

January 1st-July 16th 1824: Byron's death and funeral

1824

Parliament reopens; Foscolo proposes to Matilda; Byron's death; the burning of the Memoirs; tension with Moore; Byron's funeral.

January 1st-July 16th 1824

[From B.L.Add.Mss. 56548 / 9.]

Thursday January 1st 1824: At Whitton, &c.

Friday January 2nd 1824: Went out hunting with King's stag hounds – no sport to me.

Saturday January 3rd 1824: Went out hunting with Berkeley hounds – bad fall in road.

Sunday January 4th 1824: At Whitton, looking over newspapers.

Monday January 5th 1824:¹ At Whitton, &c.

Tuesday January 6th 1824: Hunted with Berkeley hounds.

Wednesday January 7th 1824: At Whitton. Read Campbell's *Essay on English Poetry* for [the] second time – like it better than the first – written like a poet. Nothing satisfactory as to history of the language.

Thursday January 8th 1824: At Whitton, &c.

Friday January 9th 1824: At Whitton, a fancy [dress] ball in [the] evening, in which I masqueraded in my Albanian dress – not worn it publicly since 1814, at Watier's fête.² My dear sisters [were] the prettiest and best-dressed girls in the room.

Saturday January 10th 1824: Rode from Whitton to Welwyn and dined and slept there – going to hunt.

Sunday January 11th 1814: Rode from Welwyn to Kettering and slept there.

1: On this date B. lands at Missolonghi.

2: See July 1, 1814.

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Monday January 12th 1814: Rode to meet Quirndon hounds at Easton Park, but the frost was hard and we did little or nothing. Reached Kirby by moonlight – Burdett well.

Tuesday January 13th 1824: A frost. Walked to Dalby to see my horses.

Wednesday January 14th 1824: A frost still. Prepared for going away, but did not. Walked with Burdett.

Thursday January 15th 1824:³ A frost – resolved on going tomorrow.

Burdett has had a letter from Creevey, telling that Western means to propose an amendment on the Address⁴ if Burdett will not, and asking Burdett and me to his house to consult. I do not think an amendment would be a good thing, and I told Burdett so – it would only bring down attacks on the Spaniards for their easy conquest, and praises of [the] government for taking no part with such poor creatures.

Friday January 16th 1824: Rode to Uppingham. There got into the mail, and arrived in London a little after nine. Went to Albany.

Saturday January 17th 1824: Letter from Bowring, and hear from him that he had on Saturday last an interview of an hour with Mr Canning, on Greek affairs. Bowring “was delighted with the very favourable views which he (Canning), entertained towards the Greek cause and towards the exertions of its friends” – such are Bowring's words: but Bowring is an enthusiast, and of the wood of which dupes are made.

Going to Whitton – went to Whitton.

Sunday January 18th 1824: At Whitton. Walking, and trying to get into repair for [the] session, but cannot.

Monday January 19th 1824: At Whitton, reading for the Address, and putting down some remarks

Tuesday January 20th 1824: Ditto, and walking and riding with Sophy.

3: On this date John Hunt stands trial, at the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Abbott, for publishing *TVOJ*. H. doesn't mention it.

4: Parliament reopens on February 3rd.

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Wednesday January 21st 1824: Went up to London. Dined with Wilbraham. Met Captain Parry,⁵ Payne Knight, Chantry, Lord deDunstanville, and George Wilbraham. Payne Knight told me that he found from 40 to 50 the best years of his life – 50 to 60 very good – 60 to 70 tolerable enough – but since 70, things were not so agreeable. He is 73. He walked home in the rain. He told me four extraordinary stories of murders discovered solely by the *publication* of evidence.

Lord deDunstanville [is] a very agreeable man indeed. Parry does not talk much except in his own art – he is not an agreeable man, I think. Amongst other things I remark he is not pleased at Whitton. My father has done everything for him – as far as introducing him to employment.⁶

Thursday January 22nd 1824: Walked down to Ellice's in rain. Spent the day, and slept at Wyke.

Friday January 23rd 1824: Returned to Whitton.

Saturday January 24th 1824: Resume looking about Spanish politics. Lord Nugent dined with us either today or yesterday. We talked over the propriety of doing something on [the] first day of the session. I [was] rather against it. Burdett sent to me an amendment drawn up by Western – ill-done.

Nugent gave me another proof of Wilson's gullibility. He was actually going to correspond with Ballasteros after his treason – and had A'Court's advice or permission to use his assistance. Lord Nugent prevented him.

Sunday January 25th 1824: Reading Burke a little. Such writing, or speaking, would not be tolerated now.

Beautiful weather.

Monday January 26th 1824: Writing. Find head affected.

Tuesday January 27th 1824: Ditto – and riding with Sophy.

Wednesday January 28th 1824: The same.

Thursday January 29th 1824: Also.

5: William Edward Parry (1790-1855), Arctic explorer. See *TVOJ* 27, 8.

6: Parry is in between voyages, and is acting hydrographer to the Admiralty. His last voyage ended on 14 November 1823; his next starts on 8 May 1824.

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Friday January 30th 1824: Nearly completed my work, but [am] uncertain whether [I] shall make use of it.

