition of *Letters* attacks him in its preface as a courtly parasite. See BLJ V 169 for B. embarrassment

⁴⁹: Murray’s printer.

⁵⁰: “pye” (Ms.)

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Last night I sent Parsons to town for intelligence. Byron wrote to me a note⁵¹ saying, “It is all over. Mrs Leigh has had one letter, and, since, another,⁵² quite decisive of her determination. I am going abroad as soon as packages can be got ready – ‘There is a world beyond Rome’.”⁵³ He told me twice in his note to come up – [] my first visit, I was shown Byron’s correspondence. My father and myself had agreed that the best thing for Byron to do was to write to Lady Byron saying his house was open when she chose to come back, and to Sir Ralph positively refusing all separation.

I found he had done this, and in excellent terms – his wife’s two letters to Mrs Leigh and himself were in a strange, forced style, saying she never had been happy from the day of her marriage – that Byron unfortunately valued nothing that he had, and only what he lost⁵⁴ ... a very exaggerated picture, I thought ... She was very angry at Byron’s sending the letter through her maid, said she had done everything *herself*. She evidently piques herself on her perseverance, and Byron says this is her character, and will make her relentless. Miss Doyle⁵⁵ is with her. At the same time of this pointed refusal to return ever within his doors comes a letter from Fletcher’s wife, her maid, stating in express terms that it is all compulsion on the part of the Noels, and that her mistress is rolling on the floor in an agony of regret at having *promised* to separate, and being *forced* to separate.⁵⁶ Mrs Leigh insists she still loves him.

I was indignant at this conduct of a woman in love running the risk of murdering her husband. Mrs Leigh was questioned before me, and owned that not a day passed without some mutual endearment. She sat on his knee – she kissed him five thousand times before Mrs Leigh – rather he kissed her – he never *lifted up* a finger against her. The harshest thing he ever said was that she was in his way. He told me that except when with Miss Boyce⁵⁷ he

⁵¹: BLJ V 24.

⁵²: Printed at *Recollections* II 230.

⁵³: B.’s version of Coriolanus III iii 137: *There is a world elsewhere*.

⁵⁴: Annabella tells B. that he always thinks what he has is worthless, and that what he has lost is invaluable. He always said that he was most unhappy when with her.

⁵⁵: Selina Doyle was a friend of the Noels. Her brother Colonel Francis Hastings Doyle acted as legal adviser to Annabella at this time; he was one of the two Memoir-burners (see 17 May 1824).

⁵⁶: Mrs Fletcher subsequently made a deposition, printed at *Recollections* II 263-6.

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had never been guilty of any infidelity towards her, and that she could not guess this. He told me and told me again and again that he had told me *all*.⁵⁸

The matter continued inexplicable. Hanson⁵⁹ advised the same conduct as my father. Douglas Kinnaird told me this morning that the Melbournes are in arms against Lady Byron – George Lamb called her a d'd fool, but added that Caroline Lamb accused Byron of ———. ⁶⁰ Poor fellow, the plot thickens against him. He is depressed most dreadfully, yet still laughs as usual and says he shall “go to court to be presented on his separation”. His *Siege of Corinth* and *Parisina* I bought today – it is to be published on Tuesday.⁶¹ He showed me that the first was dedicated to John Hobhouse Esq. this poem is inscribed by his

“*Friend*”

He thought this sublime – I should have liked it better if he had not inscribed *Parisina* to S.B.Davies.⁶² I told him this. Hanson did not come as expected and at half-past nine I left London and rode to Whitton, through the hardest shining frost I ever recollect – thermometer twenty degrees below the freezing point.⁶³

⁵⁷: In autumn 1815 B. had had a brief liaison with Susan Boyce, a Drury Lane actress.

⁵⁸: H. discovers that B. is lying to him on 12 Feb 1816.

⁵⁹: John Hanson, B.'s lawyer.

⁶⁰: H.'s heavy dash signifies “sodomy”; revenge has been adduced as Caroline's motive for the rumour-mongering. Annabella reported, “There is *no* vice with which he has not endeavoured to familiarise me” (quoted *Joyce*, 100).

⁶¹: The book was indeed published on Feb 13. On Jan 4 Annabella had written about it to Lady Melbourne: “The subjects are founded on historical facts – the “Siege of Corinth” and “Parisina”. There is more description in the former and more passion in the latter – which will be preferred on the whole I know not.” (LBW 345). On Jan 17 B. as complained, “why does Pip object to my *versifying*”: at another time she writes, “... don't give yourself up to the abominable trade of versifying – nor to brandy – nor to any thing or any body that is not *lawful & right*” (*Marchand* II 563). Her tone is jocular, which B. should have seen.

⁶²: Scrope Berdmore Davies, their gambling friend, Fellow of Kings. H.'s jealousy is understandable. The dedication to *The Siege of Corinth* runs *To / John Hobhouse, Esq. / This Poem is inscribed / by his / Friend*: whereas that to *Parisina* runs *To Scrope Beardmore Davies, Esq. / The following Poem / is inscribed / by one who has long admired his Talents / and valued his Friendship*.

⁶³: The weather in 1816 was freakish, owing in part to the eruption of Mount Tambora in Indonesia the previous year, which affected the upper atmosphere. Summer seemed hardly to come, and people could stare directly at the sun without harming their eyes.

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Saturday February 10th 1816: Working at Ali's letter. Dinner at home. Major George Marley⁶⁴ told me that the French general Amiel,⁶⁵ when he went with his [] to ⁶⁶ he communicated the convention to him – fired on him – that when he was to ask Loudon⁶⁷ for this, he advanced with all his staff, and taking off his hat cried “Vive L’Empereur!” – that when Marley told him of the convention he seemed frantic and tore his hair – that when he parted with him he gave his word of honour the party would meet no patrols – and Marley heard nothing but *qui vives*⁶⁸ all round him. Miss Byng, a pleasant woman,⁶⁹ there.

Sunday February 11th 1816: Working at Ali's letter – made out all but one word and the last sentence. Sinclair – George⁷⁰ – with us, and Mr H. Porter.⁷¹ Sinclair was exceedingly entertaining and showed his talents, which are very singular indeed – he beats *us* all in talking – but, as Baillie says, the pup⁷² has no mind – he is excessively ignorant of passing matter, e.g., he thought Louis was made King by the provisional government⁷³ – he is a Xtian.

Monday February 12th 1816: Went up to town with Mr Porter in a chaise, and by the way made out the last sentence in Ali's letter – only one word remaining.

Called on Byron saw Mrs Leigh and George Byron, and from them learnt what I fear is the real truth – that Byron has been guilty of very great tyranny – menaces – furies – neglects, and even real injuries,⁷⁴ such as telling his

⁶⁴: Marley unidentified.

⁶⁵: Amiel unidentified.

⁶⁶: Ms. gap.

⁶⁷: Loudon unidentified.

⁶⁸: French equivalent of “Who goes there?” The standard sentinel's challenge.

⁶⁹: A rare compliment from the misogynist H.

⁷⁰: George Sinclair (1790-1868) fellow Harrovian of B. and M.P. for Caithness (though not in 1816).

⁷¹: A neighbour of the H.s at Whitton.

⁷²: Word erased but discernible.

⁷³: Wellington had given the French provisional government no choice but to recall Louis XVIII.

⁷⁴: B. had created drunken scenes; had an affair with a Drury Lane actress; had sent Annabella out of the room as he sat with Augusta, telling her his half-sister was his real love; had fired a pistol and thrown soda-bottles at the ceiling as Annabella lay upstairs in labour; and had told her that he hoped she and the child would die.

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wife he was *living* with another woman, and actually, in *fact*, turning her out of the house. George Byron suspected she would leave him and told him so a month before she went – but she had no intention of doing it when she went from London – – locking doors – showing pistols – frowning at her in bed – reproaches – everything – he seems, to believe them, to have been guilty of – and they acquit him – how? by saying that he is mad⁷⁵ – certainly – and that Mr Le Mann⁷⁶ says it is the consequence of a torpid liver, which has already affected his eyes – made one smaller than the other and made him squint. He has gone to the length of strutting about in his peer’s robes, and saying he was like Bonaparte, and the greatest man in the world, not excepting Bonaparte.

Whilst I heard these things Mrs Leigh went out and brought word that her brother was crying bitterly in his bedroom – poor, poor fellow.

Lady Byron has written again to Mrs Leigh – Byron has proposed a meeting before witnesses, but has had no answer. The family have retained Lushington,⁷⁷ and make no doubt of success – the great object certainly is to arrange things amicably – *coute qui coute*⁷⁸ – the thing must not come before the public.

⁷⁵: See *Don Juan*, I stanza 27:

*For Inez called some druggists and physicians,
And tried to prove her loving lord was mad,
But as he had some lucid intermissions,
She next decided he was only bad;
Yet when they asked her for her depositions,
No sort of Explanation could be had,
Save that her duty both to man and God*

Required this conduct - which seemed very odd. –

⁷⁶: Dr. Francis Le Mann was the doctor who had attended Annabella’s labour. It has been asserted that B. plays with his name at *Don Juan* II, 29, 8. The other doctor Annabella consulted over B.’s mental state was Dr Baillie, Joanna’s brother. He is the “mild Baillie” of *Don Juan* X, 42, 8.

⁷⁷: Dr Stephen Lushington (1782-1873) was the Noels’ principle legal adviser during the separation proceedings. He was subsequently one of the defenders of Queen Caroline in 1820, and defended booksellers from the right-wing Constitutional Association. He ended as an Admiralty judge.

⁷⁸: “Whatever it may cost”.

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I found it difficult to account for his wishing to deceive me. Mrs Leigh and George Byron tell me he forgets what he did and said – it is part of his disease – Le Mann insists on calling a physician.

I now thought it my duty to tell Byron I had changed my opinion, and to tell him so without compromising my informants – yesterday I had received a letter from Lady Byron⁷⁹ telling me the determination was irrevocable, and declining my proposed visit in civil terms – left Byron's to call again – went to hurry Davison – came back wrote two notes at Ridgeway's – went to Byron's – met Lady Melbourne⁸⁰ who abused Lady Noel violently.⁸¹ Byron was tranquil and jesting, but when I told him what I had heard *in the streets* that day he was astounded indeed,⁸² and after Lady Melbourne went questioned me – he had heard he was to be accused of cruelty, drunkenness, and *infidelity* – I got him to own much of what I had been told in the morning – he was dreadfully agitated – said he was ruined, and would blow out his brains – he is indignant, but yet terrified – sometimes says “And yet she loved me once,” and at other times that he is glad to be quit of such a woman – he said if I would go abroad he would separate at once – Hanson has got Ralph Noel to suspend proceedings.

I took my leave of my poor friend – alas! what a ruin – I never knock at his door without expecting to hear some fatal intelligence – yet he flashes up sometimes in his fits and is the same man as before – could his wife but know she would surely relent.

This night I was to have gone to the play with George Finch, but did not find him and did not go – instead I went to Ridgeway, got him to publish my book, of which I have cancelled eleven sheets!! and walked away to Davison with the intelligence. Tomorrow my copies are to be delivered to my friends, and I have been foolishly profuse of them to people I hardly know. Lord

⁷⁹: *Recollections* II 230.

⁸⁰: Lady Melbourne was (i) Caroline Lamb's mother-in-law and (ii) Sir Ralph Noel's sister. She was not on good terms with Lady Noel.

⁸¹: Told by Augusta that B. was suicidal, Lady Noel, says H., retorted “So much the better; it is not fit such men should live” (*Recollections* II 207). B.'s hostility to his mother-in-law, and *his* impatience for *her* death, seem readily explicable. See *Don Juan* I 125, 1-4.

⁸²: H.'s method of protecting his sources, and saying that what they'd told him was the common talk of the streets, would not have done B.'s equilibrium any good.

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Kinnaird is come back – says my book is excellent, and he will review it – he *was* sent away by the Bourbons.⁸³ I saw Douglas Kinnaird.

Rode home – ate boiled beef ...

Tuesday February 13th 1816:⁸⁴ ... I made out the last word in Ali's letter, copied it, translated it, and enclosed it to Lord Holland – this is an exploit such as I have not long performed.

At evening, read aloud my dear friend's *Siege of Corinth* – the greater part of which is noble in the extreme⁸⁵ – at night I recollected a fault in the copy (Ἰωαννίωv)⁸⁶ and got up to tell my father not to take the letter to town with him.

Wednesday, February 14th 1816: Wrote journal from Jan 29th, sent the letter by twopenny post to Lord Holland – – – –

Thursday February 15th 1816: Doing nothing ...

Friday February 16th 1816: Went up to London. Called on Mrs Leigh at Byron's – find everything in abeyance – a note from her desired me to come up to speak to George Byron. I did speak to him, and found that in a party the night before what Kinnaird had told me⁸⁷ had been said openly by a woman – so that I am decided for going to work openly to disprove everything – – – Called on Cullen – heard his review read – it will not do – came back – dined with Douglas Kinnaird – met there Brougham,

⁸³: Note pending.

⁸⁴: The date is buried within the entries for 12 and 13 Feb 1816, as if to imply “after midnight”.

⁸⁵: The political subtext to *The Siege of Corinth* would be that Venetian renegades like Alp (that is, Whigs like B. and H.) who see the other side's point of view, and can act with the sort of disinterestedness which looks to Venetians (that is, to Tories) like treason, are heroic figures, impaled upon the horns of history. B.'s poem and H.'s *Letters* would thus complement each other.

⁸⁶: “Ioannina” (in the letter from Ali to Adair).

⁸⁷: Perhaps the rumour of incest between B. and Augusta..

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Lambton,⁸⁸ Bennett,⁸⁹ Flahaut, and the Duke of Sussex.⁹⁰ Hear very pretty things about my book, which however is not out. H.R.H. talked out of it. Lord Kinnaird there. He said if a frigate went out from Canning, Canning would come home in a fire-ship.⁹¹ He repeated a squib against Leach, the wretch,⁹² the best thing I have heard a long time:

The Leach you have purchased you first should have tried
To determine its nature and powers
How d’ye think that it ever will stick to your side
Who has dropped off so lately from ours?

H.R.H. is good-natured, with a monstrous hand – speaks French well.

