

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Mid-1816

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Edited from BL Add. Mss. 47232 and 56536

There is much variety and interest in this section of the diary, which covers the time between Byron's departure for the continent on April 25th 1816 and that of Hobhouse on July 30th (for which he is already preparing on June 5th). The events chronicled should climax in Sheridan's funeral, on July 13th; but that is an anti-climactic affair. They might have climaxed with a successful romantic assignation on June 24th, but Hobhouse is as luckless and inept here as ever he is. The high-point would be Miss Somerville's delivery of his prologue to Maturin's *Bertram*, at Drury Lane on May 9th, if only that were something of which he felt proud.

For the rest, Hobhouse is throughout anxious over the sale of his *Letters from Paris*, a work, it seems, much-praised but little purchased. The success of Caroline Lamb's shameless *Glenarvon*, published on May 9th and into its second edition by late June, does his ego no good.

His reading in Mungo Park, and the tales of the war with the Nepalese, and of Napoleon, which his brother Henry brings from his travels, add an incidental exotic interest; and there are vivid glimpses of Coleridge, Sebastiani, Kean, Benjamin Constant, and others.

Hobhouse's exit from the country is effected in a very strange and disturbing manner.

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Friday April 26th 1816: Did little or nothing in the morning. Met Bainbridge,¹ who told me that Cuthbert² had told him that he defended Lord Byron, as having separated only on common causes, when Lord Auckland³ said, “I beg your pardon – Brougham has told me it is something ‘too horrid to mention’”. I told Bainbridge that it was a lie, and that Brougham being Lady Byron’s legal adviser was a rascal for saying so – that if Lady Byron said so she was unworthy of credit. Brougham said that Lady Byron told [him] that Byron had boasted to her of going to bed to his sister. I replied that if he had she was more villainous in mentioning it than he in doing it ... That Lady Byron will not stick at a trick I know, from her having told Byron that she was in love with another man⁴ in order to hook him – she confessed this to Byron herself.

Lady Melbourne is in a fright. She is sure that Lady Byron has seen some of her letters to Lord Byron, for Caroline Lamb has quoted some passages to her, so that Caroline Lamb must be the worthy associate of her Ladyship ... I think she may have looked at the letters without their having been shown to her, for I know she looked at a trunk in which Byron kept his *black drop* and *Justines* – Mrs Leigh confessed this.

I dined with Perry today – a large party. Benjamin Constant, Flahaut, and Turenne, Napoleon’s chamberlain.⁶ Constant told me the King had beat the ultra-royalists, but not openly, and that he had contrived to get a majority of the House of Representatives to leave Paris so as to prevent the transaction of any serious business. This being the case, he should be obliged to rewrite his book to me in some measure, for he had attacked the fallen ultra royalists, and would not [] the slain. He should talk more of principles than persons, he said. I warned him against metaphysics – he owned he [had]

¹: Unidentified at BLJ V 30n.

²: Cuthbert unidentified.

³: Lord Auckland was George Eden’s father.

⁴: George Eden, Lord Auckland’s heir. He had proposed to Annabella, and she had told B. that she had loved him.

⁵: His drugs, and the Marquis de Sade’s notorious novel *Justine* (1791). H. may have obtained the novel in Paris – see 19 May 1815. For “*Black Drop*”, see *Don Juan* IX 67, 5. It was made from opium and vinegar, with added spices.

⁶: Turenne otherwise unidentified.

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thought the English more fond of abstraction than the French, but had found quite the contrary. A book that he wrote for London,⁷ sold four editions in two months in Paris, and not two copies in London.

We had a noble dinner at Perry's. The Duke of Sussex came in. Perry was angry at me for not having read the *Champion*, and for not having sent him word when the deed was signed. I have done with him – a good lesson. Brougham has been with him, telling him that Byron cheated the Duchess of Devonshire of £500. I said it was a lie out loud,⁸ and desired anyone present to tell Brougham so for me. Kinnaird, S.B.Davies, and I all thought something should be done to stop this horrible insolence of Brougham's. S.B.D. and I walked home, and I sat up till three writing a letter to Brougham,⁹ who in appealing to Perry did the very same thing to which he objected in Byron's friends.

Saturday April 27th 1816:¹⁰ In the morning read my letter to S.B.Davies. who said it was very good, but that I should first fix a fact on Brougham. Got Guthridge¹¹ and cart to fetch Byron's things. Paid S.B.Davies twelve pounds for Dover trip, and three pounds for Clarendon, and a pound for loan – took leave of him – good fellow.

Called on Douglas Kinnaird, who told me he had seen Lord Holland, who dissuaded an attack on Brougham. Said that Byron must rise, that in Paris everybody condemned Lady Byron, that the fact of there being nothing stated against Byron must be in his favour - Kinnaird therefore recommended silence. I told him of my prepared letter – he asked me to write prologue for *Bertram* – I said yes.¹²

⁷: Constant's book unidentified.

⁸: It is strictly a lie, for no "cheating" is involved; but see BLJ V 270-1 (letter of 3rd November 1817) for B.'s apology to the Duchess of Devonshire for the still-outstanding debt.

⁹: B. eventually challenged Brougham to a duel (in May 1820: BLJ VII 95-6) although they did not fight. He also composed the "Brougham Stanzas" in *Don Juan* Canto I, but never published them.

¹⁰: Claire Claremont's eighteenth birthday.

¹¹: Davies' servant(?).

¹²: *Bertram* is a new play by Charles Maturin. Kinnaird bribes H. with the offer of the prologue, to prevent him publishing his letter to Brougham. What H. may not know is that Kinnaird has also commissioned an epilogue – from George Lamb. This will be spoken by Miss Kelly, and will include the lines

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Called on Lady Melbourne. She told me what Kinnaird mentioned about the letters – mentioned that Miss Doyle¹³ had said, “She should burst, and that if she might speak she should tell such a story”. This is very different indeed from the behaviour of Lord Byron’s friends.¹⁴ Whilst we were talking, in came Caroline Lamb. She was ready to sink ... I said in her hearing that I trusted that Lord Byron’s enemies would condescend at last to perch upon a fact. Both Lady Melbourne and myself were very kind to this mad creature, who is fresh from her *page beating*,¹⁵ and who wrote to Byron the other day desiring him not to publish his poem to his sister,¹⁶ he not knowing what was said of him. Byron received an anonymous letter at Dover begging him not to publish. I know they are afraid, which convinces me of the strength of Byron’s cause.

After this visit I left the verses to Mrs Leigh with Lady Jersey, together with a note. and thus finished for the present this feverish business. Called on Ridgeway and told [him] to prepare for [a] second edition.¹⁷ I then rode down to Whitton.

Find my sisters all well. Cold meat and kisses ...

Sunday April 28th 1816: Occupied in pulling about my books, &c. Dinner as usual. Walked out.

The prologue prosés, ere the play is known,

Rugged and dull as the male speaker’s tone.

¹³: Selina Doyle, confidante of Annabella. Her husband helps burn B.’s memoirs in 1824.

¹⁴: Although B.’s friends have their suspicions too, they don’t air them.

¹⁵: She had assaulted a page by throwing a ball at his head, making it bleed.

¹⁶: *The Stanzas to Augusta*.

¹⁷: H., at his own expense, intends a revised second edition of *Letters*, even though the first edition is not sold out yet.

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Monday April 29th 1816: Writing journal since April 2nd, or 3rd ... Sophy's birthday. Gave her Wharton's Milton.¹⁸ She is nineteen – sweet girl ... walked out with girls – fine spring weather – I read the Abbé de Pradt's *Ambassadeur de Pologne*¹⁹ on the way to Dover.²⁰ It is a very singular work and puts Napoleon's character in the same light as Constant represented it to me – not a cruel man, but one who did everything by system, and looked on man as a mere machine. Constant himself observed to me that he was right, for a man put the red shirt over him when going to be hanged with just the same ceremony as if he was at another toilet – the Romans carried it still further, by killing themselves when commanded ...

Tuesday April 30th 1816: A letter from Byron²¹ dated Ostend, April 27th, where he arrived at midnight before, apparently in good spirits. Wrote journal up to this day.

¹⁸: Milton's *Poems on Several Occasions*, ed. Thomas Warton (1785).

¹⁹: The Abbé de Pradt (1759-1837) Napoleon's unsuccessful ambassador to Warsaw in 1812.

²⁰: But H. doesn't say that he goes to Dover on this day.

²¹: BLJ V 71-2.