Saturday January 31st 1824: Riding and walking, and enjoying this truly Italian weather as much as my *nerves* will let me.

Sunday February 1st 1824: Finished letter to Henry – walked about with sisters.

Monday February 2nd 1824: Rode with Sophy, and walked.

Tuesday February 3rd 1824: Fine day – rode up to London. Went to Brookes's. Heard from Lord Althorpe and Lord Duncannon that [the] Whigs do not wish to move an amendment tonight; but uncertain as to Western. Went down to House with Williams of Lincoln – dined there.

[The] Address [was] badly moved by R.Hill, and seconded by Daly, who made a half-and-half sort of speech. Western rose, and Brougham – [the] Speaker called to [the] latter, who spoke [for] about three-quarters of an hour – first part good – latter not. Canning replied – very ill indeed – a low tone – made an excuse for Spanish affairs being hinted at in the King's speech – he looks ill.

This ended the debate. Nothing could be more flat. Bright of Bristol said he could not agree with what the speech said about the colonies – Hume asked what taxes were to be reduced – every promise of a quiet session.

Home, ill.

Wednesday February 4th 1824: Paid bills this morning – went down to House – [I] asked Canning whether he would permit Spain to attempt to recover her American colonies whilst France had troops there, and if he had any guarantee for []⁷ of Spain. Also complained of Maitland's proclamation against Prince Mavrocordatos. Canning gave no explicit answer, but said he would allow of no *third* power assisting Spain against South America.

Dined with Kinnaird – Creevey – Ellice. Creevey told [us] that Lord Eldon said to Lord Grey [at the] Queen's trial, "You shall hear my Bishops speak on [the] divorce clause". They did speak – four on one side and four on the other, and one gave his vote to Liverpool. "Well," said Lord Grey to Lord Eldon, "what do you think of your Bishops?" – "God damn them, I wish they were all in hell!!" was Eldon's reply.

7: Looks like "correction" or "connection". H.'s speech is in fact long and passionate: Hansard X (1824), pp.86-90. H. also asks a question relating to Maitland and the Ionians.

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Thursday February 5th 1824: Sold two horses to Sir W. Ball for £55 – [for which I] gave £90!! Went down to Whitton.

Friday February 6th 1824: At Whitton – a large party dined – Burdett there. Danced in evening.

Saturday February 7th 1824: At Whitton – rode old hack to see Berkeley stag hounds *charge* their deer. Rain a little.

February 8th 1824: Came up on horseback with Burdett to London. Dine at Speaker's first Opposition dinner. Tierney, shaking hands with me, said, "Well, there's an end of your proclamation – *Maitland is dead*". He died at Malta of apoplexy, quite suddenly.⁸ I look upon it as a great godsend to Greece.

Creevey entertained me all dinner-time by laughing at Mackintosh's mean-looking face and figure. He told me that the story of Mackintosh appropriating to himself the money for a poor fellow who was transported for his political conduct in [the] beginning of [the] French war was quite true, and that he had seen Mackintosh's letter of apology – ascribing it to his necessities.

And this is the man who, as Madame de Staël says, is to equal Hume and even surpass him.

Monday February 9th 1824: Called on Foscolo at Digamma, and heard of his difficulties and his duel with one Graham, formerly employed by him as a translator. He has been challenged, he tells me, six times by his translators. He put into my hand a long letter addressed to him in English to Thomas Campbell (the poet) detailing this affair, which was occasioned by his servant girl, who ran away from him and afterwards had intercourse with this Graham. Foscolo wrote a long letter to her on her conduct and reflected on the man who had betrayed her. The girl showed the letter to Graham, and a challenge was the consequence. Foscolo went to the field, and received his antagonist's fire at ten paces, but he fired in the air, saying he would leave his opponent to the laws. Graham was base enough to get a puff about the duel inserted in the papers, stating that both had fired at one another and had parted "amicably". Foscolo had this contradicted by his seconds, W. Wallace of the Temple, and Sinclair Cullen.

Foscolo is resolved to go to Greece. He shall let his houses, or sell them. He has laid out £3,500, he says, on them, and he owes about £900. He applied to me to

8: Maitland had died on January 17th.

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recommend a plan. I spoke afterwards to my father, and to Rainy, the house agent. He wants also to become the agent of the Greek Committee.

He talked wildly about condemning himself to death, and having fixed the day and the hour. He is certainly one of the most extraordinary men I ever knew.

I went to the House of Commons – dined at the Athenian Club, of which I am become a member. Heard Briscoe declaim against treadmills.

February 10th 1824: Rode down to Whitton – passed the evening.

February 11th 1824: Came down to London. Went to House of Commons, which is generally up by six o'clock. Called on Place, who told me some curious things respecting the dissoluteness of manners in Lond[on] forty years ago. He has collected the songs which were sung about the streets then – also the books, such as Harris's lists of ladies of pleasure, which were stuck up in the booksellers' shops, full of brutality. Old John Reeves, when he put down the liberty songs in 1793, put down the ballads with them. Place is writing a history of this change of manners.

Dined at the Clarendon – eighteen or nineteen only present, but very agreeable. New plan – []⁹ down the room, and take the money to make the dinner better. No politics talked today – indeed, no politics talked anywhere. All the Whigs as civil as dragons to me.