Went to Byron’s – sat with him till past one – told him the very worst I had heard against him, which he received to my astonishment with very little discomposure – poor fellow – his wife says she thought him mad,⁹³ but does not think him so now.⁹⁴ She has declined all interviews with him. Murray is evidently afraid he has printed too many copies of the poems.⁹⁵ Says Byron, “If the fellow is mad who will buy the remarks – I wish I had let him be shot before I had bought the remarks”⁹⁶ – I rode home – fine moonlight night.

Saturday February 17th 1816: Writing – something – review of Dictionary.¹

⁸⁸: John George Lambton (1792-1840) Whig politician; subsequently first Earl of Durham.

⁸⁹: Charles Augustus Bennett (1776-1859) Baron Ossulton, later the Earl of Tankerville; a Whig.

⁹⁰: Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773-1843) sixth son of George III, alienated from him by his Whig politics. President of the Royal Society, 1830-9; Grand Master of the Freemasons.

⁹¹: The joke about George Canning revolves around “frigate” (“frig it”) and “a fire ship”, which was slang for a diseased woman.

⁹²: Sir John Leach (1760-1834) whom they had thought a Whig supporter had just (i) applied for the Chiltern Hundreds and (ii) accepted the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Cornwall from the Prince Regent.

⁹³: “made” (Ms.)

⁹⁴: See her letter at *Recollections* II 244-5.

⁹⁵: *The Siege of Corinth* and *Parisina*.

⁹⁶: See BLJ V 28. The joke is from Pope, *The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris concerning Mr. John Dennis*.

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Sunday February 18th 1816: Ditto.

Monday February 19th 1816: The treaties⁹⁷ discussed tonight.

Tuesday February 20th 1816: Writing – – I never read – Murry 77⁹⁸ – the Grenvilles⁹⁹ come back.

Wednesday, February 21st 1816: Wrote remarks on Liverpool's speech, who actually said that the provisional government and the chambers dissolved themselves,¹⁰⁰ and on Castlereagh's, who said the last acts of Bonaparte's government was to make a list of the women in the departments to be made out to guard his soldiers.¹⁰¹

Thursday February 22nd 1816: Wrote remarks on speeches and sent them to Perry with a letter.

Friday February 23rd 1816: Went to London with my father. Walked about. Called on Kinnaird. Lord Kinnaird does review the book. Went to Ridgeway – Mrs Ridgeway asked me if I would let them sell the letters on their own account. I went to Murray, who said yes. I returned and agreed – and wrote to that purpose – the book not published yet!!!

Called on Byron.

Saw S.B.Davies, who says there are two good things in it – angle of elevation – and the watch,¹⁰² adding, he gave them to me – rode home.

Lady Byron left Kirkby.¹⁰³

Saturday February 24th 1816: Did nothing.

⁹⁷: Treaties unidentified.

⁹⁸: Unclear. Seems to refer to a vote in the Commons.

⁹⁹: Note pending.

¹⁰⁰: The two French chambers of deputies were dissolved (on 8 July 1815) upon the *fiat* of the Allies.

¹⁰¹: A lie representative of the Tory propaganda *Letters* is designed to counter.

¹⁰²: Davies, who never wrote anything himself, is bitching.

¹⁰³: Last four words of entry added later.

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Sunday February 25th 1816: Review of Dictionary. Much pleased with reading Aubrey's Lives lately. *Mem*: what Hobbes said to Selden when he was dying¹⁰⁴ – and drove away the priest. It is strange Aubrey should call Hobbes a Xtian.¹⁰⁵ Finished learning Johnson's poetry.¹⁰⁶

Monday February 26th 1816: Review of Dictionary – and ...

Tuesday February 27th 1816: No news of Perry – wrote journal from Thursday February 15th – few lines of Prologue for *Duke of Milan*.¹⁰⁷

Wednesday February 28th 1816: Went to London – put up at 11 Great Ryder Street, the lodging of S.B.Davies Esqre. Dined with my father at the Duke of Somerset's.¹⁰⁸ The Duchess is an agreeable person – and the Duke – but shy – our party not bright – Douglas Kinnaird the best!!! Langton, Dickenson, X¹⁰⁹ a dull man. Stayed till the party broke up for the House of Commons. The Duchess whips in for the opposition,¹¹⁰ which now begins to conceive hopes, and is rising against the military establishment and income tax. Sat up at Cocoa Tree afterwards.

Thursday February 29th 1816: Called at Holland House, 20 Saville Row – complimented by the Lady¹¹¹ on the success of my book, which is published, partially, at last. She told me she had cut *Benjamin Constant*¹¹² for calling

¹⁰⁴: Hobbes didn't say it to Selden when he was dying, he said it to some French divines who *thought* he was dying: "Let me alone, or els I will detect all your cheates from Aaron to yourselves" (*Aubrey's Lives*).

¹⁰⁵: "... that he [Hobbes] was a Christian 'tis cleare, for he received the sacrament of Dr Pierson" (*Aubrey's Lives*).

¹⁰⁶: *Lines on the Death of Dr. Robert Levett*, which H. has been trying to learn for some time.

¹⁰⁷: *The Duke of Milan* was a play by Richard Cumberland, adapting Massinger.

¹⁰⁸: Edward Adolphus Seymour (1775-1855) 11th Duke of Somerset, mathematician and antiquarian. His wife Charlotte was daughter of the Duke Hamilton.

¹⁰⁹: It's not clear whether "X" relates to Dickenson (who is unidentified, as is Langton) or whether it stands for someone else.

¹¹⁰: Perhaps not in the same way that Lady Oxford did.

¹¹¹: Lady Holland.

¹¹²: Benjamin Constant (1767-1830) author of *Adolphe*, sometime lover of Madame de Staël and now a prominent Bonapartist. He wrote the short-lived constitution of the Hundred Days.

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Brussels the enemy's camp, meaning Sièyes and the exiled French.¹¹³ She had heard him say this at Madame Lieven's,¹¹⁴ and kept it in [Zetto? Letto?]¹¹⁵ two days, then brought it out before Flahaut, and completely knocked him up – she was in high spirits. Perry told me to day that Constant and Sebastiani have been dining with Street of the *Courier*.¹¹⁶ Constant had made applications to Lady Holland and Perry for my book – he means to defend the King of France – he, Louis, having with his own hand struck him out of the proscription list.¹¹⁷

Dined this day with Byron and Davies at Watiers. Byron merry, it appears – Lady Byron is at Mivart's Hotel¹¹⁸ with her father. She has again declined an interview, but says “under present circumstances,”¹¹⁹ which looks more tractable. Mrs Leigh has been forbid all intercourse with her at her lawyer's request. A story has now got abroad against her *and Byron!!!*¹²⁰

Went after dinner to the Cocoa Tree and sat up in the play room, where S.B.Davies lost his money.

Friday March 1st 1816: Called on Lady Melbourne either this day or next. Told her I had hopes things were coming round, but was shown by her a letter from Lady Byron to her, in which she said she wondered Lord Byron had not more regard for his own character than to think of going before the public and in the same high tone as ever. I prayed Lady Melbourne to ask for an interview in spite of all rebuffs. She said she would. She agreed with me that Lady Noel appeared to be coming round. Sir J. B Burgess,¹²¹ who had

¹¹³: Those exiled by the Bourbons after Waterloo.

¹¹⁴: Dorothea, Princess of Lieven (1784-1857) Metternich's mistress.

¹¹⁵: Both the spelling of this word, and its meaning, are unclear. It seems to imply “keep it in reserve”.

¹¹⁶: The *Courier* was a Tory paper.

¹¹⁷: The list which had included the name of Marshal Ney: see 28 July 1815 and 12 Dec 1815.

¹¹⁸: Established in 1808 in Brook Street, Mivart's was the hotel which eventually metamorphosed into Claridge's.

¹¹⁹: See her letter at *Recollections* II 287; the phrase there is *under existing circumstances*.

¹²⁰: *Burnett* (p. 106) has *her* (Mrs. L) *and B!!!* H. seems never to credit this story, which now has common acceptance. See B. to Augusta, 17 May 1819 (BLJ VI 129-30).

¹²¹: Sir James Bland Burgess, co-trustee with Lord Henley of the Noel estate.

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been treated haughtily before, had now been requested by Mrs Hervey¹²² to write to Lady Noel.

Either this day or about, Lord Byron received a legal proposal through Lord Holland for giving up [to] Lady Byron £500 per annum, and half the *Noel* reversion – it was hinted that by this he would gain £500 a year for the present. He rejected it with indignation, and determined never to sign anything relative to the Kirkby property.

Dined at 20 Saville Row¹²³ a large party: Tierney,¹²⁴ Horner,¹²⁵ Mackintosh,¹²⁶ (an inmate) Wishaw,¹²⁷ Flahaut, Perry, Lauderdale,¹²⁸ W. Russell.¹²⁹ They crowded and crusted my Lady,¹³⁰ who was indignant. The party in great spirits at the Wednesday last debate – think the income tax will not be carried. I was *much* complimented on my book by all, particularly Mackintosh, Wishaw, and Horner.

Tierney told a story of Lord Aberdeen's butler, who lost an eye by winking at his master which was a good bottle of wine.¹³¹ Perry mentioned to me that the Duke of Northumberland¹³² had written a letter ordering his member to vote against the income tax – poor old Northy is sick at changing sides, and Brogden¹³³ trembles for his £1,200 per annum.

A pleasant day, rather ... but bustling. In the evening, went to Cocoa Tree, and had a great deal of talk with Peg Wharton¹³⁴ on the Byron business – tried and got him to go to Sir Ralph Noel and state the truth – that Byron

¹²²: Elizabeth Hervey (the Ms. has "Harvey") William Beckford's sister and a friend of Lady Noel's.

¹²³: The Hollands' town house.

¹²⁴: George Tierney (1761-1830) Whig M.P. for Appleby.

¹²⁵: Francis Horner (1778-1817) Whig M.P. for St. Mawes.

¹²⁶: Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832) Scots philosopher and Whig M.P. for Nairn.

¹²⁷: Note pending on Wishaw.

¹²⁸: Lord Lauderdale, who brought the manuscript of *Don Juan* I to England; see 23 Jan 1818.

¹²⁹: Note pending on W. Russell.

¹³⁰: Lady Holland.

¹³¹: Joke obscure. Perhaps the incident occurred at an auction.

¹³²: Hugh Percy (1742-1817) second Duke of Northumberland; a veteran of the American War of Independence, popular with his soldiers and tenants. One of his tame M.P.s was

¹³³: James Brogden (?1765-1842) M.P. for Launceston.

¹³⁴: Gerard Blisson Wharton, senior partner in the firm of Wharton and Ford, who had now taken over from William Hoare (see 2 Jan 15) as Sir Ralph Noel's solicitors.

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would give any guarantees for any good conduct in future – imprinted on his mind the fondness of Byron for his wife – and also the chance of his prosecuting *people* for a conspiracy or detainer of his wife.

Saturday March 2nd 1816: Saw Byron in the morning. Walked about – did nothing. Jackson, pugilist,¹³⁵ called in the morning and told us flash stories of Huffington White,¹³⁶ whose *misfortunes* were recounted in a most feeling manner by Bill Gibbons¹³⁷ to Lord Huntley.¹³⁸ Bill said he would die like a lamb, i.e. not peach.¹³⁹ He did so, and when the clergyman told him that if he would confess he might do something for him, said, “I fear not, Sir, unless you can summon any one to be twitched¹⁴⁰ for me”. He said Bill Gibbons had a thousand pounds in notes stuffed into the bricks of his house.

Byron¹⁴¹ and I dined at R. Knights’ – Kinnaird, Burdett,¹⁴² Peg Wharton and others there. Loud, noisy, unpleasant day – Kinnaird rude to Webb.¹⁴³ I sat up at Cocoa Tree.

Sunday March 3rd 1816: In the morning, looking over Prologue for *Duke of Milan*.

Dined at Stepney’s;¹⁴⁴ Norton, Adam,* S.B.Davies, Browne,¹⁴⁵ and Lady¹⁴⁶ ... Stepney was agreeable till drunk, then he called Norton a damned

¹³⁵: “Gentleman” John Jackson (1769-1845) champion boxer of England between 1795 and 1803. B.’s pugilistic “pastor and master” (BLJ V 179).

¹³⁶: Note pending on Huffington White.

¹³⁷: Bill Gibbons seconded Joe Ward in his contest against Jack Mowet in the Long fields; he was also bottle-holder in the bout between Tom Molineux and Great Jacobs a few miles from Margate on 21 Aug 1810. More research pending.

¹³⁸: George Gordon, 9th Marquess of Huntley (1761-1853) Tory peer.

¹³⁹: To peach is to rat: to inform on his criminal associates.

¹⁴⁰: Hanged.

¹⁴¹: The Ms. has “D”.

¹⁴²: Sir Francis Burdett (1777-1844) radical Whig MP. To be H.’s partner in several Westminster elections. H. will propose without success to two of his daughters.

¹⁴³: Perhaps Sir Thomas Webb (see *Shelley* I 192 and n).

¹⁴⁴: Stepney, or Stepney’s, unidentified.

¹⁴⁵: Norton, Adams and Browne all unidentified; but this is *not* the Holland House Circle.

¹⁴⁶: H. does not write which Lady, or whether she was one.

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blockhead. Norton told a story of O.D.Byrne¹⁴⁷ writing to him: “On Monday next I passed through Beverley¹⁴⁸ when I found

¹⁴⁹ *conversing*”.¹⁵⁰

Stepney told of Hare¹⁵¹ that when Sir William Draper¹⁵² said to him in great trouble at Brooke’s – “I’ve lost my wife” – “At what – quinze or hazard?”

It was a pleasant day – – – drank too much ...

Monday March 4th 1816:¹⁵³ Called on Hanson and argued with him the case as to the expediency of citing Lady Byron to join her husband,¹⁵⁴ and so losing the vantage ground. Agreed to lay the case before the folk of the Doctors’ Commons.¹⁵⁵ Called on my father, and stated the case to him. He appeared to be for citing.

¹⁴⁷: Byrne unidentified.

¹⁴⁸: In Yorkshire.

¹⁴⁹: Ms. gap.

¹⁵⁰: “Fornicating”.

¹⁵¹: Hare unidentified.

¹⁵²: Note pending on Draper.

¹⁵³: B. wrote two letters to Annabella on this date. See BLJ V 40-41.

¹⁵⁴: See B. to Hanson, BLJ V 42.