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Wednesday May 1st 1816: <began to copy Byroniana> Occupied about a prologue for Drury Lane's new tragedy.²² Took six lines from Prologue to Duke of Milan²³ – wrote it, according to Douglas Kinnaird's desire, in forma pauperis,²⁴ and compared the new actress, Miss Somerville,²⁵ to a sunflower!!!

The Smiths²⁶ came.

Thursday May 2nd 1816: Prologue written, and sent off.

²²: H. had attended a reading of *Bertram* on April 12th, so he does know the play.

²³: See 21 Dec 1815.

²⁴: "In the character of a poor man". The Prologue stresses the humble background of both the author and the new leading lady:

*Taught by your judgment, by your favour led,
The grateful Stage restored her mighty dead.
But not, when wits of ages past revive,
Should living genius therefore cease to thrive.
No! the same liberal zeal that fondly tries
To save the Poet, though the mortal dies,
Impartial welcomes each illustrious birth,
And justly crowns contemporary worth.*

*This night a Bard, who yet, alas! has known
Of conscious merit but the pangs alone;
Through dark misfortune's gleam condemned to cope
With baffled effort and with blighted hope,
Still dares to think one friendly voice shall cheer
His sinking soul, and thinks to hail it – here!
Fanned by the breath of praise, his spark of fame
Still, still may glow, and burst into a flame.*

*Nor yet let British candour mock the toil
That rear'd the laurel on our sister soil;
That soil to Fancy's gay luxuriance kind,
That soil which teems with each aspiring mind,
Rich in the fruits of glory's ripening sun –
Nurse of the brave – the land of WELLINGTON.*

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Friday May 3rd 1816: Began copying and writing Byroniana²⁷ – do nothing in reading.

Saturday May 4th 1816: Ditto, ditto. Letter from Byron.²⁸

Sunday May 5th 1816: Ditto, ditto. No answer from Kinnaird – think the Prologue won't do.
Letter from Byron.²⁹

Monday May 6th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

*Here, too, this night – another candidate,
Aspires to please; and trembles for her fate; –
And, as the flower whose ever-constant gaze
Turns to her Sun and woos the genial blaze,
To those kind eyes our blushing suppliant bends,
And courts the light that beams from smiling friends;
Oh! calm the conflict of her hopes and fears,
Nor stain her cheek with more than mimic tears.*

*Since, then, alike each bold adventure sues
The votary, and the handmaid of the Muse,
Think that the same neglect – the same regard,
Must sink, or save, the actress, and the bard.*

²⁵: She was to create the part of Maturin's heroine Imogine. See BLJ V 82 for B.'s insistence that she and only she deliver his *Monody on the Death of Sheridan*.

²⁶: The Smiths unidentified.

²⁷: His account, taken from his diary (hence "copying"), of the separation.

²⁸: BLJ V 72-4.

²⁹: BLJ V 75-6.

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Tuesday May 7th 1816: Went up to London – found S.B.Davies had been blackballed at Brookes,³⁰ notwithstanding I had written positively to Douglas Kinnaird stating that I would be not put up and that he should not put up S.B.Davies. without asking him. A committee of seven are to choose a hundred new members.

Dined with Denison, Sir Francis Burdett, Norton, Perry, Ellice, and another besides Wharton. Nothing particular said or done. Denison told me he would answer for my election at Brooke's.

Wednesday May 8th 1816: Hard rain. Called on Lord Kinnaird, and read to him what I intended to put in my second edition relative to <him> Fitzroy Somerset.³¹ He said³² it was very good, and would do well. Dined at the Eumelian with Webb, who insisted on paying for me; met stupid Earl Crawford, who said he hoped that Dr Johnson would be saved, and could not be got off into a more charitable expression. The dunce owned that the conversion of the Jews, in which he is concerned, is going on very slowly, and that the Jews look more for a temporal than a spiritual kingdom.

This day desired Ridgeway to tell me what he would give for my copyright of second and other editions. He boggled, and next day sent to say 180 copies were left of [the] old edition, and that he would share profits.

³⁰: The fashionable Whig club.

³¹: See 27 Mar 1816.

³²: “set” (Ms.)

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Thursday May 9th 1816: Dined with Ellice, and went to his box to *Bertram*,³³ in great fright. My Prologue did famously.³⁴ Those in our box said, “If all does as well – ’twill do!” Well, the new actress³⁵ did decently, but whined dreadfully. I ran down to tell Kean to tell Miss Smith³⁶ of this. Three acts got off nobly, and Kean’s *Bertram* was divine – the fourth act laboured, but the fifth recovered. It was what they call complete success. The poetry indeed is very fine – it was thought to be Byron’s, and these lines

...

*Through black misfortune’s gloom condemned to cope
With baffled effort and with blighted hope*³⁷

... were thought to belong to him, and made a great shout. Lord Grey³⁸ came into our box, and said the play, and Kean, were abominable. What does he mean? <supped> We saw Kean in the green room – he [was] discontented. Told me the play was written for the heroine.³⁹ Rae⁴⁰ told me

³³: *Bertram or the Castle of St. Aldobrand*, by Charles Maturin (1782-1824): it had been mounted on B.’s recommendation, and ran twenty-two consecutive nights – a great success. Murray printed seven editions in the first year. How impressed B. was by the piece (see BLJ IV 336) may be judged by the name of the protagonist’s hideaway:

... *Count Bertram,*
Whose vessel had from Manfredonia’s coast
Been traced towards this realm ... (IV i)

On Manfredonia’s wild and wooded shore
His desperate followers awed the regions round ... (IV i)

³⁴: H.’s letter to B. of 26 May 1816 (BB 221-3) seems to attribute the prologue to a “Mr Upton”, evidently a *nom-de-plume*, though there was an author called William Upton, referred to at BLJ VI 27n.

³⁵: Miss Somerville, compared to a sunflower in H.’s prologue.

³⁶: Sarah Smith (afterwards Mrs Bartley) often partnered Kean. That H. should have communicated with her about the performance of the leading actress in the middle of the show displays (i) his proprietoriality (ii) his anger and (iii) his insensitivity to the actors’ nerves.

³⁷: These lines are not Maturin’s, but H.’s, from the Prologue. See 1 May 16.

³⁸: The future Prime Minister and pilot of the 1832 Reform Bill; the reasons for his dislike are obscure.

³⁹: Imogene is the largest part in *Bertram*.

⁴⁰: Alexander Rae (1782-1820) had spoken the Prologue. He had created the part of Don Ordonio in Coleridge’s *Remorse*, and had been Othello to Kean’s Iago, Macduff

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my lines were beautiful, and I like a fool persuaded myself to allow them to put my name to the Prologue. Murray publishes, and gives £350, *ergo*, charges 4s 6d, and they mangled my lines and I had some work in the first edition.

Supped with Mrs Hodges and heard bawdy talked by a Mrs Forbes⁴¹ ... Mrs Hodges is a pleasant woman.

Friday May 10th 1816: Murray's shop crowded for *Bertram*. Yesterday Caroline Lamb published a novel, *Glenarvon*; the hero is a monster and meant for Byron, the Princess of Madagascar Lady Holland – *The New Atalantis*⁴² over again. I called on the <bitch>⁴³, and was asked whether any harm had been done by her book. Henry Webster⁴⁴ was in the room attacking her for the abuse of his mother. She showed me half-bawdy pictures of her of Byron.

Rode to Whitton.

Saturday May 11th 1816: Desired Cullen⁴⁵ to make Longman a proposal to buy my copyright.⁴⁶ Began Byroniana again. Did nothing.

Sunday May 12th 1816: Ditto, ditto. On Tuesday I heard that my brother Henry was coming home, and behaved like a brute on the occasion. If I do feel so base, I should not show it – it is very imprudent, and will be remembered against me some day or the other. His wife is ill and he wishes to come home – this changes my plan of leaving England the beginning of June.⁴⁷

to his Macbeth, and so on.

⁴¹: Mrs Hodges and Mrs Forbes unidentified; perhaps members of the company.

⁴²: After the scandalous satire of 1709, *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, Of Both Sexes. From the New Atalantis* by Mrs May de la Rivière Manley (1663-1724) friend of Swift and Steele. See Pope, *The Rape of the Lock* III 165-6, and *Don Juan* XI 87, 5: "... I disdain to write a new Atalantis ..."

⁴³: *Recollections* (I 338) has "I called on her ..."

⁴⁴: BB's index says "50, 54n"; but we search the pages in vain. He was Lady Holland's son by her first marriage, to Sir Godfrey Webster.

⁴⁵: Cullen (Christian name never recorded) is a lawyer friend of H.'s, working from Lincoln's Inn.

⁴⁶: That of *Letters*.

⁴⁷: Perhaps this disappointing realisation was the reason for his brutish behaviour.