February 12th 1824: At House of Commons. Up early. Dined with Kinnaird, Burdett, and Lord Archibald Hamilton. Heard [a] story of Lord Hastings at India House – at Brookes's – Colonel Jones – his rudeness.

[NOT IN DIARY: Hobhouse writes to Byron on February 12th:
(Text from National Library of Scotland Ms.43443; BB 342-4)
[<The Lord Byron / Cefalonia // Forwarded by the Capt. H. Mollyneux> //
J.C.Hobhouse Esq^{re} / M.P. / London]

London.¹⁰
Feb: 12 1824

My dear Byron =

I have just received the dispatches sent through Mr Peacock – He had contrived to be a long time on the road and he had also opened the papers saying he had your leave – The gentleman is not in good odour here – being attached to a certain Count de Wintz who seems inclined to trade on his own account and has squabbled with the Greek Committee respecting his projected loan –

⁹: Looks like “pass”, “part”, or “pat”.

¹⁰: BB has “Lincoln”.

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This Count has come very inopportune at the moment when the deputies arrived – as his concerns & theirs appear to clash and may perhaps injure the credit of both so as to preclude the getting of any loan at all – Baring at first seemed inclined to listen to the Deputies proposals but he now, I hear, holds off, and the matter is at a stand – We are, however, going to discuss the subject on Saturday next and perhaps may put things into a better train – The death of King Tom¹¹ has been hailed here as a great benefit to the cause. – and I have reason to believe that Canning wishes well to the Greeks and would do any thing that he can without compromising his neutrality with the Turks and the Levant company – We have contrived to let him know that the French are intriguing

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for the sake of getting an island or two put into the hands of the Knights of S^t John of Jerusalem who under their patronage are to be made the head of a sort of league in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, and are, if occasion serves, to direct the Greek confederacy to the purposes of the Holy Alliance – The whole plot has been found out & Canning on hearing it expressed, so I am told, a resolution to prevent any such enterprise and rather to take the Greeks by the hand himself than prevent their becoming the tools of France – If you learn any thing on this point pray let us know – I have read all your papers – they are extremely interesting – notwithstanding their dates which, thanks to Mr Peacock are no later than September – so that we have news nearer to us by two or three months – Nothing can be more serviceable to the cause than all you have done – Every body is more than pleased and content – As for myself I only trust that the great sacrifices which you have made may contribute (which I have no doubt they will) to the final success of the great cause – This will be indeed doing something worth living for – and will

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make your name and character stand far above those of any contemporary – At the same time – do not, I pray, expose yourself to dangers either by flood or field.¹² – “Non missus ad hoc”.¹³ If you go to the seat of government, go to advise and controul – but do not go to mix in the struggle, either domestic or external, of the combatants – You may be sure even from the representation of Mavrocordato's agents that you will have a commanding influence and may speak with a certainty of being attended to –

¹¹: Thomas Maitland, tyrannous and drunken Governor of the Ionians; died January 17th 1824.

¹²: Shakespeare, *Othello*, I iii 135.

¹³: “You were not sent for this”; Hor Serm. II 1 36.

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After what you have done for Missolonghi you must be looked upon as a deliverer – If you think the name of the Greek Committee of any service of course you will use it whenever you may think fit – The paper of advice respecting the differences amongst the Greeks has been sent out – If you like it deliver it – if you think it can be amended – alter it, and give in another in name of the Committee – You will find Stanhope a good creature willing to do what you please – and I am sure, from what we have seen of your operations, that what you please will be the best thing to be done – I am in no fear now of your taking a sudden leave of the cause and country – Matters seem to wear a more promising aspect

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than they did in September – You are quite right in lending your 5000£ - If the loan succeeds you will of course retake your money immediately – The accommodation was every thing – you are called upon for no more – indeed not for so much as you have done. – I can assure you that all the world here thinks what I say – Above all take care of your health and do not go to the feverish marshes of the Morea where you were once so ill. The bearer of this letter Capt. H. Mollyneux, Lord Seftons son, will bring out a parcel containing all the articles which you directed me to procure – He goes to Corfu and I trust will soon forward his charge to Cefalonia – If you want any thing else let me know – D. Kinnaird has your temporals in his hand and Crabtree tells me that every thing is going on much to your advantage – No more money will be paid to Hanson than he can fairly demand – and I hope that is none at all – The great thing is to get out of his books and to have done with him – I think it is well you did not loose your whole estate by him – Parliament has begun very slackly – and the session promises to be exceeding dull and peaceful – very much to my satisfaction – who have been & still am in a very queer way with affections of the head which the

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Doctors call stomach & which may be any thing – all I know is that I have been going with this child for nine months and am not near being delivered yet – I hope you are well – and, I repeat, will keep so – The older I grow and the sicker I grow – the more I am sure that health is the only certain blessing – with it one can hear any thing without it one can enjoy nothing – what say you?