¹⁵⁵: Compare *Don Juan* I, stanza 36, with its Hobhousean “poor fellow!”:

*Whate'er might be his worthlessness or worth,
 Poor fellow! he had many things to wound him –
 Let's own, since it can do no good on earth –
 It was a trying moment that which found him
 Standing alone beside his desolate hearth,
 Where all his household Gods lay shivered round him;
 No Choice was left his feelings or his pride,
 Save death or Doctors' Commons – so he died.*

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Dined at the Piazza¹⁵⁶ with Scrope. Went to Drury Lane. Joined Mrs and Miss Cuthbert¹⁵⁷ &c. in Byron's box. Saw Sir Giles Overreach¹⁵⁸ – it is a heavy play, but Kean is wonderful, in the last scene particularly.

Tuesday March 5th 1816: Went with Byron to Doctors' Commons. Met there Hanson, Farquhar the Proctor, Dr Jenner, Dr Adams, [and] Sir J. Robinson.¹⁵⁹ Byron stated his case first – he then retired, and I stated all the bad points told me by Mrs Leigh and Captain Byron. On hearing them the three Doctors were unanimous not to cite, but said they thought Lord Byron had a good *defendant's* case. Byron then appeared happy at the decision.

Dined this day with Jackson, pugilist, Lord Norton, and S.B.Davies, at Tom Cribb's.¹⁶⁰ Jackson appears most sensible, and managed mad Freryham¹⁶¹ wonderfully – we had claret in abundance. Tom Cribb sat down with us at last. He is a stupid beast. Jackson told us an extraordinary story of Corke¹⁶² of the Guards, who was hanged for housebreaking – he broke prison, and coming up to London sparred at the C[??????]¹⁶³ as if no-one was looking after him. He was retaken, and the day before he was hanged, said he was sorry he had not been at large a day longer, as he had a match to run a hundred yards¹⁶⁴ for fifty pounds, which he was sure of winning!!! Another man was told by the ordinary¹⁶⁵ at Newgate that if he did not confess he would be in hell everlastingly – “Well,” said he, “I think I can bear it”.

Drank too much – Jackson drunk.

¹⁵⁶: See *Beppo*, 5, 7-8: ... *bating Covent Garden, I can't hit on / A place that's called "Piazza" in Great Britain.*

¹⁵⁷: Mrs and Miss Cuthbert unidentified.

¹⁵⁸: *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* by Phillip Massinger. At BLJ VI 206 B. describes the “convulsions” and the “choaking shudder” into which Kean's performance threw him. It is not clear when that occurred, but if the performance to which H. alludes here was the one, other factors besides Kean's genius may have been responsible.

¹⁵⁹: Farquhar, Jenner, Adams and Robinson unidentified.

¹⁶⁰: Thomas Cribb (1781-1848) was a former coal-heaver and boxer who had by now become landlord of the King' Arms, Duke Street, St. James'.

¹⁶¹: Mad Freryham unidentified. Jackson is doing an impersonation.

¹⁶²: Could be “Cooke”.

¹⁶³: Name illegible.

¹⁶⁴: “years” (Ms.)

¹⁶⁵: The chaplain.

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Wednesday March 6th 1816: This day Lady Byron, after repeated letters from Byron to make up matters,¹⁶⁶ and after having protested solemnly to George Byron and to Mrs Leigh that nothing, no, not her father and mother going on their knees to her, should bring her back¹⁶⁷ (though she lost her case in court) gave her final answer¹⁶⁸ through Lord Holland. I wrote a letter in the morning, carried (this happened yesterday) it in my pocket to Doctors' Commons, showed it to Byron. He approved, and to Davies, who also approved. In that letter I begged her to consider her duty to God, &c., before she took her final resolution.¹⁶⁹

Got copy of the letter. Returning from the Commons, went to Lord Byron's, thence to Mivart's Hotel, and left the letter for Lady Byron. Thence to 20 Saville Row – saw Lord Holland – spoke to him on the subject. Found he had Lady Byron's letter in his pocket, and had written to Byron to ask leave to bring it to him. Whilst I was with him, came in a letter from Byron to Holland,¹⁷⁰ in which was a joke that made him laugh. It was, "Lady Byron's communications – alias excommunications". Lord Holland was decisive against any proceedings in court, but said that when he had taken the first propositions about the Kirkby property to Lord Byron, and had advised the proceeding quietly, he had not heard the scandalous rumours against him – "Which altered the case to my mind very naturally," he said, but which he still thought would stop of themselves. He was against public measures, and said they were wished for out of curiosity. I took leave of Lady Holland in a huff for asking her where Constant lived.¹⁷¹ She referred to her partner.

Calling on Byron, I found Lady Byron's letter of yesterday on her table – decisive but rather milder, and claiming a promise made to Lady Byron that should she prove the whole proceeding to be her own act and will, Lord Byron would consent to a private arrangement. I asked him if he had ever said so – he said his sister had said so for him. This decided me that Lady Byron had a right to demand the performance of this promise, but I spoke to

¹⁶⁶: BLJ V 21, 22, 24-5, 26-7, 30, 33, 38-9, and 40-1.

¹⁶⁷: Compare Mrs. Fletcher's words as reported on 9 Feb 1816.

¹⁶⁸: Printed at *Burnett* 107.

¹⁶⁹: H. does not realise (or does he?) that Annabella thinks him a detestable hypocrite, and that any appeals from him to God will only harden her resolve even more.

¹⁷⁰: The letter is lost.

¹⁷¹: See 29 Feb 16.

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Mrs Leigh and asked her if she did not think Lord Byron and his friends had a right to demand, previous to any separation, a positive disavowal of all the heinous charges made against Lord Byron, as making any part of her charge – she said yes.

Going to Lord Byron's I met Wilmot,¹⁷² who told me he had written a letter to me wishing to see me. We walked up and down Stratton Street together and argued the case – he for not bringing the matter into court, and I, on the grounds of the rumours, for bringing it in.¹⁷³ This was before I had seen Lady Byron's letter of yesterday. It seemed that Byron had written to ask Wilmot to call on him and to act the part of *mediator* to bring about a *private separation*. This I take to be the first offer of the kind made by Byron. We parted as we met, both with our own opinions – my visit to Byron altered my views of the subject. <I din'd at> Wilmot had seen Lady Byron and said there was not hope of reconciliation – she was determined never to come back.

Mrs Leigh told me her persuasion of Byron's madness was so strong that, she said, if he was mad nothing should prevent her from nursing him. Byron then wrote a note to her in which he quoted Goldsmith's mock elegy, "The dog it was that died,"¹⁷⁴ meaning he was not mad, but she. He did not send this note – but is perpetually sending short notes in a half-serious style.

I dined at the Cocoa Tree by myself. Came home – sat up till three writing Prologue for *Duke of Milan*.

Thursday March 7th 1816: In the morning I drew up a paper of declarations as preamble to the separation, in which Lady Byron disavowed cruelty systematic, unremitted neglect, gross repeated infidelities, incest and ———.¹⁷⁵ At two o'clock I went with Davies to Byron's, read the paper – Byron and Davies seemed to think those things had better not be put on

¹⁷²: Sir Robert Wilmot Horton (as he subsequently became: 1784-1841) was a cousin of Annabella's. His wife, Anne Horton, inspired *She Walks in Beauty*; he was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 1821-8. With Colonel Doyle he burnt B.'s memoirs at 50 Albemarle Street in 1824. At BLJ XI 169 B. refers to him as "that wretched Coxcomb Wilmot"; although according to Harriet Arbuthnot he was "a very sensible, agreeable man" (*Arbuthnot* I 130). He thought Peterloo only justice.

¹⁷³: H., unlike Wilmot, seems anxious that the rumours should be aired.

¹⁷⁴: Goldsmith, *Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog*, final line.

¹⁷⁵: "Sodomy".

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record, and certainly not on the same paper with the separation, as that would make the disavowal seem like the price of separation.

Wilmot came in – Lord Byron and Scrope Davies withdrew – Wilmot secured my paper. He said he would take it to Lady Byron¹⁷⁶ – whilst we were talking, Lord Byron and Davies returned, and seemed afraid of my compromising the matter – Davies urged the necessity of Lady Byron’s disavowal being previous to, and altogether unconnected with, the separation – it was agreed she should be asked by Wilmot to write a letter tantamount to my declaration – the main articles of which I drew up as a memorandum for Wilmot in his interview with *Lady Byron* – Wilmot asked me whether I could assure him that in case the disavowal was made the private separation would be agreed to on Byron’s part. I said I thought he might understand it would be so, but that the disavowal must be totally unconnected with the whole transaction, and previous to it – he said he understood this – the party broke up – agreeing to meet at two the next day.

Scrope Davies, Norton and myself dined at the Piazza – sat till twelve and drank eight bottles of claret and one of sherry, yet was I but little affected. Scrope Davies’s fun and Norton’s good-humour and anecdotes made the evening pleasant. We were enlivened by a madman, who took two glasses of brandy, and by Bearcroft¹⁷⁷ and a flash attorney – doing a young Cambridge man. Sent Prologue¹⁷⁸ to Kinnaird this morning, who made alterations – curse him – and said it was gr[].

Friday March 8th 1816: At two S.B.Davies and myself met Wilmot at Byron’s. Wilmot took me into another room, and there, in great agitation, told me that I knew nothing of the case – that Byron was mad, and that something horrid¹⁷⁹ would be proved against him – he adjured me therefore to advise Byron not to go into court, and said “If the matter should come out

¹⁷⁶: Annabella wrote to Lushington saying that she should object to any measure which implied that she wanted H. to take part in the separation proceedings.

¹⁷⁷: Bearcroft unidentified.

¹⁷⁸: To *The Duke of Milan*.

¹⁷⁹: The charge – more “horrid” than incest or sodomy – was either that B. was homosexual, or that, through his liaison with Susan Boyce, he had contracted syphilis – the latter was Lushington’s opinion. See LBW 376, 9 Feb 1816, and *Burnett* 101.

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and you should find I have misrepresented it I will give you leave to pull my nose”.

Lady Byron has consulted the first legal and moral advocate in Europe.¹⁸⁰

He then presented me a paper written in form of a letter¹⁸¹ to myself from himself, in which he told me Lady Byron in a conversation had stated certain terms of arrangement – one was that she would take £500 (i.e. half of her present fortune) and not the whole as Lord Byron had offered. The other, that as to the Kirkby property no arrangement should take place until Lady Noel’s death, except that Lord Byron should stipulate legally that when that occurred he would do what should be thought just by that property. Another was that arbitrators should be appointed at once to arrange the separation privately – in either of which cases Lady Byron agreed to declare that neither herself nor her family had spread any of the rumours prejudicial to Lord Byron’s character. I told Wilmot that notwithstanding what he had told me in the other room, I was bound not to act on anything but what I knew myself, and that I could not advise Lord Byron to separate on those terms – both Scrope Davies, Byron, and myself at once exclaimed that the disavowal was there made clearly the bribe for separation, and would be thought so by the whole world. It was evidently held out as a bribe by Lady Byron’s friends by the very terms in which it was couched, in either of these events. So that in fact Lady Byron was taking advantage of any coincidental rumour to *frighten Lord Byron*.

Byron was indignant, and we thought this unfair. As to myself, I said the disavowal was in itself not sufficient – Lady Byron must not only disavow the rumours having been spread, but that the specific charges, that is, incest and ——— made no part of her charges. We agreed to give up the cruelty and adultery in her own house – as to the first, Wilmot told me he knew Lady Byron would not consent to disavow that, but it was agreed that Wilmot should actually specify the two grosser enormities.¹⁸² Wilmot, it appeared, has been partially told Lady Byron’s charge, which seems to fill

¹⁸⁰: Sir Samuel Romilly (1757-1818) lawyer and legal reformer. Campaigned against slavery.

¹⁸¹: Printed at LBW 430-431.

¹⁸²: Sodomy and homosexuality are never specified publicly by anyone, but they – with incest and syphilis thrown in for good measure – form the basis of the rumours which drive B. from England.

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him with so much horror. He told me it was no enormity – indeed, I told him it never could be, or she would have quitted the house at once. He said I had not a guess at it.

We broke up thinking Lady Byron would not consent.

I called on Kinnaird with some alteration for my Prologue. He received me sharply, and I told him it should not be spoken at all – he said “Very well,” and I walked away.

Dined with S.B.Davies at George’s coffee-house. Good dinner for fourteen shillings – came home. Kinnaird came, and gave me *carte blanche* for my lines, which I made out, and Kinnaird [] to Bartley¹⁸³ – I sent it early next morning.

Saturday March 9th 1816: At two o’clock I went to Byron’s – found Wilmot there, and that he had been showing something to Lord Byron – [he] retired with me – he read then a paper stating that Lady Byron disavowed, for herself and those most nearly connected with her, having spread any rumours injurious to Lord Byron’s character – especially as regarded two specified to her by Mr Wilmot – and that [she] stated that neither of these two specified charges made part of the allegations she should have thought herself obliged to make if she had gone into court. He then said to me, “Should you think such a disavowal satisfactory if signed by Lady Byron and witnessed by me?” – I said I should. – He then said, “It is signed by Lady Byron and witnessed by me” – which he showed me to be the case.

It was agreed that Mr Wilmot should keep the paper in his possession until the whole business was concluded, as a safeguard to Lady Byron in case his mediation should fail. He then showed me another paper entitled “Principle of Separation between Lord and Lady Byron,” and couched something in these terms:

The parties agreed to appoint mutually two arbitrators (meaning two between them) who shall name a referee to arrange a separation and take into consideration the following points:

Lord Byron proposes to resign the whole of Lady Byron’s present fortune.

¹⁸³: George Bartley (1782?-1858) the actor at Drury Lane who was to deliver the Prologue *the following day*. Falstaff was his most famous part.

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Lady Byron is anxious to receive only £200 per annum in addition to her £300 per annum pin money.

Lord and Lady Byron are agreed that no arrangement shall at present take place as to the Kirkby property, but that Lord Byron shall stipulate in *a legal form* that when Lady Byron shall succeed to that property he will make an arrangement with respect to it, on fair terms of arbitration.

Wilmot asked me if I saw any objection to this principle. I said, none at all, provided always it was understood the disavowal had nothing to do with it in any way. We came into Lord Byron's room – when I told him I saw no objection to the two papers and thought them satisfactory, he, as it appeared to me, assented. I copied the separation paper at Wilmot's desire.