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Monday May 13th 1816: Ditto, ditto. Ears better lately.

Tuesday May 14th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Wednesday May 15th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Thursday May 16th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Friday May 17th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Saturday May 18th 1816: Ditto, ditto. Party went to the play in Byron's box – *Bertram*. (Yesterday) *Quarterly Review* abuses me through thick and thin.⁴⁸

Sunday May 19th 1816: Ditto, ditto. <Wish> Caroline Lamb wrote to me by her page⁴⁹ who desired me to be called at once, half-past seven.

Monday May 20th 1816: Ditto, ditto. Wrote to Lady Melbourne yesterday – [she] declares every abhorrence at *Glenarvon*.

Tuesday May 21st 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Wednesday May 22nd 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Thursday May 23rd 1816: Ditto, ditto.

⁴⁸: *Letters* was reviewed at pp. 443-52 of the "January" number of the *Quarterly*, which had come out late. The reviewer (identified by Shine as John Wilson Croker, with Gifford's "embellishments") affects to interpret it as an unsuccessful exercise in irony, and calls it "tedious, dull, and laboriously impudent" (p. 452).

⁴⁹: Perhaps the page whom she had injured with the ball – see 27 Apr 1816.

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Friday May 24th 1816: Ditto. read a book proving Junius to have been the late Duke of Portland.⁵⁰ The arguments are very good, if it could be proved he could write any thing; Junius to another Duke⁵¹ is singular, and his saying he should not survive a discovery three days⁵² – he should be attainted by bill – proves him a peer. {but it only proved that the writer wanted to be supposed a Peer 1823}⁵³

Saturday May 25th 1816: Finished *Byroniana* – seventy-two sheets of letter paper.⁵⁴ Write to Mrs Leigh frequently and hear from her.

Dined at Holland House. Mackintosh,⁵⁵ Lord and Lady Cowper,⁵⁶ John Philip Kemble,⁵⁷ Mr and Mrs Wishaw, &c. Mackintosh far the best – J. Kemble talked of plays, but said not much. Lord Holland told that Michael Angelo Taylor⁵⁸ read the riot act to his own servants, and then said “Now I’ll commit you all!”

In the evening Lady Holland showed me the letter to Caroline that had caused the commotion.⁵⁹ She had said something to allay the rumour about the page. Lady Caroline wrote a foolish letter to thank her. Lady Holland returned a sensible note, begging her to think of her family and friends, and not expose them to similar trials for the future. *This she said she never*

⁵⁰: Junius is the famous pseudonymous eighteenth-century pamphleteer, who wrote against George III and his government between 1769 and 1772. He features at B.’s *The Vision of Judgement*, Stanzas 74-84. H. is reading *Letters to a Nobleman* (anon, 1816) which argues for the Whig prime minister William Cavendish Bentinck, third Duke of Portland (1738-1809) as Junius; consensus now has him to have been Sir Philip Francis. For B.’s feelings, see BLJ III 215 and VI 19.

⁵¹: Junius addressed several letters to Dukes; but none have this title (which could mean “Junius to a different Duke”).

⁵²: Note pending. Anyone got any ideas?

⁵³: Added seven years later – evidence that H. re-read his diaries.

⁵⁴: *Byroniana* is now part of the John Murray Archive. It forms II 191-355 of *Recollections*.

⁵⁵: Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832) philosopher and Whig politician.

⁵⁶: Lady Cowper (nee Emily Mary Lamb) was Lady Melbourne’s daughter. In 1805 she had married Peter, fifth Earl of Cowper.

⁵⁷: See 19 June 1812. The brother of Sarah Siddons, who played Volumnia to his Coriolanus, and so on.

⁵⁸: Michael Angelo Taylor (1757-1834) M.P. for Poole; he instigated much legislation about London street-lights.

⁵⁹: Letter unidentified.

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would forgive. Lady Holland is much hurt,⁶⁰ and she told me that the Greys and Lansdownes and Jerseys would cut her, and that she was now two pegs lower, with the Asgills and other demireps.⁶¹ Sir James Mackintosh and Lord Holland and Wishaw all advised me not to answer the *Quarterly*. Mackintosh said, “Never defend – attack, if you please”, &c. Sebastiani said, “Il faut attendre et venger!”

Home half-past one.

Sunday May 26th 1816: Wrote to Byron,⁶² to Lady Melbourne, to Cullen, and journal from April 30th.

Monday May 27th 1816: Doing nothing but looking over Letters from Paris. Walk before dinner. Read Park’s second volume of *Travels*;⁶³ his last letter to Lord Camden, dated Sansanding, before he set off down the Niger,⁶⁴ is quite overpowering. He says he will die on the Niger even if he be the only white man left. Out of forty-four, only four were left at Sansanding. All the rest dead, amongst them his brother-in-law Anderson, whose death, he says, left him a second time alone in the wilderness.⁶⁵

It does appear that the opinions in favour of the *Congo* being the mouth of the Niger are the best-founded of any as to the mouth of that mighty river,⁶⁶ the uncertainty of whose course and termination gives to it, as

⁶⁰: By Caroline’s portrait of her as the Princess of Madagascar in *Glenarvon*.

⁶¹: A demi-rep was “a woman whom everybody knows to be what nobody calls her” (Fielding; OED). What Sophia, wife of General Sir Charles Asgill, had done to be so entitled, is not recorded.

⁶²: BB 221-3.

⁶³: *The Journal of a Mission to the Interior of Africa in the Year 1805*, by Mungo Park (John Murray 1815).

⁶⁴: Printed at Park, *Journal*, p. lxxix-lxxxii.

⁶⁵: “... no event which took place during the journey, ever threw the smallest gloom over my mind, till I laid Mr. Anderson in the grave. I then felt myself as if left a second time lonely and friendless amidst the wilds of Africa” – Park, *Journal*, p. 163. *Recollections* (I 340) has “Lansanding”.

⁶⁶: H. is reading the *Quarterly* for January 1816, pages 453-73, an article sandwiched between the review of *Letters* and that of Hunt’s *Rimini*. It is a review of *The Narrative of Robert Adams, a Sailor, who was wrecked, in the Year 1810, on the West Coast of Africa, was detained three Years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and resided several Months of that Period in the City of Tombuctoo*. The

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Wishaw observes, a certain sublimity. It is the fountain of a river which is usually unknown, and not its mouth. The ancient geographers made the Niger flow from West to East, those of the middle ages from East to West, D'Amville⁶⁷ and Rennel⁶⁸ restored its true course. Leo Africanus⁶⁹ makes the Senegal the Niger. He travelled about the end of the sixteenth century, I believe.

I read the Review of Adams' journey to Tombuctoo.⁷⁰ He makes Tombuctoo under a negro king – Park leaves no doubt he was Mahometan in his time.⁷¹ *Wishaw*, who saw Adams, tells me he does not believe he was in Tombuctoo, but at some large negro town. He makes a great river flow southwards close to the town.⁷² I make out little by his narrative, except that at a push the travellers of the desert drink camel's piss mixed with water, or water mixed with camel's piss.⁷³ He said the inhabitants of Tombuctoo had no religion.⁷⁴ He has an arrangement with the youngest of a Moor, his

Niger, which has a delta 36,000 kilometres square, was at this time an enigma. No-one knew where either its source or its mouth was; whether it flowed east, west, north or south; whether it discharged into the Atlantic, into the Mediterranean, or whether it dried up in the middle of Africa. In a later *Quarterly* (XLIX, April 1821) pp. 25-50 there is a critique of two books examining the claim that the Niger and the Nile are the same river. In the October *Quarterly* for 1821, another review denies (p. 56) all possibility of the Niger ending in the Atlantic. Not until 1830 was it discovered that it did. See *The Vision of Judgement*, Stanza 81, 7-8 (about the identity of the authorship of Junius's letters):

Their Author, like the Niger's Mouth, will bother

The World to see if there be Mouth or Author.

⁶⁷: For D'Amville, see 10 Aug 1809.

⁶⁸: James Rennell (1742-1830) English geographer. He illustrated Park's *Journal*.

⁶⁹: Real name Alhassan ibn Mohammed Alwazzan (1494-1552) Moorish geographer from Cordova.

⁷⁰: Compare *Don Juan* I 132 6-8:

Tombuctoo travels, Voyages to the Poles,

Are ways to benefit Mankind as true,

Perhaps, as shooting them at Waterloo. –

⁷¹: "The Moors are rigid Mahomedans, and possess, with the bigotry and superstition, all the intolerance of their sect" – Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (1799) p. 150.

⁷²: January 1816 *Quarterly Review*, p. 455 (H. is reading the review, not the book).