M^{rs} Leigh has had a good deal of sickness in her family – she has now, poor thing, eight children, with very slender or rather no means of educating those who are growing up – I do not know what would have happened had she been turned out of the

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palace – Whenever I see her she is most anxious in her enquiries after you – Many enquiries and good wishes for you I also meet with from many others – John Hunt's judgement for your Judgement¹⁴ was yesterday put off till next term – Abbott's charge to the Jury at the trial was very iniquitous as usual – It is some comfort that, rogue as he is, Gifford late attorney General now Chief Justice of the Pleas, has been made a Peer before him – Farewell, write whenever you can – give me any commissions and they shall be punctually executed – ever very truly your's John C. Hobhouse

February 13th 1824: Foscolo called and walked with me. I went down in a coach to Whitton.

Saturday February 14th 1824: Rode up from Whitton. Went to Greek Committee. Met Louriottis and Orlando of Hydra, the Greek deputies. A loan for £800,000 negotiated, chiefly by Bowring and Hume's exertions. The deputies bring a letter to me from Mavrocordato on the part of the Greek government – expressing their gratitude to me!!! – for what? done very little.

Hume went to tell Canning of the loan. Canning has heard of the intrigues of France respecting the re-erection of the Order of St John of Jerusalem and their intended predominance under the Holy Alliance in Greece. This makes him anxious to help the Greeks.

Dined with Ellice – a large party. Went to Brookes's – far from well at night. I cannot get over this nervous attack.

Sunday February 15th 1824:¹⁵ Thought of foreign affairs speech. **Wrote journal.** Went down to Whitton. Burdett came – found Foscolo there. Wyshaw, McDonnell and *Old* Spencer there at dinner – pleasant day. Foscolo told us that *St Just* used to relieve the royalists in concealment at Paris, though he aided in sending those discovered to the scaffold. I thought he had told this story of Robespierre.

Monday February 16th 1824: Rode out with Sophy. Dined, &c., at home. Burdett and Foscolo with us – and George Spencer and his wife.

Tuesday February 17th 1824: Took George Spencer to London in a chaise. Was in hopes no House would be made, and that Lord Nugent's motion would drop: but a

¹⁴: H.'s only reference to *The Vision of Judgement*.

¹⁵: At Missolonghi on this date, B. has a seizure, and has to be held down by Parry and Falcieri. H. hears of it on April 12th.

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House was made, and Nugent made his speech against A'Court – a very poor thing indeed – no parliamentary ground whatever – no-one could support him. Sturges Bourne¹⁶ moved that the House do approve of the neutrality, &c. – on this I thought of speaking, but Lord John Russell asked me not [to], as it might anticipate his debate on the evacuation of Spain – so no-one spoke on our side. I told¹⁷ with Nugent, and we had but thirty. This comes of a man travelling and having, or thinking that he has, a story to tell.

House up at seven. I dined with the Sheriffs upstairs.

Monday February 18th 1824: At House of Commons. Dined with Robert Gordon,¹⁸ and talked nonsense.

Tuesday February 19th 1824: At House of Commons. Dined there. Said something on the mode of governing Ireland, on Grattan's motion for return of religion of people employed in offices open to Catholics.¹⁹ I did this at the request of Mr Deveux, a Catholic Irishman. Received thanks of Sir John Newport²⁰ and other Irish members for this.

Very unwell. Can't sleep.

Friday February 20th 1824: Walked with Foscolo. Went to House of Commons. Spoke against Army Estimates,²¹ and voted for reducing 10,000. Only ten voted with J.Hume.

Bed, twelve.

Four thousand [are] added to the army, and no-one cares. Lord Holland approves the augmentation. Hume declared that Holland was interested as a West Indian,²² and he could not follow him, now or at any time. Calcraft took up the cudgels for his absent friend.

Saturday February 21st 1824: Place called with a petition against Canning, for smuggling a lace coat. Went down to Whitton.

16: William Sturges Bourne (1769-1845), MP for Christchurch.

17: They counted the votes.

18: Robert Gordon (1786-1864), MP for Cricklade.

19: Hansard X (1824), pp.256-8. H. also speaks about treadmills: *ibid*, pp.244-5.

20: Sir Simon John Newport (1756-1843), MP for Waterford.

21: Hansard X (1824), pp.287-93.

22: Hume's argument is that Holland, who owns estates in Jamaica, needs a large standing army in case of slave insurrections.

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Sunday February 22nd 1824: At Whitton, walking about.

Monday February 23rd 1824: Rode up to London. Went to House of Commons. Dined there. Chancellor's budget.