S.B.Davies came into the room. Wilmot withdrew with him, and when the two came back S.B.D. said he thought the business also satisfactory. Wilmot read over the disavowal paper in my presence, and then put it in his pocket to keep it till the affair should be concluded. He took his leave in spirits. We all thought, at least I thought, the affair concluded.

S.B.D. and I walked home [and] dressed. Lord Byron called in his carriage and took us to Drury Lane. In there, after some time, I heard my Prologue murdered by Mr Bartley¹⁸⁴ who mis-rhymed, &c. It was applauded, however. Then we saw *The Duke of Milan*. Kean was wonderful in parts, but the play was to me rather heavy, though full of incidents,¹⁸⁵ and δεουγδαχιζος,¹⁸⁶ up to the last scene. Coming to Watier's, we dined at ten o'clock – good dinner, and conversation light.

Sunday March 10th 1816: Wrote a letter to Mr Bartley [] four lines in the Prologue. One to Mr Adder,¹⁸⁷ declining his services.

¹⁸⁴: Bartley has had less than a day in which to learn H.'s prologue.

¹⁸⁵: SNEER: ... *tho' I seriously admire the piece upon the whole, yet there is one small objection; which, if you'll give me leave, I'll mention.* SIR FRETFUL: *Sir, you can't oblige me more.* SNEER: *I think it wants incident.* SIR FRETFUL: *Good God! – you surprize me! – wants incident!* – SNEER: *Yes; I own I think the incidents are too few.* SIR FRETFUL: *Good God! – Believe me, Mr Sneer, there is no person for whose judgment I have a more implicit deference. – But I protest to you, Mr Sneer, I am only apprehensive that the incidents are too crowded ...* *The Critic*, I i.

¹⁸⁶: Note pending.

¹⁸⁷: Mr Adder, and his services, unidentified.

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Called on Lord Byron. Found S.B.Davies and Kinnaird with him, and the whole house in rumpus – a letter from Lushington to Hanson on Saturday offered a meeting *at once* to proceed with the separation. Kinnaird was violently against the last article of the Principle and to my surprise Davies said he had never seen that paper, and would not presume to give any advice on money matters, which a lawyer should decide.¹⁸⁸ I was still of the same opinion – that the principle as to the Kirkby property was equitable – and I offered to bet Kinnaird ten guineas that Sir Samuel Romilly would think so. Byron said he would break it all off at once if we thought fit – and that he was not at all bound by the paper of yesterday. I told him it was nothing as a legal instrument, but that I thought he had assented positively to it – he said, “No, I did not”. – “If so,” said I, “it is nothing as a legal instrument”. – Douglas Kinnaird was violent as usual about the matter, and said that Lord Byron ought to have the grace for whatever he did do, and bind himself to nothing for the Kirkby property – especially as he offered to give up the whole of his present property.¹⁸⁹ I differed from him, and left Byron with the notice that Romilly would be applied to.

I rode in the park with S.B.Davies, and then rode down to Whitton, where I found them all glad to see me before I called on Byron. Today I went to Burdett, who told me that in common with every honest man in England, he thanked me for my *book* ... I was happy as usual at home.

Monday March 11th 1816: Spent the morning looking at and [] the petitions presented on the income tax – rainy day. Dined at seven. Came Davies’ groom, with a letter from Wilmot to me beginning “Dear Sir, It is with feelings infinitely stronger than astonishment that I learn Lord Byron has refused to assent to the principle of separation” &c., &c.,¹⁹⁰ and stating he conceived Lord Byron’s honour pledged to him and “to yourselves.” To carry that principle into effect, he requested me to give him an immediate answer in writing. I sent Davies’s groom back, saying I would come up the

¹⁸⁸: Then why has B. been employing H. all this time? H. is not a lawyer. Hanson is B.’s lawyer, and is barely involved in the proceedings.

¹⁸⁹: Kinnaird objected to the fact that B. might seem by the last article of the Principle to be giving up more power over the Kirkby estate than he was obliged legally to do.

¹⁹⁰: For B.’s letters to Wilmot, see BLJ V 47-9: for Wilmot’s to B. and Davies, see *Burnett* 111-12.

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next day. Davies slipped a card into the letter saying, “I think it as well you should come to town immediately.”

Well, I spent the evening talking [], but when the family were gone to bed I began to consider Wilmot’s letter. I thought it provocative, and wrote several letters to that effect, which I tore up. I certainly did assent myself – I certainly thought Byron had, and as certainly that Davies had – I thought therefore that the objection could no longer come from Byron, although it might from his lawyer. With this feeling, I thought I had no other alternative than to say I did hold myself responsible, either to persuade Lord Byron to comply, or to give Mr Wilmot satisfaction, if I could not persuade him. I sat up writing and fuming till near three.

Tuesday March 12th 1816: Up at eleven – burnt letter, and wrote to Wilmot simply to say I could not give him an answer until I knew the precise cause of the obstruction, and adding he had a guarantee in Lady Byron’s paper in his hand.

Very unwillingly I rode up to town, not knowing what to make of the matter, and thinking there must be some fighting – arrived at Byron’s by half past four. I told him what I have before mentioned as to my notions of his and Davies’ assent. I found there had been queries put in an angry tone both to him and Davies, which he had answered as rudely¹⁹¹ and Davies mildly¹⁹² through Mr Ridley Colborne.¹⁹³ Also that Hanson and Lushington had met on Sunday night and broke off at once on the article of the Kirkby property. I told Byron my mind distinctly, that I thought he was wrong – but he was positive – and I then sat down and wrote a note to Wilmot in the spirit of last night, which as Davies said [it] would not do, I threw into the fire. Byron wanted to write a violent note, which we threw into the fire. It was agreed that I should call on Wilmot. I set off, but did not find him at Mivart’s nor at 23 Montague Square, his home, so came back to Byron. He told me that he was eager that neither I nor Davies should quarrel with Wilmot and no-one but himself, but he promised me not to send any note.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹: Printed at *Burnett* 113-14.

¹⁹²: Printed at *Burnett* 115-16; a subsequent, longer note from Davies to Wilmot is at *Burnett* 227-8.

¹⁹³: Nicholas Ridley Colborne; subsequently Lord Colborne: a cousin of Annabella’s.

¹⁹⁴: He did send one. See next half of entry.

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I went away, dressed at Davies', dined with him at the St James' Coffee House, a bad house. Went to Byron's, and then in his carriage to 23 Montague Square, where I found Wilmot and Colonel Doyle.¹⁹⁵ I confessed to these gentlemen my impression of the assent of Lord Byron, S.B.D., and myself to the Principle of Separation as a basis on which two lawyers and a referee were to meet. I said that I thought the principle first even now, but that I had been assured on Lord Byron's honour that he had misconceived Mr Wilmot, and never imagined he had not the power of receding even before the three were appointed to settle the business.

As to Mr Davies, I stated the fact of his not having seen the Principle.

Having said this I claimed for myself an avowal of Mr Wilmot's perfect satisfaction at my conduct – this he gave me in the fullest manner, and was joined in this by Colonel Doyle. Indeed, my testimony was a great relief to poor Wilmot, who had thus an excuse to offer to Lady Byron's friends for his conception of the matter arranged on Saturday.

Having obtained this, I stated the necessity of his making some apology to S.B.D. He (Wilmot) having in that case agreed to call and recall. Then I begged him to call on Byron, and throw Lady Byron's disavowal into the fire, and finish his mediation.

I found, however, that Byron had after all sent up his violent note,¹⁹⁶ so that Wilmot had made up his mind to have done with his cousin.¹⁹⁷

I took down the heads of what I had asserted in presence of Wilmot and Doyle, and read them, put them in my pocket and went away, having thus closed the affair as far as Wilmot was concerned. He shook hands, and hoped our acquaintance would be continued through life.

I came back to Byron's, received congratulations from S.B.D. &c., heard that Byron had written a letter¹⁹⁸ on Sunday evening to Lady Byron after the Wilmot principle had been rejected by Hanson, who threatened to throw up the case if the Kirkby property was touched. In this letter Byron offered to

¹⁹⁵: Doyle and Wilmot, friends of Annabella, burn the memoirs on 17 May 1824.

¹⁹⁶: BLJ V 49. B. virtually puts himself at Wilmot's disposal should a duel be thought appropriate.

¹⁹⁷: "cosen" (Ms.)

¹⁹⁸: BLJ V 46.

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arrange amicably every thing relative to every thing except the Kirkby property, which he would not *touch*. He has had no answer.

An advertisement in the paper replies to the *Friendly Hint*,¹⁹⁹ which quire has taken with Madame *Clermont*. It appears that, as court is inevitable, Byron owned to S.B.D. and me, at last that he must have been *bereaved of reason* during his paroxysms with his wife – it appears to me he has made some confession – I am still however in the dark utterly –

Wednesday March 13th 1816: Called on Mrs Leigh at twelve – found her in tears and in great distress indeed. She thinks she ought, in duty to her husband and children, to leave Byron’s house, she having stayed long enough to *give the lie* to all rumours respecting herself, which Colonel Leigh has most handsomely *discredited* in every way.²⁰⁰ I promised to hint this to Byron – advised Mrs Leigh to ask for an interview with Lady Byron.

Call on Byron afterwards, and find that Lady Byron has declined “seeing Mrs Leigh – for fear of being obliged to own everything she says to Lushington”! Byron seems determined for a court in what he says, but wavering in his mind – he owns himself to have been deranged soon after marriage – but whether this is an excuse or not for what is to come out is doubtful.

Dine with S.B.D. at Major Aubrey’s party of Indians,²⁰¹ and a chattering Whig, one Bonham²⁰² – stupid day – they all went off to Macca.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹: B. had received, in his capacity as committee-member at the Drury Lane Theatre, a melodrama called *The Bravo of Bohemia*, by a young woman called Emma Roberts (see BLJ IX 35-6). Knowing that Miss Clermont, Ada’s governess and Annabella’s confidante, was anxious for any compromising material, he sent her anonymously the fragment of paper on which Emma Roberts had written her name, with the words *A Friendly Hint* added on the cover. Clermont (the subject of B.’s poem *A Sketch from Private Life*, written at this time) was taken in by the trick, and advertised in the papers for the missive’s sender to come forward. See *Recollections* II 291-2, and B.’s letter to Annabella of March 26th (BLJ V 56).

²⁰⁰: LBW 311 has “Half a century later Augusta’s nephew, the third Earl of Chichester, told Lovelace ‘that Colonel Leigh abominated Lord Byron, but absolutely and totally denied and disbelieved in Mrs. Leigh’s guilt’.”

²⁰¹: Major Aubrey and his party of Indians unidentified.

²⁰²: Bonham unidentified.

²⁰³: Wherever that may be.

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Thursday March 14th 1816: Walked about. At three, went to Byron's. Found him as before – and all in abeyance, but much affected with rage – it is a sad sight poor fellow for he is inveterate against his wife and family and no wonder.

S.B.D., Norton, and I dined at George's – French House – good and cheap ...

Friday March 15th 1816:²⁰⁴ In the morning Kinnaird called and told us Romilly was employed by Lady Byron. After what we had heard of Hanson enquiring, we could not believe this; however, I went off to Hanson – found him [at] 29 Bloomsbury Square. He made light of the matter,²⁰⁵ said perhaps Sir Samuel Romilly might be consulted in the case, but as for pleading, he could not. He seems confident of Byron's case, and wonders he should think so much about it!!!

From him I walked to No 5 Lincoln's Inn, Romilly's chambers. Found him out, but found that Lady Byron had retained Romilly since 13th of February²⁰⁶ – that Byron had retained him in 1806. I wrote Romilly a note asking him if he had been consulted by Lady Byron.

Came home – called on Byron. He agreed to make Romilly sole and final arbitrator, and signed a paper empowering me to tell him so. I went to Romilly, saw him, and showed the paper. He was not aware that Byron had ever retained him. His clerk showed him the retainer. He said, "I have done a very incorrect thing in being consulted by Lady Byron". He lamented the affair was not likely to be terminated amicably – he said it might easily be done – however, he declined arbitrating, even if Lady Byron would permit him, and I took my leave and came home.

²⁰⁴: On this day B.'s Bonapartist poem *Ode from the French* appears in the *Morning Chronicle*.

²⁰⁵: B. had in fact asked Hanson on February 12th to make sure that Romilly was retained for him – see BLJ V 20.

²⁰⁶: The day *after* B. had asked Hanson to ensure Romilly would represent him.

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Dined at Cocoa Tree by myself – went to Byron’s – told him my want of success,²⁰⁷ and then wrote at his desire a letter to Lady Byron²⁰⁸ asking her to appoint a person hitherto unemployed to decide on the question of the *legal* stipulation to be made by Byron of his making an arrangement at the death of Lady Noel respecting the Kirkby property, and telling her of <Hansons> Romilly’s refusal.

Saturday March 16th 1816: Received a letter from Lady Byron²⁰⁹ in altered terms, acceding to the proposition and naming three arbitrators: Sir Samuel Shepherd,²¹⁰ Sir A. Pigott,²¹¹ and a Mr Shadwell,²¹² out of which Byron is to choose one, and asking me to meet Colonel Doyle to arrange the terms of the arbitration. I sent to say I would meet Doyle at four this day, then I drew up a paper sketching the terms.

Called on Byron. He appointed Shepherd, and signed my paper. At four, Doyle came to No 11. He had also drawn up a long paper, entering into particulars. We amalgamated our two papers, and made a third, longer than mine and shorter than his. I called on Byron, having on Davies suggestion made an alteration, stating the paper to be conditional. Byron made an

²⁰⁷: B., indifferent to Romilly’s scruples, had his “revenge” at *Don Juan* I Stanza 15 – written after Romilly’s suicide, three days after his wife’s death in 1818. But H. had the stanza cut from the early editions (“She” is Donna Inez, B.’s poetical version of Annabella):

*Some women use their tongues – She looked a lecture,
Each eye a Sermon, and her brow a homily,
An all-in-all-sufficient self-director,
Like the lamented late Sir Samuel Romilly,
The law’s expounder, and the State’s Corrector,
Whose Suicide was almost an Anomaly –
One sad example more, that “All is Vanity”
(The Jury brought their verdict in, “Insanity”).*

²⁰⁸: Printed at *Recollections* II 308-9.

²⁰⁹: See *Recollections* II 309-10; what is not clear here is that she was answering a letter which H. had written her the previous day. See *Recollections* II 308-9.