⁷³: *Ibid*, p. 454.

⁷⁴: *Ibid*, p. 456.

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master's two wives, and being discovered sleeping with her, is only beat.⁷⁵ This is suspicious to me, though the Moors do not seem so strict as the Turks in this particular. Park saw many women – particularly Fatima, wife of Ali King of Benowm – some wanted to see if he was circumcised.⁷⁶ The present Moors of the desert are a compound of all – Romans, Goths, Numidians, Carthaginians, Vandals, &c., who were come on the coast and were driven southwards by the Arabian conquerors in the sixth and seventh centuries.

In Park's second journey he and his forty men were for half an hour nearly stopped by a swarm of bees.⁷⁷ Many a great exploit is impeded by insects. All the plans of the Bourbon Princes were arrested by a swarm of Imperial Bees.⁷⁸

Tuesday May 28th 1816: At *Letters from Paris &c.* One mistake. I wrote five sheets of preface to *Byroniana*, and completed that work.

Wednesday May 29th 1816: *Letters from Paris*, ditto. Reading a little of Park's first journey aloud in the evening.

Thursday May 30th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

⁷⁵: Ibid, p. 459. Adams is in fact in danger of being beaten to death.

⁷⁶: Ali was the Moorish Chief or Sovereign of Ludamar. At p. 132 of Park's *Travels* a party of Moorish ladies come to Park's hut "... and gave me plainly to understand that the object of their visit was to ascertain, by actual inspection, whether the rite of circumcision extended to the Nazarenes, (Christians,) as well as to the followers of Mahomet". Ali's Queen Fatima is not of the party, to only one of whom will Park reveal the facts of the case.

⁷⁷: Park, *Journal*, p. 37: "... for half an hour the bees seemed to have completely put an end to our journey".

⁷⁸: The bee was Napoleon's emblem.

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Friday May 31st 1816: Ditto. Went to the play to see Mrs Siddons in Queen Catherine.⁷⁹ I shall never forget her saying to the messenger, “At last you are a saucy fellow”,⁸⁰ nor the air with which, when he begged pardon on his knee for his intrusion, she said “But never let me see that fellow more”.⁸¹ I (and we) expected he would be forgiven, but was much struck with the persevering anger of majesty. Unforgiveness is a royal virtue, and partakes of high-mindedness. I never felt this before, but I am now sure of it by the admiration excited by Queen Catherine in this instance. Kinnaird and the Duck⁸² were sitting in the next box to us!!! and annoyed me beyond measure. Kembles⁸³ is quite gone – no voice at all – he is nothing.

Saturday June 1st 1816: Letters from Paris – ditto.

Sunday June 2nd 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Monday June 3rd 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Tuesday June 4th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

⁷⁹: “Caroline” (Ms.) The play is Shakespeare’s *Henry VIII*.

⁸⁰: *Henry VIII* IV ii 100, paraphrased. *Recollections* (I 340) has *at least*.

⁸¹: *Henry VIII* IV ii 107-108, paraphrased.

⁸²: Probably not Douglas Kinnaird and Maria Keppel, but Lord Kinnaird and a companion.

⁸³: Kemble (see 29 June 1812) suffered from asthma. His last performance was as Coriolanus on 23 June 1817.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Wednesday June 5th 1816: Rode up to London – ordered clothes and perrique⁸⁴ for travelling. Called on Lady Melbourne, who showed me two letters, one from Caroline Lamb, whose husband takes her part!!! notwithstanding George Lamb has written to beg him to part with her; and Lord Melbourne has declared he will not live in the same house with her – she talks big of the rights of English women and swears she will not go, she will be sent away. She attributes George Lamb and Lady Melbourne’s indignation about Glenarvon to their taking part against the pure Lady Byron.

From this lady is the other letter, which gives an opinion about *Glenarvon*, and such an opinion – almost favourable!!! But so involved, and talking of “disclosures”, and God knows what – as if it would lead to them, or had originated from them – I cannot understand which. She then talks about *The Antiquary*,⁸⁵ all so coolly – says the child⁸⁶ is the finest she ever saw – such a creature. I hear she is handing about an exculpatory letter about “unforgivingness”,⁸⁷ but not from Lady Melbourne. This comes from Mrs Leigh.

Dined at the Eumelian, where was Stoddart of the *Times*,⁸⁸ an agreeable man, and Shee the artist,⁸⁹ an *agreeabler*; also Jimmy Boswell,⁹⁰ who is going to give a life of Malone,⁹¹ who is to be his *αυρος*,⁹² as Johnson was his father’s. Charles Grant⁹³ was there.

⁸⁴: Conjectural reading: see 5 Sept 1814.

⁸⁵: Scott’s novel had been published in May.

⁸⁶: Ada.

⁸⁷: Yet for H.’s opinion of “unforgivingness”, as portrayed in Queen Catherine by Mrs Siddons, see 31 May 16.

⁸⁸: John Stoddart (sic: 1773-1856) leader-writer of *The Times*. Knighted in 1826. Satirised by William Hone as “Dr. Slop”.

⁸⁹: Martin Archer Shee (1769-1850) Irish painter.

⁹⁰: James Boswell jr (1778-1822) son of Johnson’s biographer.

⁹¹: Boswell had completed Malone’s second edition of Shakespeare. He had written a memoir of Malone in 1813, but never wrote a life.

⁹²: Note pending on Greek word, implying “ticket to immortality”. Anyone got any ideas?

⁹³: Charles Grant (1778-1866) contributed to the *Quarterly*. As Lord Glenelg, he was Colonial Secretary 1835-1839.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Rode home late. Saw Murray today, who tells me *Glenarvon* has done Byron no harm, but the contrary. Heard from Byron this morning.⁹⁴ He is at Geneva, expecting to see me or hear from me. Saw the British Gallery⁹⁵ today.

⁹⁴: BLJ 78-9.

⁹⁵: Note pending on the British Gallery. Anyone got any ideas?

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Thursday June 6th 1816: Went to Harrow. Walked about with Isaac,⁹⁶ who is a charming boy. Dined at Harry Drury's,⁹⁷ where I was miserable until the ladies went, when Heber,⁹⁸ Hallam,⁹⁹ and Lord Stanley,¹⁰⁰ and myself kept up the ball. We had decent talk and much laughing – Heber made me much advance – he said he did not believe Gifford wrote the review of me in the *Quarterly*¹⁰¹ – his style was known. He told us a story of Coleridge, who repeated his *War, Fire, and Famine*¹⁰² to Walter Scott and said it was written good-humouredly against Pitt. There was a little playful incident relative to the “houseless” dog,¹⁰³ which proved it. Hallam told us that a plain man¹⁰⁴ who was dining with Sotheby¹⁰⁵ when Coleridge was present and had declaimed long, at last put down his knife and fork and said, somehow or other, “Sir, it is odd one hears of no poets in these times”. Coleridge said, “Pardon me, Sir, I take it we have more poets than has ever been known since the days of Milton – my friend Mr Wordsworth, for example”. He then repeated some rhapsody of Wordsworth's.

⁹⁶: His young – and only – half-brother.

⁹⁷: Henry Drury had taught B. at Harrow, where his father, Dr Joseph Drury, was Headmaster. He was husband to Francis Hodgson's sister-in-law.

⁹⁸: Either Reginald Heber (1783-1826) himself a regular contributor to the *Quarterly*, subsequently Bishop of Calcutta, and author of *From Greenland's Icy Mountains*; or, more likely, Richard Heber (1773-1833) M.P. for Oxford University.

⁹⁹: Henry Hallam (1777-1859) the historian, father of Tennyson's friend.

¹⁰⁰: Edward Smith Stanley, thirteenth Earl of Derby (he did not succeed to the Earldom until 1834); known as Lord Stanley. M.P. for Preston.

¹⁰¹: See 18 May 1816.

¹⁰²: *Fire, Famine and Slaughter: A War Eclogue* (1798).

¹⁰³: Coleridge's line (33) actually refers to *the homeless dog*; H. may be confusing it with *King Lear* II iv 26 or 30: ... *your houseless heads and unfed sides* ...

¹⁰⁴: Presumably Hallam himself.

¹⁰⁵: William Sotheby, abused by B. at *Beppo* stanzas 72-5.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Rode back to Whitton.