[NOT IN DIARY: Hobhouse writes to Byron on February 23rd 1824:

(Text from National Library of Scotland Ms.43443; BB 436-8)

[À Milord / Milord Byron / aux soins de / Messrs Webb & Barry / à Gènes / Italie / p France]

London Feb. 23 1824

My dear Byron –

I have received your letter on the eve of your embarking for the Continent & pray heaven to prosper your honest undertaking – I wrote the other day by Captain Mollyneux and hope you have had my letter – It contained intelligence of the arrival of your dispatches – Since then I have delivered them over to the Greek Committee – The Committee on hearing them read – came to this resolution – “Resolved unanimously, That Mr. Hobhouse do convey to Lord Byron the sense which the Greek Committee entertain of the great services rendered by his Lordship to the cause of Greek Independence, and do express their gratitude for this fresh proof of his exertions in behalf of that glorious cause –

I was desired to add whatever I might think right on the same head – but I have only to say that all whom I speak to out of the Committee are equally delighted with what you have done and doing and are most anxious for your safety & success –

So I say do not expose yourself to unnecessary perils – Your friends the Suliotes are brave fellows doubtless but their mode of warfare “reculer pour mieux sauter” must very often leave an obstinate Englishman in

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the lurch – The Franks who have hitherto been in action with the Greeks complain of being often left in a sort of awkward squad quite alone in the heat of battle – Of course you know this and will act accordingly – Let us hear of you by every opportunity – Leicester Stanhope I learn is your avant courier – he his a good fellow but no great Greek as you will soon discover – By this time you have heard of the success of the Greek loan – The deputies might have had two millions instead of 800,000£ if they had pleased – Joseph Hume has subscribed for 10,000£ so you may be sure the thing is a safe thing and good at change – We all expect to hear of great doings and I can tell you for certain that Canning has a very kindly feeling towards the cause – His great

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friend Gladstone²³ attended a public meeting the other day at Liverpool and spoke warmly in behalf of the Greeks – Who knows but next autumn may see a regular British Minister at the court of the President of the Hellenic Republic?²⁴ I shall positively if I can contrive to come out myself the moment Parliament is prorogued

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and if we should shake hands under the walls of Adrianople – there would, as the jester Scrope used to say, be a trait and an event for the biography – Nothing is going on here – never so dull a session known – The ministers certainly are popular – and the agricultural asses have amazed all their opposition in the rising bushells of their last corn dole – so much for politics – as to poetry I believe the state of that commodity to be rather more in the supply than the demand line – I dare say Douglas has told you of the fate of John Hunt's trial²⁵ – Yesterday I was informed by a good judge that honest John would not, however, be brought up for judgement as both the Constitutional society who persecuted him and the Judges who mistried him seem inclined to, carry their joke no further – We have a new Review set up called the Westminster Review for Radical politics which bids fair to succeed as 1500 have been sold of the first number and a second edition is in the press – Bowring is the editor – one or two of the articles are very good indeed – as good as any thing going – I suppose you occasionally see

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the Edinburgh & Quarterly and Scott's novels (also quarterly) The last of the latter – S^t Ronan's Well²⁶ a complete failure – We have another trial at an oriental Romance by Morier – called Hadji Baba – Sir Gere Ousely says it is perfectly Persian – but I cannot relish it and certainly it is vastly inferior to Anastasius.²⁷ Ugo Foscolo thinks of coming out to Greece immediately in order to collect materials for an account of the war – and if possible to be of service – I suppose in the Tyrtean line – for I never heard that he was very “cunning at fence”²⁸ though an Ex Colonel of Napoleon's school – If he does come out he will repair to your head quarters.²⁹ You will find him,

²³: John Gladstone, father of W.E.Gladstone.

²⁴: Evidence of how H. and the Committee judge Greek politics by western European standards.

²⁵: John Hunt was fined £100 for publishing *The Vision of Judgement*, a poem to which H. never refers.

²⁶: Published 1824.

²⁷: Thomas Hope's 1820 novel, much envied and admired by B.

²⁸: Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night* III iv 271.

²⁹: Foscolo (born on Zante) does not go to Greece, and he and B. never meet.

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if you become acquainted, a very extraordinary person – not over agreeable, but full of colloquy of the highest kind – I never heard him make a common place remark in my life – He has made many enemies and few friends here – being a true poet in that particular and rather impracticable –
Of Tom Moore I have seen nothing lately – I inclosed your letter to him yesterday –
Douglas Kinnaird

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is shining away at the India House and wants me to purchase 1000£ stock to hear him speak – But I am as fond of speaking as a grocer is of figs having enough thereof at my own shop – All your affairs go on prosperously as Kinnaird tells me but I am sorry to say that I have not very favorable news of your daughter Ada – She has been sickly for some time tho' I hope the sea where she now is (at Hastings I believe, will do her good. I will let you know in my next letter how she goes on – The very mild season must be in her favour – I do not exactly know by what hand to send this letter – but I shall consult M^r Bowring to morrow – Farewell dear Byron & believe me

ever your's most truly

John C. Hobhouse

Tuesday February 24th 1824: At House of Commons. Dined there. Williams' motion on Court of Chancery – he made a capital speech indeed. [We] did not divide, as Peel came down with [a] communication that [the] Chancellor would consent to a commission of enquiry into the Court.

Wednesday February 25th 1824: Rode in morning. Went to dinner at Clarendon's with the Club. Little politics, except as to how I should word my resolution as to Window Tax. General discontent at no remission of direct taxes.

Thursday February 26th 1824: Rode, after writing and reading about windows. Dined at Royal Society Club – a great crowd. Sat next to Babbage. Came to House of Commons just in time to vote for Abercrombie's motion respecting [the] representation of Edinburgh.

Friday February 27th 1824: Rode. At House of Commons. Dined there. Divided twice on Ordnance Estimates, and spoke a word or two about barracks.³⁰ Sir H. Hardinge, the new Clerk of Ordnance, said the people, by the Petition of Right in

30: Hansard X (1824), pp.546-8.