²¹⁰: Sir Samuel Shepherd was Solicitor-General 1813-17. Subsequently Attorney-General. Friend of Garrick and Scott. Deaf.

²¹¹: Pigott unidentified.

²¹²: Shadwell unidentified.

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alteration relative to his daughter. I wrote to Doyle, stating the two alterations.

Dined with Davies at George's Coffee House. Came home, found an answer from Doyle, approving the alterations, but referring to Pigott and Shadwell in case Shepherd should decline. I made a clause to that effect, and wrote to Doyle, then went to bed.

Sunday March 17th 1816: Received a note from Doyle approving the clause. Called on Byron – got his signature to the paper – and thus secured him and myself. Rode on Davies' grey pony to 10 Montague Square (Doyle's). Gave him the paper, and got his congratulations for having finished the business.²¹³ Indeed, yesterday he told me Lady Byron and her friends were sensible of the part I had late in the business, to which I said nothing, never having aimed at that deed.

I should have gone down to Whitton today but my horse was ill.

S.B.Davies and I dined at George's.

Monday March 18th 1816:²¹⁴ Called on Sir Samuel Shepherd, and after some ado got him to undertake the arbitration – so the affair is finished. Went to Mivart's Hotel, and there wrote a letter to Lady Byron²¹⁵ stating Shepherd's acceptance, and putting to her whether she ought not to send me a similar paper of disavowal to that of Wilmot's. Read the letter to Byron, and rode home to Whitton, leaving Parsons in London.

Tuesday March 19th 1816: At Whitton, copying review of new biography²¹⁶ ... property tax²¹⁷ beat by thirty-seven.

²¹³: For the settlement (which B. does not sign until 21 April 1816) see *Recollections* II 310-12.

²¹⁴: The rough draft of B.'s poem *Fare Thee Well* is dated on this date.

²¹⁵: See *Recollections* II 314. Annabella's guarded answer – to which H. does not here refer – is at *Recollections* II 315. Notice that although he goes to the hotel where she is staying, they do not meet.

²¹⁶: Biography unidentified.

²¹⁷: Note on property tax pending.

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Wednesday March 20th 1816:²¹⁸ Rode up to London – saw Byron – dined with J. Maddox²¹⁹ – saw B. []²²⁰ there – stupid day.

Thursday March 21st 1816: Saw Byron ... dined with S.B.D. at George's – too much wine.

Friday March 22nd 1816: Sent review through Wary²²¹ to Jeffrey – walked with Wherry²²² – called on Byron. He in great spirits at [the] prospect of going abroad directly. Earthquake at Newstead.²²³ Dined with Scrope and Norton at Piazza.²²⁴

Saturday March 23rd 1816: Colonel Doyle transmitted a letter of Shepherd's, appointing Monday for the arbitration, and stating Lady Byron's wish to have a friend instead of a lawyer attend – I am against this – write to Hanson.

Went down to Whitton.

Sunday March 24th 1816: At Whitton ... copying comedy.

Monday March 25th 1816: Ditto – ditto.

Tuesday March 26th 1816: Ditto – ditto.

Wednesday March 27th 1816:²²⁵ Received by twopenny post a letter from Murray, with a remonstrance of Lord Somerset against what is said of him in

²¹⁸: It was on 20 March 1816 that B. sent Annabella her copy of *Fare Thee Well*. See BLJ V 51-2 and CPW III 380-2. Lushington described the poem to Annabella as ... *a cowardly attempt to make you appear barbarous and himself injured* (LBW 461).

²¹⁹: Maddox unidentified.

²²⁰: Name illegible.

²²¹: Conjectural reading.

²²²: All three unidentified. Wherry may be related to the English Consul at Smyrna (see 8 Sep 1809).

²²³: See BLJ V 52 and 53.

²²⁴: Compare *Beppo* 5, 8: *But, baiting Covent Garden, I can't hit on / A Place that's called "Piazza" in Great Britain.*

²²⁵: On March 27th Lady Caroline Lamb made a secret assignation with Annabella and, quoting *Caleb Williams*, told her about B.'s homosexual and incestuous tendencies.

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pages 150 *et seq.* of *The Substance of some Letters*.²²⁶ This remonstrance Murray says he received from Colonel Ponsonby, “my friend,”²²⁷ and desiring me to return answer to him, Colonel Ponsonby. I was annoyed and did not know what to do. However, I wrote a letter at last ...

Thursday March 28th 1816: ... which at the same time that it hinted the incorrectness of Lord Somerset’s remonstrance to an anonymous author, said that the most candid consideration would be given to the papers and the alteration *in case of a second edition* sent to Lord Somerset previously. The paper made use of the expression “lose no time to contradict” changes and <important> “accusations &c.,” but any other contradiction than a change of a second edition I determined against.

I went to London – saw Murray, who said Ponsonby’s was an appeal *ad misericordiam aut uerecundiam*,²²⁸ and not the slightest intent to command. A second edition was all he waited for. Murray approved of my letter, but said it was too formal. I called on Lady Melbourne.²²⁹ She told me that Lady Byron had charged her with taking Byron’s part, and of calling on Byron when she did not call on her. This seems to me very incorrect in Lady Byron. Lady Melbourne wished me to get some letters of hers in Byron’s possession burnt.²³⁰ I said I would hint the necessity of some such step.

Called on Byron. Showed him my letter to Ponsonby – he approved – said there was no quarrel intended – my letter was not too submissive at all – quite the contrary – and agreed with me that I should make no contradiction

²²⁶: Fitzroy James Henry Somerset (1788-1855) subsequently 1st Baron Raglan and leader of the British expeditionary force in the Crimea; he had lost an arm at Waterloo. His objection is at a passage in *Letters* in which he is said to have abjured his loyalty to Louis XVIII in order to get a pass out of Paris. H. remedied the error in a note (pp. 155-6) to his second edition. The underlined *my friend* is H. quoting Murray saying that Somerset is H.’s friend (see *Recollections* I 126-7).

²²⁷: Colonel (later Major-General) Frederick Ponsonby (1783-1837) had commanded the 11th Light Dragoons at Waterloo, where he’d been wounded seven times (see *Shelley* I 182-5) and afterwards been nursed by his sister, Lady Caroline Lamb. Subsequently Governor of Malta.

²²⁸: Note pending.

²²⁹: B.’s confidante Lady Melbourne was (i) Caroline Lamb’s mother-in-law and (ii) Sir Ralph Noel’s sister. She was not on good terms with Lady Noel.

²³⁰: The letters may have been over-frank about either her relationship with B., Caroline Lamb’s relationship with B., Augusta’s relationship with B., or all three.

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more than he did about Lord Aberdeen and Gropius in *Childe Harold*.²³¹ ... There has been another fracas between him and Lady Byron. She accused him to Mrs Leigh of encouraging his friends to abuse her. He wrote to Lord Holland, Rogers, and Douglas Kinnaird, and got from them unequivocal answers to the contrary, except that Kinnaird said he understood she kept a journal to register Byron's conduct.²³² Lady Byron wrote to Mrs Leigh, and said the justification was unnecessary, and she should return the letters – she did, by Mrs Leigh, when I was there, and without any answer, which made Byron furious, and he was going to write, but I stopped him. Lady Byron put in Kinnaird's letter "*I kept no journal*".

It appears Mrs Leigh dined with Wilmot on Monday, and met Lady Byron and Miss Doyle. The latter she offended sorely by not shaking hands with her. Lady Byron said Miss Doyle had always taken Mrs Leigh's part, on which Augusta²³³ observed that she had only one thing to request of Miss Doyle: that she would not take her part at all.²³⁴ She did think Miss Doyle had been *too* forward in her interference. Lord Byron sent the three *pièces justificatives*²³⁵ to Lady Byron. They were delivered to Sir Ralph Noel, and Byron, having no answer, sent Hanson to Ralph Noel saying he would be off all bargain if the letters were not delivered.

²³¹: See CPW II 285.

²³²: See *Don Juan* I, 28, 1:

*She kept a journal where his faults were noted,
And opened certain trunks of books and letters,
All which might – if occasion served – be quoted;
And then she had all Seville for abettors,
Besides her good old Grandmother (who doted);
The hearers of her case became repeaters,
Then Advocates, Inquisitors, and Judges,
Some for amusement, others for old grudges.*

²³³: Rare use of Augusta's Christian name by H. to narrate a rare moment of public self-assertion on her part.

²³⁴: "all" written in large script.

²³⁵: Three letters from Lord Holland, Samuel Rogers and Kinnaird, asserting that B. had never spoken of Annabella with disrespect or unkindness during the preceding weeks. They are printed at *Recollections* II 318-21: Kinnaird mentions B.'s suspicions about Lady Byron's journal.

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Shepherd has decided against Byron – that is, Byron is to sign a legal instrument consenting to give up such a portion of his or of his wife’s estate as arbitrators appointed at the death of Lady Noel shall think fit. I never thought Sir Samuel Shepherd’s opinion could be otherwise. The deed of separation is to be drawn up immediately, and ready tomorrow.

Byron is going abroad, and takes a young Dr Polidori²³⁶ with him, son of Polidori the language master, who talks English, French, and Italian. I don’t like his *ori*,²³⁷ and told him so. He agrees, but says it is inevitable – rode back to Whitton.

Friday March 29th 1816: Comedy, copying – and sent letter to Ponsonby, this morning.

Saturday March 30th 1816:* Ditto. Comedy. Walked to Twitnam.

Sunday March 31st 1816: Ditto. Did little or nothing. Walked to Cuthbert’s with my father. Haworth Park miserable spot. Heard from Ponsonby – he quite satisfied, and desires me to send second edition to him. Also that Fitzroy Somerset did not desire him to communicate the paper to me, but to do what would best accomplish the object.

Monday April 1st 1816: Windy ... walked out to Hounslow – fine day.

Tuesday April 2nd 1816: Received a letter from my father increasing my allowance – one hundred pounds a year, and making me a present of a hundred pounds. He sends me my account from March 25th 1815 to March 25th 1816, by which I find that, without taking into account bills now outstanding against me, I spent last year

£	s	d
785.	8.	9.

²³⁶: Dr John William Polidori (1795-1821) fall-guy of half-a-dozen Byron movies, was hired as B.’s physician. The relationship didn’t work, and B. sacked him. He killed himself in London in 1821 with prussic acid, depressed by his gambling debts. Author of *The Vampyre*, which was attributed to B.

²³⁷: Conceivably a pun on the last three letters of Polidori’s name and either the first three in the word “orifice”, or on the word “hour”. See 19 July 1811.

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... and that I have now in hand, besides my new hundred,

£	s	d
311.	11.	11.

I wrote to my father thanking him for his generosity.

Wednesday April 3rd 1816: Rode up to London, and settled at Lord Byron's, No 13 Picadilly Terrace.²³⁸ S.B.Davies and Leigh Hunt of the *Examiner* dined with us. Leigh Hunt is Brougham in miniature²³⁹ – a very agreeable man – one-and-thirty – and very unassuming, notwithstanding his dedication to *Rimini* beginning “My dear Byron”.²⁴⁰

He told us a new story of Johnson – a friend or partner of Thrale wanted to make an impression on him. He met him on a bench in Thrale's garden, sat next to him and said, “I think the *Spectator* is the finest book in the language” – “Perhaps not, Sir” said Johnson, and walked away – finding criticism would not do, my man determined to assail him with a fact and at dinner – told him that there was to be seen at Birmingham a pair of scissors that would cut pig-iron – Johnson laughed, and asked him for some cauliflower. Some time after the party went to Birmingham, and the aspirant showed Thrale the scissors – Johnson was not present, but the gentleman anticipated his triumph at dinner. Knowing Thrale had told Johnson of the fact, he was all condescension and complacency, determined to use his victory mildly, when Johnson thus accosted him – “Well Sir, my friend Mr Thrale says he has seen these scissors that will cut pig iron, *and he is man of veracity*”.

Leigh Hunt said that the Keeper of Horsemonger Jail, where he was confined for two years,²⁴¹ called him “Mister,” and seeing him look so ill (he

²³⁸: The pregnant Augusta has moved out; H. is taking over as B.'s “keeper”.

²³⁹: There was a physical resemblance between Hunt and Brougham; the thought is perhaps occasioned too by H.'s recollection of the way in which Brougham defended Hunt against the charge of libel at his first trial: see 22 Feb 1811.

²⁴⁰: Hunt's *The Story of Rimini* had been published by Murray earlier in the year – on B.'s recommendation. It is characterised by frequent lapses in tone, starting with the dedication to B.

²⁴¹: After he had been successfully prosecuted for libelling the Prince Regent in 1813. “Horsemonger Jail” was nickname for the Cold Bath Fields prison, built in 1797 in what is now Farringdon Road EC1.

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was nearly dead) said “You’ll never go out alive, and they don’t intend you should.” S.B.D. said he could not get in a word between the *two* authors – he fell down in Byron’s room.

Thursday April 4th 1816: At Byron’s, doing nothing particular – dined at Cocoa Tree.

Friday April 5th 1816: Ditto – ditto – read a life of Kuli Khan,²⁴² very singular soul. Kuli began life by being bastinadoed until his toe nails dropped off, by his uncle’s orders – his first exploit was killing his uncle²⁴³ ... when he dethroned Shah Thamas, he had no difficulty in getting the nobles to own him Emperor and making the <Xxxxx> hereditary in his family, but the Mullah spoke against his third proposition of uniting the two seals of Ali and Omar – he strangled the Mullah,²⁴⁴ but never succeeded in his plan of union ... he used to be very familiar with his friends over a pot when he drank a bottle of wine, but strangled two of them who presumed upon the intimacy in public, saying “Such fellows did not deserve to live who could not distinguish ...”²⁴⁵

End of Berg Volume 4, start of BL.Add.Mss. 47232

Journal continued from Friday April 5th 1816: ... between Nadir Khuli and Nadir Shah” *ηνω μνημονα συμποτην*.²⁴⁶ His mother told him, when he had got Shah Thamas in his hands, to restore him to his throne in return for which he would initially be made generalissimo. “Do you think so?” said Khuli – “perhaps I might think so too, if I were an old woman ...”²⁴⁷ At the

²⁴²: Better known as Nadir Shah: the early-eighteenth Persian tyrant whose death (as a side-effect of constipation) is referred to jovially by B. at *Don Juan* IX, 33, 4-8. H. is reading *The History of Nadir Shah* by James Fraser (hereafter *Fraser*; published 1742, five years before its subject’s death).