Friday June 7th 1816: *Letters from Paris &c.*

a plot against ill fortune!!!¹⁰⁶

Saturday June 8th 1816: Prefatory letter to Byron for second edition of *Letters from Paris*, which I think to address to him.¹⁰⁷ At night read Park aloud to Mrs and two Misses Stratton.¹⁰⁸

Sunday June 9th 1816: Wrote letter to Mrs Leigh, and journal from May 26th. Also letter to Byron.¹⁰⁹

Benjamin Constant came today. At night he entertained us mightily with a story of Madame Krüdner,¹¹⁰ the Livonian, the Saint of the Holy League, before whom the Emperor of Russia has knelt for hours, and who used to have hundreds kneeling before her. She believes and teaches that death is but a trifle in man's life, and advised Constant to live in some village in Alsace, where there was but a small living population, but "Where", said she, "there is very good dead company". She used to give advice about mistresses, i.e. was a pimp or bawd. Constant talked a good deal of politics, most willingly.

John Fuller¹¹¹ was with us, and was taken in by Constant's irony, which he manages very well. I said to him, "The royalists have not answered that article in the *Censeur* relative to the conspiracy between the Bourbon princes and Murat."¹¹² – "I beg your pardon", said Constant, "they did answer it – they put the author in prison."

¹⁰⁶: This cryptic phrase – which presumably indicates a happy event which H. is too coy to specify – is in the right-hand margin opposite the main entry, as if added later.

¹⁰⁷ : It is not the second but the third edition of *Letters* which H. dedicates to B.

¹⁰⁸: The Strattons unidentified.

¹⁰⁹: BB 228-9; this is the letter in which H. promises to bring B. "Praftsanias", or the copy of Thomas Taylor's translation of Pausanias, from which is derived the demonology of *Manfred*.

¹¹⁰: "Grudner" (Ms.) Madame Krüdner was Tsar Alexander I's version of Rasputin, credited with inspiring the idea of the Holy Alliance; see B.'s prose preface to *Don Juan* (CPW V 82, 39) where Wordsworth is compared to her.

¹¹¹: See 22 Apr 1816.

¹¹²: Note pending on alleged conspiracy. Anyone got any ideas?

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Monday June 10th 1816: Constant read to me this day the work which was to have been once in Letters addressed to me,¹¹³ but of which he now doubts whether he shall publish anything. I took down, by his permission, the whole plan, and all the anecdotes for my use in my second edition. We then went in carriage to Richmond Bridge and back. Dined, talked, &c.

Tuesday June 11th 1816: Constant left us – I walked with Fuller about Richmond and Twitnam.

Wednesday June 12th 1816: Writing out into second edition – my Constantine notes.¹¹⁴

Thursday June 13th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Friday June 14th 1816: Ditto. Smiths came back.

¹¹³: See 26 Apr 16.

¹¹⁴: His Constantine notes unidentified.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Saturday June 15th 1816: Parted with Parsons.¹¹⁵ Gave him a character as civil and well-behaved and competent to his place. In his room came Joseph Poisson from Fribourg, who speaks French, Italian, Spanish, German, and English. I agree to give him sixty pounds per annum, and a guinea a week board wages when not at home. He is a civil fellow – drives, shaves, and cooks.

Sunday June 16th 1816: Henry arrived from Hounslow and India – not much altered. Walked about with him. Did nothing.

Monday June 17th 1816: Occupied chiefly with Henry, hearing stories. He left Napoleon at St Helena¹¹⁶ occupied in drawing up a memorial against Sir George Cockburn.¹¹⁷ He has a regiment encamped round Longwood,¹¹⁸ and never rides beyond this encampment except with an officer or two dragoons. He once rode away from his officer, and an alarm was given all over the island. He came back quietly, asking what was the matter. He was lately amusing himself going out in an open carriage shooting little birds. He says, “Why confine me, if I am on an island?” He says he would have sooner died a thousand times than have put himself into the hands of the English had he known the event. He might easily have escaped by land, he says.

¹¹⁵: Parsons – no match for the cosmopolitan Poisson when it comes to continental travel – has been existing on borrowed time since January. See 16 Jan 1816.

¹¹⁶: Henry had stopped off at St Helena *en route* from India.

¹¹⁷: Admiral Sir George Cockburn, Napoleon’s first “jailer” on St Helena. He had been replaced by Hudson Lowe in April 1816.

¹¹⁸: Longwood was the converted farmhouse 1,600 feet up on St. Helena, where Napoleon spent the last five years of his life.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

He has quarrelled with Madame Bertrand¹¹⁹ for praising the English, and only the day before Henry left St Helena sent her his permission to dine with him. He was in daily expectance of Sir Hudson Lowe.¹²⁰ I since see that when he did come Napoleon would not see him the first day with Cockburn, but received [him] very well without Cockburn the next day.

Napoleon was one day looking over a little boy of Mr Balcours¹²¹ at St Helena, who had a map before him. He desired the boy to point at Moscow, and then asked him who burnt it – the boy said, “You did”. – “No, no,” replied he, “you are wrong – never say that again – it was not I, it was Rostopchin the Russian¹²² – you must always tell the true story.”

Napoleon will not frequent any of the houses in St Helena on account of his treatment. He says if they use him well, he will live with them, but not whilst he is treated so scurvily.

Henry tells me that they discussed in the Tuileries in 1814 the whole plan for the invasion of India, admirably laid. All the posts and passes marked, and according to the best military authorities, as well contrived as possible. Henry thinks that the Sepoys would have beat the French. Lord Moira¹²³ had these plans sent to him and when the danger was over made a mighty fuss about it.

¹¹⁹: Françoise Elisabeth Bertrand was the wife of one of the generals who accompanied Napoleon into exile. See 9 Aug 1815.

¹²⁰: Sir Hudson Lowe (1769-1844) governor of St Helena from April 1816 until Napoleon’s death.

¹²¹: Balcours unidentified.

¹²²: Count Fyodor Vassilyevich Rostopchin (1763-1826) governor of Moscow in 1812. The burning was in part his decision.

¹²³: See 9 June 1812.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

The Nepalese have beat the English¹²⁴ – so much so, that many natives have refused to pay tribute to John Company¹²⁵ any longer, saying their reign is over like that of the Moguls¹²⁶ and the Mahometans – the Nepals must now have the tribute.

Henry mentioned some curious instances of valour and dexterity on the part of the Nepals, who fight with matchlocks and a sabre and a knife – one of them cut off the heads of two sergeants of an English regiment, and was killed by a third – they have a general equal to any European.¹²⁷

Warren Hastings¹²⁸ is loved in India – Lord Wellesley¹²⁹ is called “The Great Governor” – he would have taken all the country between the Indus and Ganges.

Henry saw a woman of fifteen burn herself on the Hoogley.¹³⁰ He spoke to her – she was nearly insensible. It is very rare ...¹³¹

¹²⁴: England declared war on Nepal in November 1814, after numerous border incidents and incursions. After initial – apparently disastrous – setbacks, General Ochterlony advanced on Katmandu, and the Nepalese sued for peace in March 1816 – a fact which does not seem to have reached London yet. As future Secretary of the Board of Control for India, H.’s interest in such matters will be useful.

¹²⁵: The East India Company.

¹²⁶: *Recollections* (I 345) has “Mosques”.

¹²⁷: The Raja of Nepal was Girvan-yuddha Vikrama Sah.

¹²⁸: Warren Hastings (1732-1818) governor-general of India whose unsuccessful trial for corruption lasted seven years.

¹²⁹: Richard Wellesley (1760-1842) Wellington’s brother, governor-general of India 1797-1805.

¹³⁰: The river in West Bengal.

¹³¹: Suttee was and is not so very rare.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Wednesday June 18th 1816: Went up to London with Henry. Walked about with Burdett. Saw Scrope¹³² – rode in park with Burdett, who is going to quit his house in Piccadilly, old Coutts¹³³ having [] to him some time since that he has sold it to Mrs Coutts!!!¹³⁴ He gave it to Lady Burdett []ly by word of mouth – he is eighty-four!!!¹³⁵ They say Mrs Coutts is worth £200,000. Coutts wanted his daughters to take her to their hearts, and she would them to hers. Burdett offered to go down with me to Cambridge to secure my election, owning, however, that it had better not be done by him, with his character.

Called on Lady Bessborough, who told me Byron would be pleased with *Glenarvon*; that the letter “I am no longer your lover”¹³⁶ was his, and when Caroline Lamb received it she cut herself with a razor – would have done much more had not Lady Bessborough laid hold of it, and defied her to draw it through her hand. She took her daughter’s part with Byron, but said she would sooner she had died than published her novel. She said men were all alike, the torment of women being their passion and end.

Byron had fallen on the rock on which Sheridan split: Vanity. She had been to see Sheridan, against whom she said she had an immortal resentment* – yet at his request she went to see him. She found him in a squalid bed in a house filled with bailiffs, his head covered, up his face unwashed, his eyes glaring – he said he was dying, and wished to part friends with her – she said she did, and shook hands with him.¹³⁷ His wife was¹³⁸ dying upstairs.