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Charles I's time, had asked for barracks!!!³¹ The House cheered him loudly, as if he had gained a triumph over me. He also tried to convict me of an error as to [the] amount of [the] sums voted the two last years, and was cheered again – but it turned out that I had understated, instead of overstated, the excess of the year. “*This comes of being in office.*”

Saturday February 28th 1824: Went to Greek Committee. Rode. Dined with Joseph Hume. Met the Greek Deputies, Luriottis and Orlando and General Mina. The latter is like an English farmer in appearance. He is lame [and] rather short – open countenance, large mouth – looks about fifty. He talked and laughed without reserve, and to my surprise praised Murillo – said he was a good man – “bon comme moi” was his phrase – and [said] that if he [(Mina)], had been in Catalonia, he [(Murillo)], would not have acted as he did. I asked him whether, if he had been in Galicia, he would have acted like Murillo. He talked French badly, and a little English.

Our host, Hume, was in high feather – gave us oceans of wine, and roared, “Mina, nous buvons les dames!” We had Creevey, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Colonel Davies, Bernal, and others there.

Sunday February 29th 1824: Rode to Richmond. Walked thence to Whitton. Coming near our gates, saw two footmen, with the young man who had been hovering about my sisters in their walks, and whom I told I would horsewhip if he repeated his insults. The footmen complained, and I immediately collared this puppy and horsewhipped³² him. Fortunately he stood quiet. Had he given me a black eye, what should I have done in the House of Commons on Tuesday?

Dined, and slept at Whitton.

Monday March 1st 1824: Rode up to London. Went to House of Commons. Dined. Voted on Miscellaneous Estimates.

Tuesday March 2nd 1824: Prepared papers for speech on Window Tax. Presented two petitions against Assessed Taxes – one from St Anne's Westminster, one from St Mary's Lambeth.

Began speaking at six, and spoke till twenty minutes to eight “by Shrewsbury clock”.³³ Did the first quarter of an hour well off-hand, and rowed the House of Commons in answer to Ribivicini's praise of it. When I began to look at my papers I

31: They preferred barracks to the alternative, which was billeting.

32: “horsewhipt” (Ms.)

33: Falstaff's phrase at *Henry IV I*, V iv 5 app. Hansard X (1824), pp.652-67.

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began to boggle, and I am afraid my speech sounded very badly, although it was not a bad one. Brougham told me I had made a strong case, but I said it had been ill-done. My motion was resolved:

“That it appears to this House that the reduction of taxes proposed by the Rt.Hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer is not such as to satisfy the just expectations of the country.

That it appears to this House that the Window Tax, being unjust, unequal, and most oppressive to the least opulent portions of the community, should, after the fifth of April next, be totally and immediately repealed.”

Maberly³⁴ seconded me, and proposed his scheme, for the Sale of Land Tax. [The] Chancellor answered – refused to accede – but gave up £200,000 of Law Stamps, according to John Smith's proposition. This, however, did not catch Smith, who spoke. Whitmore and Baring spoke against: Lord Althorpe, Lord Milton, Sykes, and Hume for me. House divided about twelve: for, 88; against, 155.

On the whole the attempt is what is called a failure, though we divided nearly thirty more than I did in 1822.

Wednesday March 3rd 1824: Stormy day. Up late. Very nervous indeed. Walked about a little. Dined at Mr Forbes'. Read *Hadji' Baba*³⁵ – a singular, clever book, but not so good as *Anastasius*.

Thursday March 4th 1824: **Wrote journal.** Dined at University Club.

Friday March 5th 1824: Rode down to Whitton and stayed there.

Saturday March 6th 1824: At Whitton. Rode out with Sophy. Slept there.

Sunday March 7th 1824: Thinking of speech on foreign affairs, for Thursday next. Lord Russell's motion on [the] evacuation of Spain.

Monday March 8th 1824: Rode up in rain from Whitton. Lord Titchfield [is] dead. This young man [is] a great loss to the liberal side of the House. He had shown considerable talent, and more honesty. I know but little of him personally, [but] that

34: William Leader Maberly (1798-1885), MP for Northampton.

35: J.J.Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824).

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little left a very agreeable impression on me. His death prevents Mr Canning from attending parliament, and puts off the consideration of foreign politics.

I went to the House of Commons. Dined at Athenian Club. Pleasant party. Went to House of Commons afterwards.

Tuesday March 9th 1824: At House of Commons after riding round the Park. Dined at House of Commons, and [spent the] evening there.

Wednesday March 10th 1824: Rode. Did not go to the House of Commons. Dined at [the] Clarendon Club. Duke of Sussex and Lord Fitzwilliam there. [We] had a talk of resisting [the] Alien Bill, which Peel has given notice he shall renew. All present said they would stand by anyone who would fight that detestable in every stage, and by the *delays* of the House against it: but speaking to Lord Althorpe about it, he did not think it a case for moving an adjournment. Last time, in 1822, I was given to understand by Dawson that Peel would not introduce it again.