²⁴³: *Fraser*, 80-6.

²⁴⁴: *Fraser*, 118: his intention was to unite Shia and Sunni.

²⁴⁵: This is the last word in the fourth Berg volume. H. splits his sentence between it and the volume now numbered BL.Add.Mss. 47232, in which he is writing from back to front. From front to back in the same volume are the entries for 1 July 1814 to 2 Mar 1815.

²⁴⁶: *Fraser*, 231.

²⁴⁷: *Ibid.*

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massacres in Delhi, 110,000 people were killed.²⁴⁸ A singular tale is told of the force of disappointment – whilst the Kuzzlebash (the Persian Janissaries) were sacking and destroying, a man whose house lay in the way of them destroyed his harem, in all twenty women – the Persians, by accident, passed his house – he went after them, brought them back, showed them his house and treasures, and when they went away without hurting him, out of spite set fire to his house and killed himself²⁴⁹ – seven or five thousand women dressed like men, but veiled, served in Nadir Shah’s expedition against Hindustan, and fought.²⁵⁰

Saturday April 6th 1816: Dined at the Cocoa Tree ... did nothing in particular but walk about.

Sunday April 7th 1816:²⁵¹ Dined at home. Hunt & Davies dined with us, and a very agreeable day we had. I went in the evening to Lady Holland’s and found the use of the book.²⁵² I doubt whether I shall ever succeed better with anything ... sat up as usual very late with Byron, talking over his affairs. There is a difficulty about the draft²⁵³ of the separation – they wanted Byron to resign his right to all legacies. Hanson demurred, and the draft has been altered.

²⁴⁸; *Fraser*, 185, gives the figure as 120,000.

²⁴⁹; “... one of these unfortunate Wretches in particular, when the Soldiers came near his House, burnt about twenty Women of his Family, and was in Expectation of their entering every Minute and killing him; by Chance they missed that House, but he was so infatuated, that, finding himself disappointed, he went out, and bringing some of them back, shewed them the Way to his own House, telling them there was a good deal of Money and Effects therein. After they had plundered his House, they went their Way without killing him, which so enraged him, that he dispatched himself” - *Fraser*, 186.

²⁵⁰; “There were also about 6 or 7000 Women, who had been taken Captives from the *Turks* and in *Kandahar*, who on a March could not be distinguished from the Soldiers ...” *Fraser*, 155.

²⁵¹; On this day B.’s Bonapartist poem *On the Star of the Legion of Honour* appears in *The Examiner*.

²⁵²; *Letters*. It has raised his social profile.

²⁵³; “draught” (Ms.)

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Monday April 8th 1816:²⁵⁴ Dined at Mr Sastres'²⁵⁵ with my father. Sastres told me that Horne Tooke²⁵⁶ was dining with Dr Johnson at Mr Paradise's,²⁵⁷ and that Horne Tooke began to be sprightly about Xtianty. The company looked to see what answer Johnson would make, when Johnson said to Horne Tooke, taking up his fork, "If you say any thing against my religion I will run my fork in your guts". Horne Tooke did not say another word. Sastres told another story of an Englishman²⁵⁸ who stayed a fortnight in Voltaire's house without seeing him, and when he went away wrote [a] note telling Voltaire he was like "le bon dieu" – "On boit, on mange ses viandes, et on ne le voit jamais" – Voltaire read the note – "Ah, qu'on me rapelle," said he, "cet aimable impie" – and dispatched a courier after his chaise. Mirabeau²⁵⁹ said of the duc d'Orleans,²⁶⁰ "Il bande au crime et ne décharge jamais".²⁶¹ When Cesare Borgia²⁶² cut the throats of half a hundred of his enemies in cold blood at Senegallia,²⁶³ one of the victims with the dagger at his breast begged him to get an absolution from his father Alexander,²⁶⁴ Borgia said he would, and killed him.

This day I went to the sale of Lord Byron's books²⁶⁵ and bought £34's worth – amongst them a Lucian [for] £5 5s 0d,²⁶⁶ and his Romaic Dictionary

²⁵⁴: On this day B.'s two poems *Fare Thee Well* and *A Sketch from Private Life* are put into private circulation.

²⁵⁵: Mr Sastres kept a restaurant at Covent Garden.

²⁵⁶: John Horne Tooke (1713-1812) clergyman, radical politician, friend, then enemy, of John Wilkes, enemy of Junius, defender of the American colonists, metaphysician; imprisoned for treason, but gained the seat of Old Sarum, from taking which he was excluded. Author of *The Diversions of Purley*.

²⁵⁷: John Paradise, friend of Johnson.

²⁵⁸: Witty Englishman unidentified.

²⁵⁹: Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau (1749-91) French revolutionary writer and demagogue.

²⁶⁰: Louis Philippe Joseph, duc d'Orleans (1747-93) liberal nobleman; father of King Louis Philippe.

²⁶¹: Literally, "He bandages the crime and never unloads it" – "He covers up his crimes and never reveals them".

²⁶²: Cesare Borgia (1476-1507) bloodthirsty Italian renaissance soldier, politician, and so on.

²⁶³: Note pending.

²⁶⁴: Rodrigo Borgia (1431-1503) Pope Alexander VI.

²⁶⁵: According to CMP (p. 566) this sale actually took place (at the house of Mr.R.H.Evans at 26, Pall Mall) on Apr 5 and 6. Perhaps H. writes after midnight.

²⁶⁶: CMP 239, item 221: recorded as purchased by Murray.

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of Demetrius Paulus²⁶⁷ for £6 16s 6d. The books had been in execution four times. Murray gave £450 for them.²⁶⁸ The library sold for £730, and had Byron's name been in, each book would have sold for *twice* as much. Some presentation copies sold very high – Knight on taste, with inscription to *poetorum facile principe*,²⁶⁹ for four guineas, bought in by Murray, and Erskine on the war²⁷⁰ with a note of Erskine's and Byron for as much. Rogers' poems²⁷¹ – more than three guineas and others. "It was a *lively* sale", said Murray. My *Miscellany*²⁷² went in lot for twelve shillings.

Byron and I went to Lady Jersey's tonight,²⁷³ introduced by Flahaut to Benjamin Constant and his wife. Great compliments *de part et d'autre*. He told me he was going to address a book to me. He said that when the news of the defeat of Waterloo came to Paris, Regnault²⁷⁴ and other constitutionalists met at his house – they determined to dethrone him. A man came in saying "The Emperor is arrived!" – they all dispersed, leaving Constant alone, as if a stone had been thrown in amongst them. Constant then went to the chamber, and found other constitutionalists taking the same step.

Constant said he knew Fouché²⁷⁵ to be a rogue. He inflamed the war in La Vendée – he told the Duke of Wellington, "Keep me king's minister, and I'll do anything – turn me out, and I'll do nothing – all shall be given up". But Constant allowed the King had used Fouché very ill. Davout²⁷⁶ was for giving up from the first, and so making a bargain with Louis – he denied this

²⁶⁷: CMP 243, item 337: recorded as purchased by Murray.

²⁶⁸: Murray had in fact paid B. £500 for his books; but the bailiffs got them, and B. returned the £500.

²⁶⁹: CMP 239, item 215: recorded as purchased by Murray.

²⁷⁰: CMP 243, item 326: recorded as purchased by Murray.

²⁷¹: CMP 241, items 271 and 272: both recorded as purchased by Murray.

²⁷²: *Imitations and Translations* (1809). Not identified in catalogue; perhaps CMP 231, item 2 ("A Collection of odd Volumes"). Purchased by Lowe.

²⁷³: It was at this ball that B. (accompanied by Augusta, a fact H. does not mention) was snubbed by several people, except Lady Jersey herself, and the heiress Mercer Elphinstone, who told him he should have married *her*, and this would have happened to him (*Marchand* II 598-9). See 29 July 1812.

²⁷⁴: Regnault de St-Jean d'Angély; this episode is related at *Letters* (2nd edn) 133n.

²⁷⁵: Joseph Fouché (1763-1820) Napoleon's treacherous chief of police. After 1815 he was banished.

²⁷⁶: Louis Nicholas Davout (1770-1823) Napoleon's War Minister on the escape from Elba.

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before Constant when charged with it by Carnot.²⁷⁷ Constant was informed that he was on the list of proscribed. He was advised to go to Fouché, but said he knew the answer that Fouché would give him – “Ce sont des foutus bêtes – éloignez vous pour le moment, mon cher – ça passera tout de suite”. This he would say, buttoning up his breeches. He was told to apply to Talleyrand,²⁷⁸ but would not. He wrote a memoir to the King, which Louis read, and was so pleased with that he struck out Constant’s name with his own hand. Shortly after Constant had a letter from Fouché, telling him that the King had *at his intercession struck* out his name and also one from Talleyrand saying that his majesty *at his request* had *not* inserted his name in the list!!! Constant said Fouché was the Talleyrand of the mob, and Talleyrand the Fouché of the nobles. Constant told me my view of the state of things in France previous to the coming of the Emperor was quite correct.

Tuesday April 9th 1816:²⁷⁹ Dined today at the Clarendon with S.B.Davies, who gave a dinner to Burdett, Douglas Kinnaird, Byron, and myself.

At twelve o’clock I went to the Duchess of Somerset’s.²⁸⁰ There I found great enquiries for *Fare Thee Well* and *A Sketch From Private Life*, to Lady Byron, and Mrs Clermont.²⁸¹ which Byron has printed in sheets, unadvisedly I think. I promised to send a copy to the Duchess and to Lord Lansdowne. The *Farewell* is beautiful, and the *Sketch* Gifford and Hookham Frere say is Caravaggio outdone.²⁸² Hookham Frere desired Murray to tell Byron he was

²⁷⁷: Lazare Carnot (1753-1823) military organiser and theorist; during the Hundred Days, Napoleon’s Interior Minister.

²⁷⁸: Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838) foreign minister for Napoleon and Louis XVIII.

²⁷⁹: On this day B. receives a letter from Claire Clermont starting “Since you disappointed me last Evening will you see me to night? If you do not entirely hate me pray do? If you refuse I shall think I am a person equally disgusting to you as the unfortunate ‘Governess.’ – *Stocking* I 35. Her reference is to Mary Anne Clermont, Annabella’s companion and the subject of the poem published this day.

²⁸⁰: Charlotte, wife of the 11th Duke of Somerset.

²⁸¹: The two *Poems on his Domestic Circumstances*, privately printed on 8 Apr 1816 (for B.’s letter to the printer, see BLJ Supp. 42).

²⁸²: An undated internal memo from Gifford to Murray repeats the “Caravaggio” parallel, and may well be about *A Sketch*: “It is a dreadful picture – Caravaggio [sic] outdone in his own way. I have hinted at the removal of one couplet – if its sense be amended it may be compressed into one of the other lines. Its powers are unquestionable – but can any human being deserve such a delineation? / I keep my old opinion of Lord Byron – he may be what he will – why will he not *will* to be the

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a fine fellow, but would not do for this market. I returned to the Clarendon with Lord Kinnaird, and found the party still at it – boiled bones, punch, and a fracas succeeded, which I will not set down. We sat up till six in the morning, and had a scene between Byron and myself at home.²⁸³ Poor fellow, he came into my room next morning to ask how I was – he was very sorry, and so was I but our regrets originated from different causes.

Wednesday April 10th 1816:²⁸⁴ Dined this day, half recovered, with Hatsel²⁸⁵ [at] 34 Nottingham Place – met Dr Matthews, and part of his family, Mr Smirke; Mr Tanner,²⁸⁶ about to publish travels – an intelligent man who confirmed some notions of mine respecting Napoleon.

Walking home with me, Bernard²⁸⁷ of King’s College – he told me the most extraordinary story of *Barstowe*,²⁸⁸ I think a clergyman, who had a child by his sister – went to bed with that child – married her to a servant – wanting her again, sent for her – she came – the servant demanded her – he said if the man came for her he would run him through the body – the man did come – he did run him through the body. He was taken up and tried at last York Assizes under Ellenborough’s act²⁸⁹ – and acquitted on his sister’s evidence, who *proved* the servant not worthy belief – but ’tis all true – the curious thing is the girl’s coming back.

Thursday April 11th 1816:²⁹⁰ Dined at the Clarendon with Burdett, Byron,²⁹¹ S.B.Davies, and the two Kinnairds. We had a pleasant day, though

first of poets and of men? I lament bitterly to see a great mind run to seed, & waste itself in such growth. Ever yours, / W. G.” (JMA).

²⁸³: Causes of scene not known, nor whether it related to the “fracas” at dinner. B. went to the dinner party, but it is still not clear whether or not he saw Claire, whom H. never mentions. B.’s “disappointing” her the previous night is readily explicable by his presence at Lady Jersey’s (see 8 Apr 1816).

²⁸⁴: On this date *may* have occurred the only meeting between B. and Coleridge. H. missed it.

²⁸⁵: Note on Hatsel pending.

²⁸⁶: Matthews, Smirke and Tanner (could be “James”) all unidentified.

²⁸⁷: Bernard of King’s unidentified.

²⁸⁸: Barstowe unidentified.

²⁸⁹: Note pending.

²⁹⁰: Parliament adjourned on this day.

²⁹¹: On this day B. receives a letter from Claire asking him to “acquit me I entreat you from the list of those whom you suspect” (*Stocking* I 35-6). She also asks him to

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Davies was obliged to walk off. He went to bed, got up again, went to the Union, and won £3,700 – this dinner cost £3 2s 0d.

Friday April 12th 1816: Byron asked me to get up this morning and speak to Charles Hanson,²⁹² who brought the deed of separation, with the demurrer of his father to one point: the question whether “the provision for Lady Byron is to be out of the property or part of the property”. The words in the paper drawn up by Doyle and myself were, “provision out of the property,” but we never discussed the meaning of them. The moment the question was asked, I thought it meant a rent-charge.²⁹³ <Byron agreed that this should not stop the> The Solicitor-General’s conveyancer, Butler,²⁹⁴ had in the first draft put it, “a portion of the property”. Hanson went to the Solicitor-General, who owned he was wrong, and had arbitrated beyond the meaning of the paper of submission – “But,” said he, “I can’t alter it, for Dr Lushington has got the paper; but you may tell him of the thing”. Hanson went to Lushington, who agreed to the alteration when lo & behold, when the draft paper was sent to Hanson by Wharton,²⁹⁵ it was couched in the old terms, giving a choice to the arbitrators between a rent charge and a division of the property. Hanson appealed to the Solicitor-General, who then gave another decision in favour of the bond as it stood. Things being so, and I seeing no getting rid of Sir Samuel Shepherd’s²⁹⁶ decision, advised Byron to accede, but promised to write a letter to Hanson giving my opinion, which might serve as a document when the final arbitration took place at Lady Noel’s death.²⁹⁷ Byron agreed that he would sign on these conditions ...