¹³²: “Scroop” (Ms.)

¹³³: “Coots” (Ms.) Thomas Coutts the banker; Burdett’s father-in-law. See 31 July 1815.

¹³⁴: The actress Harriot Mellon (c.1777-1837).

¹³⁵: Coutts (1735-1822) was eighty-one.

¹³⁶: The letter by B. which Caroline had used in *Glenarvon*: see BLJ II 242.

¹³⁷: It is not clear how far the dying Sheridan forced himself on Lady Bessborough: see the words of Brummell at 30 June 1816.

¹³⁸: “is” (Ms.)

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Lady Bessborough told me she would do her best with Caroline, who she said was very frightened – she is partially cut. She said, “I praised her novels at first – I told my mind to Lady Byron, and said I would give her no quarter – she said she was not to be menaced.” Lady Bessborough and I parted friends.

I find Colonel Ponsonby¹³⁹ is with his regiment, so I shall not have my answer respecting my notice of Fitzroy Somerset’s¹⁴⁰ behaviour at Paris

Marquis Worcester¹⁴¹ has accepted a lordship at the Admiralty, in excuse for which he said to me, “Friend, beggars must not be choosers”.

Burdett tells me he had Doctors Commons searched for the Duke of Beaufort’s will,¹⁴² in which he did not find a clause relative to the provision made for his younger sons, only until they should be in possession of so much government money. Yet Tom Smith¹⁴³ assures me this is true, and I had put it in my second edition.

Returned with Henry to Whitton.

Wednesday June 19th 1816: Wrote in second edition. Henry went up to town. Came down on my horse to dinner.

Thursday June 20th 1816: Ditto. About today or before, had a letter from Ridgeway saying a hundred copies remained – the sale was slow, and he could not recommend second edition – pretty job indeed – so I do not come even to a second edition after all!!! I will, though.¹⁴⁴ I write to Cullen, desiring him to apply to Longman to know whether he will divide profits in another edition.

¹³⁹: Lady Bessborough’s son, Frederick Ponsonby: see 27 Mar 1816.

¹⁴⁰: The future Lord Raglan: see 27 Mar 1816.

¹⁴¹: See 18 May 1814.

¹⁴²: Note pending on the Duke of Beaufort. Anyone got any ideas?

¹⁴³: Perhaps one of *the* Smiths (see 1 May and 14 June 1816).

¹⁴⁴: In fact *Letters* reached three editions.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Henry's wife arrived. He goes up to London at night, after a debate whether he should or no – I was vehement against, after it was over,¹⁴⁵ but carried his bundle for him to Hounslow.

Friday June 21st 1816: Ditto. Wrote to Cullen today. Letter, mad, from Caroline Lamb.³

Saturday June 22nd 1816: Henry rode down. I rode back with him – he fell from a grey <gelding> mare of Mason's – and a long road by the bridges ... saw smiling faces.

Caroline Lamb has a second edition of *Glenarvon*, and in a preface talks of its being "written in affliction"!!!¹⁴⁶ Perry offered me his box at the opera!!! Good.¹⁴⁷ Murray wondrous civil – went to Cooke's Hotel, where I was introduced to Mrs Hobhouse, small, dingy-looking. She and sisters and brothers and black servants at first – but improving much afterwards. Seems an amiable, well-behaved woman. Sir Benjamin and my lady and sisters two came, and were introduced – the poor young thing cried afterwards.

Went to Covent Garden and saw Mrs Siddons in *Lady Macbeth*.¹⁴⁸ She was wonderful as ever – Young¹⁴⁹ a bad *Macbeth*. Returned at night to Whitton.

¹⁴⁵: H. advises Henry to let his new wife come to Whitton, rather than go up to London and meet her.

¹⁴⁶: "This work is not the offspring of calm tranquillity, and cool deliberation, it does not bear the marks of such a temper, or of such a situation. It was written under the pressure of affliction, with the feelings of resentment which are excited by misrepresentation, and in the bitterness of a wounded spirit, which is naturally accompanied by a corresponding bitterness both of thought and expression" (*Glenarvon*, second edition, p. iv).

¹⁴⁷: H. seems to have a plan for meeting a lady there – but nothing happens; see 24 June 1816.

¹⁴⁸: A part in which she has already retired once – see 29 June 1812.

¹⁴⁹: Charles Mayne Young (1777-1856) tragic actor.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Sunday June 23rd 1816: Letter from Cullen – Longman demurs!!! No second edition after all, I see.¹⁵⁰ In miserable spirits, dined with the Shepherds¹⁵¹ at Wimbledon – talked much nonsense.

Letters from Byron May 26th.¹⁵²

Monday June 24th 1816: Rode up to London – saw Kinnaird, who gave me note for another private box at Drury Lane. Walked there – got it, and paid for the other, which I had taken for the Finch Simpson's¹⁵³ in my plot for the ———. Walked thence to Lincoln's Inn – saw Rolfe and Cullen. Rolfe tells me Lord John will not succeed¹⁵⁴ in spite of all his efforts. He gave me back my correspondence. Cullen tells me Longman declines altogether. However, I went to Paternoster Row, and saw Rees,¹⁵⁵ who told me that these weeks everything had been going on very slowly – and he declined, but would tell me, when the edition was nearly sold, whether he would divide, or print on my own account.¹⁵⁶

Went back to Cooke's Hotel – dined with Henry – took him and Mrs Hobhouse – and two Palmers¹⁵⁷ to my box, next to that in which the ——— were. She was there – I had not courage to go in a place, and introduce myself to be thanked, so I came back re infecta, and cursing my stars, to Whitton.

I shall never do anything in that way!!

¹⁵⁰: H. is jealous of Caroline Lamb, who has a second edition of *her* literary tribute to B. out already.

¹⁵¹: The Shepherds unidentified.

¹⁵²: Added later. BLJ V 78-9.

¹⁵³: A female (perhaps of the otherwise unidentified Finch Simpsons' family) has attracted H.'s eye, and he is trying to engineer a confrontation with her by booking two adjacent boxes at Drury Lane.

¹⁵⁴: Rolfe means that Lord John Russell will not succeed in his plans to become M.P. for Cambridge University.

¹⁵⁵: Rees of Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown of Paternoster Row (*inter alia*, Southey's publishers).

¹⁵⁶: All three editions of *Letters* are published by Ridgeway.

¹⁵⁷: Two Palmers unidentified.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Tuesday June 25th 1816: Wrote journal from Friday June 9th – walked out
— as usual at night.¹⁵⁸

Wednesday June 26th 1816: Writing songs for Douglas Kinnaird,¹⁵⁹ &c.

Thursday June 27th 1816: My Birthday ... 30. Thirty – THIRTY – looking back, I see an eventful year that it is morally eventful, alas! – alas! I have done nothing but write my Letters from Paris, and lose my time in expectations concerning that which will never be realized.¹⁶⁰ I have read nothing, and done nothing. Lord Byron's business has occupied an unreasonable portion of my time, and all to no good – my bit of a comedy – melodrama – prologues – have kept me occupied about nothing. I took no advantage of the little run which took place in my favour for a short time, and here I am as ill-pleased in this world as ever. I get more idle, and more shy, and more luxurious.¹⁶¹ I think my hearing is a little better.¹⁶² I would not go to London to day to see Miss O'Neill,¹⁶³ but walked about with Sophy, who was unwell, poor dear creature.

I ruminated the following lines for the occasion:

'Tis thus we pause at each succeeding year
As on the stones of some disjointed pier¹⁶⁴
Where since we seek in vain the other shore
We turn to view the track we made before.
The rushing tide excludes us from retreat,
The path more slippery grows, more weak our feet,

¹⁵⁸: H. compensates for his romantic failure yesterday with a paid-for debauch tonight.

¹⁵⁹: For a comedy, called perhaps *Reginella*, which Kinnaird is writing.

¹⁶⁰: His plan to enter parliament as MP. for Cambridge University; his romantic aspirations towards the lady in the box at Drury Lane; his desire to be recognised as an important political writer, whose books reach more editions than the novels of Caroline Lamb ...

¹⁶¹: For shyness, see 24 June 1816; for luxuriousness, see 25 June 1816.

¹⁶²: H.'s ears have been troubling him ever since Smyrna in 1810.

¹⁶³: Eliza O'Neill (1791-1872) tragic actress. She gave her first Juliet in 1814, and retired in 1819, having married Lord Becher.