Thursday March 11th 1824: Bad weather. Sat for picture to Jackson. Dined at University Club. Went to House of Commons – sat up till twelve – spoke against flogging soldiers.³⁶

Friday March 12th 1824: Bad weather. At House of Commons, presented petition³⁷ from Westminster against [the] Sinking Fund and against the misgovernment of Ireland.

Dined with Kinnaird. Chantry and Tom Moore there.

Sunday March 14th 1824: Wrote letter to Lord Byron³⁸ – wrote journal – ill this week. Head failing again. Rode down to Whitton.

[NOT IN DIARY: HOBHOUSE'S LAST LETTER TO BYRON:

(Text from National Library of Scotland Ms.43443; BB 350-2)

[The Lord Byron / Missaloughi // John C. Hobhouse // This letter never reached Byron it was returned to me through Mr Dearden // last but one I ever wrote to Byron the last went by Cap^t Molyneux]

London.³⁹

March 15, 1824

36: Hansard X (1824), pp.934-5.

37: Hansard X (1824), pp.936-8.

38: BB 350-2. H.'s last letter to B.

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My dear Byron

Although I have written to you twice very lately yet as Kinnaird tells me a messenger is going off to you to-morrow I must send a few lines if only by way of reply to your last note delivered by the Greek Deputies – Little did those worthies know the contents of the scytala⁴⁰ which they carried & which they presented in all due form together with a letter from his Highness Mavrocordato conveying thanks for all services performed & unperformed in behalf of the cause – I am delighted on all accounts that your gross of green Spectacles has turned out such a good bargain and that you will recover your horse Blackberry into the bargain⁴¹ – Nothing would have given me greater pleasure than seeing you set out upon your journey to the Fair at Missolonghi I hope you did not forget to cock your hat with pins – We have not heard from you privately as yet since your arrival on the terra firma or rather the marshes of Western Greece – but we see by the French journals that you have been received in

1:2

an appropriate manner and made a member of the Senate and president of Strangers – What the latter office may be I know not – but hope it may not prove as difficult to discharge and as thankless when well filled as the conduct of partizans and foreigners generally proves to be – I can assure you that here the Greeks look upon your Avater as a perfect Godsend – one of them said to me in so many words – “it is Providence who sent that man to our help” – Of course Bowring has told you of the general good inclination of Canning to the cause – I believe he will do or let be done which is the same thing all that he can without coming to a complete rupture with the Turks or Russians – It will be of the utmost service if you can discover any intrigues of the French or any of the allies with the Greeks to let us have the details so as to enable us to communicate them to Mr Canning – he certainly is very much alive on that score – on the whole he is a popular minister – popular because he succeeds to Castlereagh – popular because he did not go to war for Spain – popular because he will go to war for South America – popular because he

1:3

³⁹: BB has “Lincoln”.

⁴⁰: A coded message which can only be decoded with special equipment.

⁴¹: “And so,” returned she, “we have parted with the Colt, and have only got a groce of green spectacles, with copper rims and shagreen cases! A murrain take such trumpery. The blockhead has been imposed upon, and should have known his company better” – Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Chap. XII.

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is but faintly opposed by the "gentlemen opposite" and popular because he is strongly opposed by the gentlemen who sit next to him – I mean Peel & company – The session is going on peaceably – but I think I see elements of discord – such as the proposed renewal of the detestable Alien bill for instance. – . In France government carries every thing before it – only 23 liberals returned in all the elections – In Spain the presence of the French army alone prevents cutting of throats – In Italy there have been dreadful proscriptions – Greece in fact is the only point to which, in the old world at least, we look with any satisfaction – We are going to give a great public dinner to the Greek Deputies on the first of May – and we anticipate good news previously to that day for announcement on that occasion – Thomas Campbell has bespoken of me the giving of your health & as I dare say he will do it well perhaps it is advisable to put the duty in his hands – Tom Moore I believe will not be in town – The loan continues at a small premium & it would have been much higher had it not been for the roguery of those trying to get up a Cypriote loan – Peacock de Winz – Hendricks & Co – We have, however, stopt them this time

1:4

and hope we shall altogether prevent future operations. We have also detected one Doctor Schinas in detaining a trifling subscription meant for his countrymen & employing it for keeping up the war in his own housekeeping department. He was a member of our Committee – we were obliged to expell him yesterday – I am sorry to say that your patriot, generally speaking, is rather lax in his moralities as to money matters – We have had a fellow here in long petticoats playing off an archimondrite or sum such character & pretending his whole family have been massacred first & then sent him to negotiate a loan of a million of scudi, to bury them I suppose – but my gentleman was soon detected and has I believe decamped – you will no doubt have a great deal of difficulty in seeing that the loan is applied to proper purposes – but if the Greeks carry their point with the sword I think the gold concern will arrange it perhaps more easily than we now expect. Even if rogues get the money & rogues fight well the lenders will get paid and that is all that lenders have a right to look for – I like the deputies – Lauriottis seems a clever man & Orlando an honest man – I have no chitchat for you of any kind – nor do I believe there is any thing

2:1

stirring in the world in which you used to live – All friends make many enquiries after you – & hope you will take care of yourself in Greece & return here after the good fight has been foughten – I have not heard of your daughter lately – but hope hearing nothing is a good sign – Your monied matters, Kinnaird will tell you, are going on