I dined at home today, and wrote the letter to Hanson, of which I have a copy.

Heard *Bertram*²⁹⁸ read out at Kinnaird’s – three catastrophes.²⁹⁹

see her at 7.30 that night. Perhaps he had suspected her - because of her name - of being in league with Mrs Clermont.

²⁹²: “Young Spooney”, the son of B.’s lawyer John Hanson.

²⁹³: “A rent forming a charge upon lands, etc., granted or reserved by deed to one who is not the owner, with a clause of distress in case of arrears” (OED).

²⁹⁴: Butler otherwise unidentified.

²⁹⁵: See 1 Mar 1816.

²⁹⁶: The Solicitor-General.

²⁹⁷: Which occurred on January 28th 1822.

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Saturday April 13th 1816: Mr Wharton wrote a letter to Lord Byron today, pressing the signature of the deed – also another letter in answer to a letter sent by Mrs Leigh, asking Lady Byron for the receipts of Lord Byron, and forwarding a ring containing the hair of Charles 1, which Lord Byron wished Lady Byron to take care of for Miss Byron. Instead of returning an answer to this kind letter, Wharton was directed to write to Lord Byron asking besides what was to be done with the carriage in which Lady Byron travelled to Kirkby. Amongst other reports it is said that the note in which the *Farewell* was sent to Lady Byron asked for the receipts, but this is not true – I have the substance of that note – and Mrs Leigh’s request went several days afterwards. Lord Byron desired Mrs Leigh to state that Colonel Doyle should not be one of the trustees to the separation – she did, in a kind letter, and received a pencilled note directed to her, with only these words – “Lord Byron is informed that the trustees appointed are Dr Lushington and Mr Ridley Coburn”. This has terminated, I believe, all correspondence between *my dearest Augusta* and *my dearest Annabella!!!* Such are female friendships!! Lady Byron’s exasperation is great at Byron’s attempt to prove himself fond of her – – – she seems more ready to forgive his faults than his virtues *à la mode ordinaire*. Mrs Clermont has written a letter to him to which he prepared an answer which I have in my possession, but which was not sent – it was to Lady Byron.

I do not recollect whether I went down to Whitton today, but I think I did not, but dined with Byron at home. I did not go, but went to see lions and tigers at the Tower and Exeter ’change with children and Lord Kinnaird – heard³⁰⁰

Tuesday April 14th 1816: Lord Byron returned, by my advice, no answer to Wharton’s letters. I went down to Whitton, that Byron might have a free leave-taking of his sister, which he did this day – and afterwards wrote a

²⁹⁸: *Bertram, or the Castle of St Aldobrand*, the tragedy by Charles Maturin which is soon to be performed at Drury Lane. H. is going pseudonymously to write a prologue for it – although he doesn’t know that yet.

²⁹⁹: The triple catastrophe consists of the murder of Aldobrand by Bertram at the end of IV ii; the death of Imogine, mad, in the middle of V iii, and the suicide of Bertram at the end of V iii.

³⁰⁰: Sentence unfinished.

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letter, of which I have a copy, to Lady Byron,³⁰¹ begging her to remember a promise made of taking care of Augusta and her children. This letter he gave to Mrs Fletcher to deliver to her, together with a card on which she might acknowledge the receipt of it in pencil. Mrs Fletcher did deliver it, and Lady Byron said, “I shall answer this”, but going downstairs saw (as Mrs Fletcher believes) Mrs Clermont, and came up saying “This requires no answer” ...

I dined at Whitton with the Miss Forbes³⁰² – agreeable women – and kept them up hearing my nonsense!!!

Monday April 15th 1816: Rode up to London. Dined at home, with Byron – received a letter from Colonel Doyle pressing the signature of the separations – Byron said he should wait for his lawyer’s opinion, but would do it. I wrote an answer to Doyle for the next day, stating the fact and the difficulty – <Byron &> I went to Lady Jersey’s this evening ... nothing happened –

On arriving at Piccadilly today I found Sam Rogers and Leigh Hunt up in arms at the publication of *Fare Thee Well* and the *Sketch* in Scott’s *Champion* of yesterday, with violent abuse of Lord Byron³⁰³ – Byron and I left Hunt to compose a paragraph for Perry – he did so. It would not do. I wrote one³⁰⁴ which was agreed to and went in the evening to the Strand.

Perry was not there. I found the verses in the press – the *Herald* had them today, with the same headline as the *Champion* – “Lord Byron’s verses on his own domestic circumstances”. I came back to Byron, dressed, went again – saw Perry, who most liberally agreed to do most anything – went to Lady Jersey’s afterward.

Tuesday April 16th 1816:³⁰⁵ The paragraph – with two monstrous errors

³⁰¹: BLJ V 66.

³⁰²: The Miss Forbes unidentified.

³⁰³: The poems had been planted in *The Champion* by Brougham, who co-wrote the article with John Scott, the editor.

³⁰⁴: Text of H.’s letter not yet found.

³⁰⁵: On this day B. receives a letter from Claire asking for an assignation the following Thursday (*Stocking* I 36-7). He may on this date have written the letter to her at (“b” on BLJ V 59) telling her to “look at the Morning Post & the measured motion which will amuse you”. She writes on the bottom “God bless you – I *never* was so happy! –”

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changing the sense – in the *Chronicle*.³⁰⁶ It contained no attack on anybody but Scott of the *Champion*. Made an erratum in another paragraph.³⁰⁷ Called on Perry, who said he should put something of his own to my paragraph, saying that Lord Byron did not write verse because he could not write prose.³⁰⁸

Dined at home – – – attacks, violent, in *Times* and *Post* against Lord Byron.³⁰⁹

Wednesday April 17th 1816: The *Chronicle's* additional paragraph ... with a vengeance – charge of conspiracy against Lord Byron's *domestic peace*.³¹⁰ [The] *Courier* [has] no attack. Three booksellers print Lord Byron's new poems.³¹¹ "Be sure to ask for Hone's edition of all Lord Byron's new poems!" ... the sale immense of Hone's.³¹² Dr Polidori, who is going after all with Byron, and is an odd dog,³¹³ went into the shop, threw down a shilling and had a copy flung over to him, like a loaf at a baker's or any other staple³¹⁴ – dined at home ...

³⁰⁶: Note pending.

³⁰⁷: Note pending.

³⁰⁸: Note pending.

³⁰⁹: Part of the *Morning Post's* article goes as follows: "... it could have been no common provocation that led to the marked resentment of a Lady who is allowed on all hands to be a model of feminine tenderness, sweetness and affability, and whose mental acquirements place her in the first rank of literary society ... And good God! what must that man be who while hypocritically assuming a feeling of regret for the loss of an angelic creature so unworthily bestowed upon him, can calmly sit down, not to address her, whose separation from him he affects to lament, but to sing the praises of his own affected feelings to the prejudice of one who is above all praise, but who has been grievously injured by him" (quoted *Stocking* I37 3n).

³¹⁰: Note pending.

³¹¹: Apart from Hone, publishers unidentified.

³¹²: William Hone (1763-1835) was a radical publisher. By 1820 H. was collaborating with him. See 23 Feb 1820, where he visits H. in Newgate.

³¹³: Probably H.'s code-word for "homosexual". See 6 Apr 1815.

³¹⁴: The later Cantos of *Don Juan* were marketed by John Hunt in one-shilling editions: the same price as a loaf of bread. H. does not seem to have read them, probably out of disgust at the market at which they are aimed. For H., as for Murray, B. must not be available to the mob.

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Thursday April 18th 1816:³¹⁵ In the *Chronicle* today – a paragraph headed “Lord Byron as usual”, with a statement of Sir Ralph Noel’s, that *he knew* of no conspiracy. Perry allows this to be possible, but says he is still convinced there was. The moment I read the paragraph I was sure there had been some mystification of poor Ralph. I received a note from Perry desiring me to come to him. I dined at home, and did so, at past ten. I found Perry had received a letter from Sir Ralph Noel, contradicting his paragraph, and stating not only that *he knew* of no conspiracy against Lord Byron, but that there was none. Perry told me Ralph had come to him yesterday at dinner time and had had a conversation with him in presence of Colonel Doyle, of which the result was this paragraph. Noel asks him to publish this letter, but as it contains a direct assertion that Lady Byron did everything by her own direct wish and inclination, I begged Perry would pause, as the publication of it might bring on Lord Byron’s friends the necessity of stating his case to the public. He agreed to this, and wrote Noel a letter³¹⁶ accordingly, warning him of the probability of such an event being produced by his letter, and saying some strong things – not, however, too strong, except in his character of editor. I saw the letter written, but made not alterations of any kind – except putting the word “Kirkby”. The whole correspondence has long been put in my hands. I told Mr Perry this, and the resolution to publish if any attempt was made by the other party to influence public opinion. Came back – find a letter from Doyle – with a copy of Sir Samuel Shepherd’s second decision and award – entreating me to interfere to get the deed signed – Byron was amazingly adverse. I used every argument – he put it all upon Hanson.

Friday April 19th 1816: Went in carriage, at ten, to Colonel Doyle’s. He not at home. Went to 29 Bloomsbury Square, saw Hanson ... he said he was sure that if Lord Byron stood out, the other party would give in. He should advise him therefore at all events to wait at least to the last moment before he signed. I told him he could not go from Sir Samuel Shepherd’s award.

³¹⁵: On this date B. receives a letter from Claire (*Stocking* I 37-8) arranging a meeting on “Saturday Evening at ½ past seven.” On 21 April(?), in another letter (*Stocking* I 39-40), she says that “on Thursday Evening I waited nearly a quarter of an hour in your hall ...”

³¹⁶: Printed in part at LBW 467.

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Whilst we were talking, in came the Solicitor-General. I thought it my duty to do all I could to get him to change his opinion – as he had changed it once, he might again. He owned he had done hastily, wished he had known more of the affair – and in short was completely *bothered*. I thought he was going to yield once or twice – however, he said at last, “Well, Lord Byron may refuse my award, if he pleases, but it will be a sad thing by all accounts”, and then went off to the Privy Council. He owned that in common cases, the provision was *out* of the property and not *part* of it³¹⁷ – but he said that upon his honour as a gentleman, if he was Lord Byron he should prefer giving the arbitrators a power of choosing either one or the other! We agreed to wait to the last moment – my opinion, however, was still the same – that he must yield at last, in honour, and I told him.

I saw Douglas Kinnaird – told him the whole story – he agreed that Byron must yield – but thought it should be known *why* – merely in a technicality.

I called on Doyle again – he not at home.

Dined at home – in came Davies, after a successful week at Newmarket – in came Kinnaird – *Courier* of tonight has Ralph’s letter to Perry.

Edinburgh Review out – *Substance*³¹⁸ in, and very handsomely spoken of – but some alterations of Kinnaird made by Jeffrey³¹⁹ – e.g., accused by the latter of intolerance to the Bourbons.³²⁰ My review³²¹ *not* in ...

Lord Byron desired me to make a formal offer to Colonel Doyle to back off the arrangement for separation and to go into court. I went to Colonel Doyle, and told him that in consequence of the appearance of Sir Ralph Noel’s letter to Perry, Lord Byron thought publication was the wish of the other party, and he therefore offered to release Lady Byron from her signature and to go into court. Colonel Doyle said that nothing was further from the wish of the other party than any publicity – although they were quite prepared for, and not afraid of, anything, that a court would be better than partial publication. That Lady Byron had letters from Mrs Leigh and

³¹⁷: That is, that H.’s interpretation of the arrangement as a rent charge (12 Apr 1816) had been correct.

³¹⁸: A review of *Letters*, by Kinnaird.

³¹⁹: Francis Jeffrey, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*.

³²⁰: Note pending.

³²¹: Note pending.

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others, all of which would be made public, but that the whole family deprecated such a step – that Sir Ralph had interfered with Mr Perry merely on account of his own honour. To this I replied that as Lord Byron had said nothing to the editor of the *Times*, or *Post*,³²² or *Champion*, Sir Ralph Noel should have said nothing to Mr Perry ... that Mr Perry had merely tried to save a calumniated man, and that Sir Ralph had not only said that he should not be saved, but had introduced Lady Byron to the public as deciding against her husband ... I grew a little angry, and said that my friend had suffered from the taunt “domestic treachery”.

The conference ended by my repeating Lord Byron’s proposition in form, and by ordering Colonel Doyle to transmit it to Lady Byron, which he said he would, and by a request on his part for me to go to Mr Perry, and to stop any further publication. I told him I could not answer for that – of course Mr Perry must defend himself against Sir Ralph’s letter.

Leaving Colonel Doyle, I went to the Strand.³²³ There I saw Perry. He read me his letter to Ralph in the press, and concluded by saying he should insert that letter and nothing else. Here I thought him right. He might as well do that as give the minutes of his conversation, or perhaps better, for I doubt not he might boast of being in Byron’s confidence in the conversation, but he certainly did not in the letter.

Came home. Byron is making first preparations for going, but the signing is as far off as ever, though he promises he will write to Hanson to tell him to come with the papers tomorrow ...

Saturday April 20th 1816: Kinnaird told us yesterday that Brougham had been staying in London on purpose to advise with Lady Byron, and that he had been most violent in his attack on Perry, acquitting Byron, however, and praising my conduct. The letter is in the *Chronicle*.³²⁴ I see it as a dangerous thing to have anything to do with Squash.³²⁵ I write a note to Doyle, telling him to exhort Ralph Noel to silence, thinking Perry has so much the best of it.

³²²: The *Morning Post*.

³²³: To the offices of the *Morning Chronicle*.

³²⁴: Note pending.

³²⁵: Cryptic.

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Dine at Lansdowne House. An immense party.³²⁶ Find there the run against Perry. Lord Holland said to me, “Why couldn’t you stop our friend Perry’s pen?” Lord Grey did not seem pleased with it. Lord Kinnaird defended Perry valiantly, but was overborne by Lady Holland. Lady Jersey desired me to give her love to Byron and all good things at parting. I told them that the separation would be signed the next day. Sam Rogers and Holland and all agreed it must be done. Sam had seen Colonel Doyle. He had owned Ralph had done wrong in going to Perry – all thought so.