¹⁶⁴: See 25 Apr 1816.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

And though a hundred steps were safely past,
The causeway ends amidst the waves at last.

or

We still should drop into the deeps at last.

Dined with Sophy – tried tonight to learn a little perspective from Matty Parry¹⁶⁵ – writing songs for Reginella¹⁶⁶ at thirty!!!

Friday June 28th 1816: Song writing. Yesterday I received a letter from Ponsonby, relative to Fitzroy Somerset, which perhaps I may not now have recourse to.¹⁶⁷ Henry this day asked Ridgeway for me whether he chose to print at once a second edition – he said no – he had sold only three in three weeks!!! Harry and I sat up till past two abusing our —————.¹⁶⁸ Sir Benjamin Hobhouse not choosing to go alone to Holkham,¹⁶⁹ takes with him his wife and Melly – to stay at an inn!!! Sir Benjamin and I today had a serious conversation as to my “settling”, as it is called.

Saturday June 29th 1816: Dawdled – wrote journal from Wednesday.

Sunday June 30th 1816: Wrote Letter Prefatory.

Monday July 1st 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Tuesday July 2nd 1816: Ditto – walking – the family, Sir Benjamin, and Lady Melbourne, at Holkham ...

Wednesday July 3rd 1816: Ditto, ditto.

¹⁶⁵: Matty Parry unidentified. A relation of his stepmother?

¹⁶⁶: Kinnaird’s comedy (??).

¹⁶⁷: In the event of there being no second edition.

¹⁶⁸: “Father and stepmother” (??).

¹⁶⁹: Holkham Hall in Norfolk, country seat of the Earl of Leicester, at this time William Coke of Holkham (1752-1842) M.P. for Norfolk and famous agricultural improver.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Thursday July 4th 1816: Rode up to London with Henry – called at Holland House – nobody there – called on Cullen ... ordered clothes for tour, &c.¹⁷⁰

Friday July 5th 1816: Writing Letter Prefatory – no white wine – cause of complaint.

Saturday July 6th 1816: Rolfe dined with us. He tells me Bickersteth is as likely to be Lord Chancellor as anybody.¹⁷¹

Sunday July 7th 1816: Walked about with Rolfe. Rainy season set in. Rolfe did not stay to dinner.

Monday July 8th 1816: Writing Letter Prefatory, which perhaps I shall not use.

Tuesday July 9th 1816: Ditto. It gets violent. rain.

Wednesday July 10th 1816: Wrote letters to Byron,¹⁷² to Mrs Leigh, Leigh Hunt, Perry, Murray, &c. Lady Holland told Henry a story of Byron having with him either a man in woman's clothes, or a woman in man's clothes – did not know which, but rather thought the former.¹⁷³ Thus are reputations lost!!
Thought of versifying against Gifford.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰: It seems as though H. is preparing for his continental tour to join B. surreptitiously; although he replaced Parsons with the more cosmopolitan Poisson two weeks ago.

¹⁷¹: H.'s friend Henry Bickersteth (who married Lady Jane Harley) never became Lord Chancellor, but he was made K.C. in 1827, Solicitor-General in 1834, and Master of the Rolls in 1836.

¹⁷²: BB 228-9. This is the letter in which H. promises B. a copy of Taylor's Pausanias, the notes for which are the source of the demonology of *Manfred*.

¹⁷³: B.'s most willing cross-dresser had been the sixteen-year-old Caroline Cameron, who dressed up as her brother Gordon.

¹⁷⁴: H. seems not to have acted on this impulse, which would have upset B., though goodness knows Gifford deserved it for allowing and embellishing the boorish *Quarterly* review of *Letters*.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Dined with Wilbraham,¹⁷⁵ who told us twice this story, which he has read in Ms., of Horace Walpole, lent him by Lord W[].¹⁷⁶ Sir Charles Hanbury Williams¹⁷⁷ said of Lord Anson,¹⁷⁸ “Here is a man who has been round the world, but never in it”. Lady Townshend¹⁷⁹ observed, “I believe he is in the same predicament with respect to Lady Anson”. – “The best thing in the book”, said Wilbraham.

Stepney¹⁸⁰ told a saying of George Selwyn’s,¹⁸¹ who being reproved for not visiting her by a demi-rep who had married well, said, “Ah, Mr Selwyn, I have told him all”. – “I do not wonder at your candour”, said George, “but I am astonished at your memory.” Selwyn was never but at one execution,¹⁸² and then talked of it so much that he got the character of liking it. George Isted,¹⁸³ Tom Stepney and Wilbraham praised Fitzpatrick¹⁸⁴ as the first man going of all the old school. We had some tolerable talk until the company grew muddy. Violent letter from Caroline Lamb¹⁸⁵ ... luminous crisis of Magretian.¹⁸⁶

Thursday July 11th 1816: Did nothing. Walked to Wyke with girls – wet through.

¹⁷⁵: Roger Wilbraham (1743-1829) Whig litterateur.

¹⁷⁶: Word severely cramped. Could be “Waldengrave”.

¹⁷⁷: Sir Charles Hanbury Williams (1708-1759) satirist and diplomat.

¹⁷⁸: George, Baron Anson (1697-1762) circumnavigated the globe, 1740-1744.

¹⁷⁹: The wife of Charles, third Viscount Townshend, was named Etheldreda (or Audrey: m. 1723, d. 1788).

¹⁸⁰: Stepney unidentified.

¹⁸¹: George Selwyn (1719-1791) Etonian and Oxonian high-liver.

¹⁸²: Selwyn was credited with necrophile tendencies, principally on the jocular assertion of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams. “Send him up!” Williams was said to have said of Selwyn, on his deathbed. “If I’m alive, I’ll be glad to see him. If I’m dead, he’ll be glad to see me”.

¹⁸³: Isted unidentified.

¹⁸⁴: The reference might be to General Richard Fitzpatrick, M.P., friend of Fox; but he died in 1813.

¹⁸⁵: H. doesn’t say what her letter is about.

¹⁸⁶: An obscure phrase.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Friday July 12th 1816: Write journal from June 29th – setting off for London to get or go about passports. [remainder of entry cramped over the next date] Met a man on the road asking me to come to Sheridan's funeral¹⁸⁷ – went to London – did not[hing] – back again – called at Hills

¹⁸⁷: Sheridan had died on July 7th.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Saturday July 13th 1816: Set off early, and going to London, accompanied Douglas Kinnaird and Scrope Davies to No 7 Great George Street, Westminster, the house of Peter Moore¹⁸⁸ <whence> where was Sheridan's body. We went into a darkened room, and the company soon began to arrive after twelve. The Dukes of York¹⁸⁹ and Sussex,¹⁹⁰ Marquis of Anglesey,¹⁹¹ and the Prince's household, the Duke of Bedford.¹⁹² Lord Lauderdale¹⁹³ was manager. Lord Erskine.¹⁹⁴ The Duke of Wellington was to have been there,¹⁹⁵ George Canning¹⁹⁶ was there, looking old; Sidmouth¹⁹⁷ and others, Holland,¹⁹⁸ Streatfield¹⁹⁹ was a family mourner – the chief mourner was Charles Sheridan,²⁰⁰ who sent the invitations.

¹⁸⁸: Peter Moore was a friend of Sheridan's who sat on the committee of Drury Lane (see BLJ 36); he was M.P. for Coventry. *Recollections* (I 347) adds "The procession was headed by the Bishop of London, who had prayed with Sheridan in his last moments, administered the sacrament to him, and spoke of his fervent devotion whilst receiving the sacred elements".

¹⁸⁹: Second son of George III.

¹⁹⁰: Sixth son of George III; see 16 Feb 1816.

¹⁹¹: See 24 June 1812.

¹⁹²: Lord John Russell, first Earl Russell, succeeded as sixth Duke of Bedford on the death of his elder brother Francis in 1802. Friend of Fox, Sheridan, Mackintosh and so on.

¹⁹³: Elder brother of Sir Thomas Maitland, Governor of the Ionian Islands. He brings the manuscript of *Don Juan* I to England in December 1818. Uncle to H.'s future wife, though no-one could possibly guess.

¹⁹⁴: The Lord Chancellor.

¹⁹⁵: Wellington wrote apologising for his unavoidable absence, as (according to the DNB) did the Marquess of Anglesey: but H. records the latter as present.

¹⁹⁶: Future Prime Minister; at this time President of the Board of Control.

¹⁹⁷: The Home Secretary.

¹⁹⁸: The leader of the mainstream Whigs; B.'s old patron.

¹⁹⁹: Streatfield unidentified,

²⁰⁰: Charles Brinsley Sheridan (1796-1843) was Sheridan's son by his second wife.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Our names were called over, and we walked out one by one, then fell into pairs. I was with a Mr Talbot.²⁰¹ There were no coaches at all – there was a smart shower of rain just as we waited at the great door of the Abbey – everything was orderly – there had been some rumours as to seizing the body, but it seems the sheriffs had provided against that.

We got to Poets' Corner, where the grave was dug, just under Shakespeare's monument – the body was let down – the service was ill-performed by Dr Fynes, Prebendary of Westminster,²⁰² although the Bishop of London²⁰³ headed the procession – the dirt was thrown upon his coffin. No-one seemed affected much except Mr Linley²⁰⁴ and Charles Sheridan. Robert Adair's²⁰⁵ eyes seemed a little moistened – when the service was over we all crowded to take a last look at the coffin. Sheridan is placed with his feet at Shakespeare's head, and his head at Addison's feet – they say there was just room for one more coffin, which he has filled up.

²⁰¹: Talbot unidentified.

²⁰²: Fynes otherwise unidentified.

²⁰³: William Howley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (1766-1848; famous for his dictum "the king can do no wrong morally or physically").

²⁰⁴: William Linley was the son of Sheridan's first wife's brother.

²⁰⁵: See 16 May 1810.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

We departed quietly from this scene, which on the whole was neither affecting nor impressive – Sheridan has not inspired respect or love – very different indeed from Fox’s funeral,²⁰⁶ or else my feelings are more callous than they were ten years ago. There has been a very good article on Sheridan in the Times. It is certainly true that an attorney said to be complicit did threaten to convey him from his house-bed and all, when in articulo mortis – Doctors Baillie²⁰⁷ and Bowe[??]²⁰⁸ are said to have prevented it. Lord Eldon²⁰⁹ said of Sheridan, “Every man has his element – Sheridan’s was hot water”. He is the last of the luminaries, at all events.

I called on Mrs Leigh – poor thing, she did not know what to say. Lady Byron compounds with her in good terms, but not so affectionately as before.

Went to Foreign Office and got a passport.

Came home.

Sunday July 14th 1816: Writing letter. Dined with Ellice at Wyke. Met a Lord Paul Dennison,²¹⁰ Kerrison,²¹¹ and others. Nothing passed – asked Ellice about the Byron question – he thought I should write to Lady Byron.

Monday July 15th 1816: Writing Prefatory Letter – <walk>.

Tuesday July 16th 1816: Letter to Lady Caroline Lamb – walk.

Wednesday July 17th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

²⁰⁶: Fox had died in 1806. *Recollections* (I 347) adds “But, generally speaking, public funerals are not affecting; and often they are very much otherwise – tiresome and scrambling; the beautiful psalms, and even the music, are lost in the length and fatigue of the ceremony”.

²⁰⁷: Joanna Baillie’s brother; the “mild Baillie” of *Don Juan* X 42, 8.

²⁰⁸: Bowe (??) unidentified. Could be “Barrie.”

²⁰⁹: The Lord Chief Justice.

²¹⁰: Lord Paul Dennison unidentified.

²¹¹: Kerrison unidentified.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Thursday July 18th 1816: The day the world was to be at an end.²¹² Went to London to buy things for a journey – called on Lady Melbourne – read my letter to Lady Caroline Lamb to her – she approved – Lady Caroline Lamb’s family take her up shamefully. Sent the letter, with a copy to Lady Holland. Lady Caroline Lamb said to Lady Melbourne that I had read her letters at Holland House.

Did a good deal in London. Called on Bickersteth – he advises me to advertise on the Cambridge election business, as Lord John has been doing his utmost, and Palmerston has sent a circular.²¹³ Dine at Whitton as usual. Went to Waite²¹⁴ this morning.

Friday July 19th 1816: At home, sorting a box of Byron’s papers, and burning superfluities.

Saturday July 20th 1816: Rode my brother’s horse to London, and called on several people whom I did not see – also went about French passports – place crowded. Rode back. The first hot day ...

Sunday July 21st 1816: Preparing for tour, and leaving Whitton tomorrow – so here ends this journal book.

(End of B.L.Add.Mss. 47232, start of B.L.Add.Mss. 56536)

Continued from July 23rd 1816²¹⁵

Monday June 23rd 1816: At Whitton writing letter <prefat> to Cambridge electors.

Tuesday July 24th 1816: <ditto ditto> Went to London – saw Mrs Leigh – bought thing[s].

Wednesday July 25th 1816: At Whitton, writing letter.

²¹²: Note pending on the end of the world. Anyone got any ideas?

²¹³: H.’s pretence that he still in tends to stand for Cambridge is at odds with his plans for the continental journey.

²¹⁴: Mr Waite the dentist; provider of B.’s indispensable tooth-powder.

²¹⁵: There is no entry for June 22nd.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Thursday July 26th 1816: Ditto, ditto.

Friday July 27th 1816: Finished Prefatory Letter to second edition – saw all my chattels properly packed up – Byron's three boxes marked. My own Mss. properly disposed of, and then at four o'clock took leave, as if to return next day, of my sister Harriet who was ill, Sophia, and my brother Henry. I left Whitton with a heavy heart.

Riding to Hounslow, met my mother and two younger brothers – took leave of them, as if to come back. At Hounslow I quitted my horse, and got into a coach with Poisson, my servant, and luggage, and went to London to Scrope Davies' lodgings.

Called on Mrs Leigh. Dined with Scrope at French house. Sat up till two, correcting my Prefatory Letter, and thinking of that to the Cambridge electors.

Saturday 28th 1816: Called on Cullen, Seton, and Bickersteth, on Mrs Leigh. Got circular notes for £300 – called again on Cullen, and gave him my second edition.²¹⁶ Dined with Seton and met the same party as last year. Came home to Scrope's. Sat up late writing letters.

Sunday July 29th 1816: Set off with Scrope Davies, his servant,²¹⁷ and Poisson, at half-past eight in the morning, in Scrope's carriage, to Dover. Arrived there by half-past five – dined, &c., at Wright's. Up late writing letters.

Monday July 30th 1816: Set off in the Flora packet at twelve, about, and arrived at Calais at four a.m. A pretty Miss Liveday²¹⁸ <ill/>sick, and supported by me. We went to Quillacque's²¹⁹ – found the carriage I had left at his house last July, all safe.

²¹⁶: It looks as if H. is publishing the second edition of *Letters* at his own expense.

²¹⁷: Name perhaps Guthridge; see 27 Apr 1816.

²¹⁸: Miss Liveday otherwise unidentified.

²¹⁹: The livery-stable where he had left it on 23 July 1815.

London, April 26th–July 30th 1816

Supped with the banished Beau Brummel,²²⁰ who after beginning on £15,000, lived for twenty years on 8,000 (about) a year, and is run away owing about 50,000 – in its way as great a fall as Napoleon’s. He is as tranquil. He told us the particulars of the Regent’s conversation with Lord Jersey²²¹ – Jersey had the best of it. He has some [] letters of the Prince’s. Sheridan, he says, did force Lady Bessborough,²²² by holding her down by the hair – she owned it to Paget,²²³ who was then living with Sis.²²⁴ I could hardly believe my eyes, seeing Brummel in a greatcoat drinking punch in a little room with us. He is learning French and Italian, he says.²²⁵ He lives like a patriarch at fifteen francs a day.

Displaced a waiter who was looking at my girl²²⁶ undressing.

Wrote letter to Sophie²²⁷ – bed, good.

²²⁰: George Bryan “Beau” Brummell (1778-1840) the leading dandy.

²²¹: George Villiers, fifth Earl of Jersey (1773-1759) fox-hunting and racehorse-owning husband of Lady Jersey.

²²²: See 18 June 1816.

²²³: Paget is the Marquess of Anglesey, Henry William Paget, rendered one-legged at Waterloo.

²²⁴: Lady Bessborough’s sister was

²²⁵: Compare B.’s in-joke at *Beppo*, stanza 62, 1-4:

Crushed was Napoleon by the Northen Thor,

Who knocked his army down with icy hammer,

Stopped by the Elements – like a Whaler, or

A blundering Novice in his new French Grammar ...

B. explains in his 1821 journal: “When Brummell was obliged ... to retire to France - he knew no French and having obtained a Grammar for the purposes of Study – our friend Scrope Davies was asked what progress Brummell had made in French – to which he responded – ‘that B[rummell] had been stopped like Buonaparte in Russia by the Elements’ – I have put this pun into ‘Beppo’ ...” (BLJ IX 21-2).

²²⁶: Almost certainly not the seasick Miss Liveday (see above).

²²⁷: Explaining his unexpected departure.