Some verse I had written to Byron³²⁷ had been heard of – I was asked for them by Lady Jersey and Lord Holland, as well as those written to Mrs Leigh, by Lord Byron.³²⁸

At dinner today, the folly of criticism went so far as to object to the epithet *flying* ball in Gray.³²⁹ Sam Rogers said of Lord George³³⁰ hunting in Savoy, that he had been four hours on his breast in the mud, had not got a shot, but had heard the boars grunt distinctly.

Coming home, I thought it of so much importance that Hunt should be delicate in his *Examiner*,³³¹ that Polidori and I walked to Maiden Lane³³² found the *Examiner* at press, and reading it were quite satisfied – it was very neatly done.

[Not in diary: Hobhouse’s parody of the *Stanzas to Augusta*:

Dear *Byron* this humbug give over
 Never talk of decay or decline.
 No mortal alive can discover
 The cause of so causeless a whine.
 My soul with thy griefs was acquainted,

³²⁶: This Whig event seems planned as a farewell party for B. – except that he is not there, and must be presumed to be with Claire Claremont, as arranged by her the previous Thursday (see 18 Apr 1816). In his absence H. copes as best he may.

³²⁷: See next item.

³²⁸: The *Stanzas to Augusta* themselves.

³²⁹: Gray, *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, line 30: ... *Or urge the flying ball?*

³³⁰: Lord George unidentified.

³³¹: Leigh and John Hunt’s radical Sunday paper *The Examiner*. H. is nervous because of the poor letter Hunt had drafted on April 15th.

³³²: Where *The Examiner*’s office was.

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But the devil a merit in me;
 For Momus himself never painted
 A livelier creature than thee.

When every one round thee is smiling
 In hopes of a look or a nod,
 'Tis you and not we are beguiling
 In talking so doleful and odd.
 No winds were at war with the ocean.
 The tide and the breezes were fair;
 If the billows caused any emotion,
 'Twas one where the heart had no share.

The voyage 'twixt Ostend and Dover
 Your stomach would rather be better for,
 And the veriest poet or lover
 Can never be drowned but in metaphor.
 You talk of your pangs. Heaven defend us!
 "They may crush," but you never will wince;
 "They may torture" – the word is tremendous,
 But the thing was abolished long since.

Though a poet, you should not abuse us;
 Though a wit, have a truce with your jokes;
 Though you govern us all, yet excuse us
 If we think there's enough of this hoax.
 Though trusted, no creditors touch thee;
 Though parted, 'tis but from thy wife;
 Though wakeful, with Molly to much thee
 'Tis not such a damnable life.

You blame not the world, nor despise it,
 Nor the war of the many. Well done!
 You serve the world right not to prize it,
 That has left all her many for one;
 If dearly that preference has cost us,

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One comfort we all may foresee –
 Whatever our choice may have lost us,
 We're sure of fresh poems from thee.

Though the stock of our verses hath perished,
 No dearth, it appears, can befall,
 Since the poet that most we have cherished
 Bids fair to be longest of all.
 Fresh Harolds for ever are springing;
 In spite of his well, and his tree,
 Our bard on the Brenta keeps singing
 Of heroes mistaken for thee. (Text from *Joyce*, 107-9.)]

Sunday April 21st 1816: At half-past three this day, Hanson brought the Deed of Separation. Lord Byron signed it, and delivered it in these words at first, “I deliver this as Mrs Clermont’s act and deed”. I was one of the witnesses of the Deed of Separation, as I had been to the Deed of Marriage Settlement on Saturday, December the 31st 1814. Hanson was the other. Hanson repeated to me today, in Lord Byron’s presence, that he was afraid Lady Byron intended some violence to Lord Byron’s person. He repeated also that he knew she intended to come back, for the last words that she made use of when she was getting into her carriage at Hanson’s house just before she left London [were], “Well pray, get him to come down as soon as you can – or if necessary write to me, and I will come back at a minute’s warning”.

I immediately wrote to Doyle, telling him the deed was signed.³³³

³³³: H.’s determination that if B. and Annabella are reconciled, it shall be none of his doing.

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We had a session: Kinnairds, Mr and Lord, Sam Rogers, and S.B.Davies. Rogers was afraid to leave the room and his character behind him.³³⁴ However, he went.

Dined at home. In the evening, had a note from Colonel Doyle, telling me that Lady Byron had received an intimation that Lord Byron's friends intended to publish the correspondence – that if so, Lady Byron would publish everything that had passed since the first day of her marriage. I felt angry at this indirect threat, which was only a fish, to get me to give some assurance to the contrary. However, I showed the letter to Byron, and at last sent back, sensibly, that the *intimation* did not proceed from Lord Byron or myself.

I went to Lady Holland tonight.³³⁵ Lord Grey gave me Wilson's *Interrogatories*,³³⁶ and begged me to get them put into the papers, with some note or headline. I read them, and walked to the *Morning Chronicle* office, where I left them with Perry's manager. Violent attack in the *Champion*,³³⁷ which I did not read.

Monday April 22nd 1816: This morning occupied with paragraph about Wilson[’s] *panoptical* prism.³³⁸ Rogers there – took leave of Byron. Hanson came in the morning, and told us he had just taken leave of Lady Byron, who looked well, but was torn “here” – putting his hand to his breastbone, for the place of his heart. “He was prepared to object to the presence of Mrs Clermont, had she been in the room”, but she was not there.

³³⁴: See B.’s character of Rogers in the 1818 poem *Question and Answer*:

*You're his foe, for that he fears you,
And in absence blasts and sears you!
You're his friend, for that he hates you,
First caresses, and then bates you ...*

See also 23 Mar 1823.

³³⁵: B. again does not seem to accompany H. to a Whig farewell event. He receives three letters on this day from Claire (*Stocking* I 39-41) which imply that he meets both her and Mary Godwin. She bids him farewell and mentions the possibility that she and Mary may join him abroad.

³³⁶: Note pending.

³³⁷: Note pending.

³³⁸: Note pending.

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I saw Benjamin Constant and John Fuller³³⁹ today at Byron's. Constant told us that France would soon have been like China – a country of mere ceremonies – that egotism was almost lost in egotism, for that each individual thought of himself only as a present being, and not as what he had been or might be. He told us that in Paris a man who loses his character in one street has only to change his lodgings to another. That he knows a man who, having behaved dreadfully to a woman, left Paris, but in twenty miles, changed his intention and came back, but intended to hide himself. However, he was greeted by his friends as usual, and “Surely,” said he, “if they do not care about this, why should I?”

Dined at home – everything prepared for Byron's departure. All his papers put into my hands. He received a visit from Mr and Mrs Kinnaird³⁴⁰ at night, who brought him a cake and two bottles of champagne³⁴¹ ... Dr Polidori did not go to bed ... I did ... dreadfully ill – pain in shoulder-blade.

³³⁹: Fuller may, six years later, have been the victim of a rare Byronic memory-lapse. B. to Kinnaird, 20 June 1822: “A Mr. Fuller called on me the other day by “*desire of Mr Hobhouse*” I refused to see him (but civilly of course) for I will see no Englishmen but those I knew before or have business with” (BLJ IX 177).

³⁴⁰: “Mrs Kinnaird” is the actress and singer Maria Keppel.

³⁴¹: In addition, Isaac Nathan sent two Passover cakes.

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Tuesday April 23rd 1816:³⁴² Up at six. Breakfasted – but not off until half-past nine – Polidori and I were in Scrope Davies' chaise, Byron & S.B.D. in Byron's new Napoleonic carriage, built by Baxter for £500. There was a crowd about the door. When we got some way, I looked back, and, not seeing Byron's carriage, conjured up all sorts of accidents in my fancy – at last, however, it came along, with Fletcher and Bob Rushton. We took cold meat at Sittingbourne – arrived at Dover by half-past eight. Dined at Ship³⁴³ and took "light French wines".

In today's *Chronicle* appeared my paragraph, and a very sensible one, by Perry I suppose,³⁴⁴ about Lord Byron, and announcing his departure from the country. Byron said he should be discussed in the British Forum, next to Captain Harrower and Miss Giblet³⁴⁵ – (he has been, as I saw on my return).

Wednesday April 24th 1816: This morning Fletcher told me the bailiffs had got into No 13,³⁴⁶ and had seized everything ... I was in alarm respecting their descent to Dover, and the carriage – though [we] had it put on board as soon as possible. Mr Denen,³⁴⁷ the auctioneer, has seized for rents for the Duchess of Devonshire. Wind contrary from eastward, and strong.

Walked with Scrope to Shakespeare's cliff,³⁴⁸ and afterwards to the barrack hill, where the ruins used to be.³⁴⁹ Dined at five. Walked in the evening to the church, to see Churchill's tomb. The old Sexton took us to an open spot or churchyard, without a church,³⁵⁰ and showed us a green sod

³⁴²: B. receives two letters today from Clare (*Stocking* I 41-2) one asking if she may see him "an instant this Evening", the other starting "Hour after hour & no news of you! and ending We shall meet again at Geneva, to me the most beautiful & endearing of words".

³⁴³: The two principal hotels at Dover were the Ship and the York. In *Don Juan* XI Stanzas 65-70 the hero enters England, reversing B.'s exit precisely.

³⁴⁴: Note pending.

³⁴⁵: The British Forum was a Westminster debating society. Captain Harrower and Miss Giblet remain mysterious.

³⁴⁶: 13 Piccadilly Terrace, rented by B. from the Duchess of Devonshire.

³⁴⁷: Mr Denen was agent for the Duchess of Devonshire (see 26 Apr 1816).

³⁴⁸: See *King Lear*, IV vi.

³⁴⁹: Ruins unidentified.

³⁵⁰: B. wrote about this incident in *Churchill's Grave*, published by Murray on December 5th 1816, with *The Prisoner of Chillon*: see CPW IV 1-2. Charles Churchill (1731-1764) was a satirical poet, and friend of John Wilkes.

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with a common head gravestone, with these words upon it: “Here lie the remains of the celebrated Charles Churchill.

Life to the last enjoyed

Here Churchill lies.

Candidate” –³⁵¹

We asked the Sexton what Churchill was celebrated for. He said, “He died before my time, though I have been here thirty-five year. I had not the burying of him”. However, being again asked, he said “For his writings.” Byron lay down on his grave, and gave the man a crown to fresh-turf it.

Dr Polidori committed a strange solecism tonight,³⁵² and had the naïveté to tell us of it. He was lectured by both – his attachment to reputation, and [to] his three tragedies, is most singular and ridiculous. Byron says he shall have the reputation of having made a sober commonplace fellow quite mad.

Thursday April 25th 1816: Up at eight. Breakfasted ... all on board except the company. The captain said he could not wait, and Byron could not get up a moment sooner – even the serenity of Scrope was perturbed. However, after some bustle, out came Byron, and, taking my arm, walked down to the quay ... “By the way,” he said as he had often done, “do you think there will be any necessity for *publishing?*³⁵³ Perhaps we had better, at any rate be

³⁵¹: The headstone quotes Churchill’s *The Candidate* (1764) line 152 *et seq.*:

*Let one poor sprig of Bay around my head
Bloom whilst I live, and point me out when dead;
Let it (may Heav’n indulgent grant that pray’r)
Be planted on my grave, nor wither there;
And when, on travel bound, some riming guest
Roams thro’ the Church-yard, whilst his Dinner’s dress’d,
Let It hold up this Comment to his eyes;
Life to the last enjoy’d, here Churchill lies;
Whilst (O, what joy that pleasing flat’ry gives)
Reading my Works, he cries - here Churchill lives.*

³⁵²: He may have made a pick-up and boasted of it: or he may have read them one of his tragedies.

³⁵³: B. is considering publishing his account of the separation proceedings. It is with this in mind that H. writes *Byroniana*.

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ready for them” ... He got on board a little after nine. Berger³⁵⁴ was in bed when Byron left the inn, but came just in time. The bustle kept Byron in spirits, but he looked affected when the packet glided off. I ran to the end of the wooden³⁵⁵ pier,³⁵⁶ and as the vessel tossed by us through a rough sea and contrary wind, saw him again. The dear fellow pulled off his cap and waved it to me.³⁵⁷ I gazed until I could not distinguish him any longer ... God bless him for a gallant spirit – and a kind one – I shall, fate allowing, join him in two or three months.

He sometimes talked of returning in a year or so, at others of being longer, but told me he felt a presentiment his absence would be long. S.B.D. said the same thing, but I told both that I always had the same presentiment in leaving England ... again, God bless him –

S.B.D. and I took a turn with Pettier³⁵⁸ on the pier – came back. Paid a £20 bill at Wright’s,³⁵⁹ and got into S.B.D.’s chaise for London, where we arrived by eight o’clock ... we sent to Kinnaird’s, to tell him we were coming to dine with him – when lo & behold, came Mrs Kinnaird in the carriage, saying there was a row expected at the theatre – Douglas Kinnaird having received *fifteen* anonymous letters stating that Mrs Mardyn³⁶⁰ would be hissed on Byron’s account. She wanted us to repair thither forthwith, but we dressed [and] dined with Kinnaird. No disturbance at Drury Lane – the fifteen letters two or three. Kinnaird indignant at Brougham, who attacked Byron at Brooke’s for his *deformity*, *curse him* – Kinnaird had at Kingham³⁶¹ for the twitch in his nose ... find that Parsons was just in time to save the papers. The bailiffs came in ten minutes after Byron set out on Tuesday, and

³⁵⁴: The Swiss guide whom B. has hired.

³⁵⁵: “wooded” (Ms.)

³⁵⁶: H. uses the simile of a collapsing pier in the poem he writes in his birthday entry on 27 June 1816.

³⁵⁷: Presumably B. was waving at Scrope Davies as well.

³⁵⁸: Pettier unidentified.

³⁵⁹: See *Don Juan*, X 69, 8: “Their long, long, bills, whence nothing is deducted”; also Stanza 70.

³⁶⁰: “Marden” (Ms.) Mrs Mardyn was the actress with whose name B.’s had been popularly and erroneously linked.

³⁶¹: Conjectural reading.

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declared they would have seized his carriage – the birds and squirrel are detained ...