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swimmingly – you will have, indeed, you have, a very handsome fortune – and if you have health – I do not see what earthly advantage you can wish for that you have not got – your present endeavour is certainly the most glorious ever undertaken by man – Campbell said to me yesterday – that he envied what you were now doing (and you may believe him, for he is a very envious man) even more than all your laurels blooming as they are – Go on & prosper – let me have a letter from you when you can find time to write & believe me

ever very truly your's

John C. Hobhouse

Monday March 15th 1824: Rode up to London. Called on Place with Kinnaird, and in telling him that I had altered, at Hume's suggestion, the words "an idle and profligate Irish society", into "the present system of misrule in Ireland," Place broke out, and said, "Then by God neither Hume nor you shall ever have another petition from me!" I tried to pacify my tailor friend, but in vain, and I should not wonder if this measure of mine, which I really had not the slightest notion could have been objected to, were to end in a serious dissension in Westminster.

Went to House of Commons Artizans' Committee. Voted several times on estimates. Up till past twelve.

Tuesday March 16th 1824: Sat for picture. Rode down to Whitton. Canning's statement as to [the] West Indies tonight – he seems to have done well, especially in reply, when he attacked Bowring, who has lately taken up a new line against liberal policy, both as to silk and slaves.

Wednesday March 17th 1824: Rode to London, Sophy with me part of the way.

At House of Commons, presented petition of Worgman respecting a new mode of reforming the House of Commons, by making seats saleable openly, and allowing peers to nominate openly – also by giving members to some large towns. Also presented a petition relative to the smuggling of French embroidery under Seals of Office by King's Messengers.⁴² A coat of Canning's, so smuggled, was seized at his tailor's, and condemned at the Customs House, and burned – this was mentioned in the petition. I spoke to Huskisson, to tell Canning that I presented the petition without any hostility to him, and that I should not move for the printing of the petition: accordingly I only alluded to the fact without naming anybody, and did not move for the printing.

I dined at Lord Sefton's, with a large party. Tierney, Lord Duncannon, Lord Althorpe, Creevey, Ferguson, Birch, &c. Good cheer. We had a talk afterwards on the impolicy of Lord John Russell's motion for tomorrow on the evacuation of Spain by

42: Hansard X (1824), pp.1206-9; smuggling petition not recorded.

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French troops. Lord Duncannon told me that Lord John would have given it up, but that Sir Robert Wilson insisted that this opportunity should be granted to him of stating his case. But no division is to take place and no [] have been issued.

Thursday March 18th 1824: Rode in Park. Dined at University Club. Went to House of Commons determined to speak if I could. Russell did not come in till past seven – made a feeble speech. Wilson spoke well. He told how he had won his orders⁴³ – [the] House cheered, and [his] opponents complimented him. Littleton and Gooch moved and seconded an amendment approving of neutrality, and stating no apprehensions for Spain: but no-one rose to answer them – they had said nothing. Strangers were withdrawing, when Canning rose, and began in a great rage at speaking after no-one but his own friends. He rode the high horse, and buffooned about Nugent's Spanish expedition so outrageously that I rose to reply when he sat down, and should have said something savage. Fortunately Sir James Mackintosh rose too, and had the preference. Sir Jemmy made a wretched piece of business of it, and was hardly heard. His speech ended the debate, except a short reply from Lord John.

Canning called Nugent "an enormous *breach* of neutrality".⁴⁴ He gave a history of his travelling in the "heavy Falmouth coach" with a fat woman, and of his having a Spanish general of light horse uniform and helmet in a box on the van behind. The House was convulsed with laughter, but the next day several ministerialists confessed to me that Canning had gone too far. Dawson told me that Canning had wanted to bring in that Nugent had a "queer-ass" (cuirass) with him.

Lord Nugent bore the attack very good-naturedly – it was evidently got up by Canning for Nugent's own motion.⁴⁵

Friday March 19th 1824: Sat for picture. Dined with Kinnaird. Lauriottis, Greek Deputy, there. Turks have sent a formal complaint against Lord Byron and Leicester Stanhope, and Canning tells Bowring that he fears Leicester Stanhope will be dismissed the English service.

Sat up in House of Commons till twelve on Irish estimates.

Saturday March 20th 1824: Went to Greek Committee. Rode in Park. Dined with Robert Gordon. Bruce told me that Lady Hester Stanhope told him that William Pitt said Canning was not fit for a leader – only a follower.

43: Wilson was one of the most heavily-decorated soldiers in Europe, with stars from Prussia, Austria, and Russia – but none from England.

44: Canning was accusing Nugent of serving in the Spanish army, illegal for an Englishman.

45: Canning had given a prepared answer to a speech which Nugent hadn't made.

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Sunday March 23rd 1824: Looking at [the] debates on [the] Alien Bill. Visited Joseph Hume. *They* want to propose him for [the] East Indian direction.

Wrote journal. Dined at Mr Ord's in Berkeley Square. Met there Tom Moore, William Spencer, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, Lord and Lady King, and Mr and Mrs Abercrombie. Agreeable party – Lady Charlotte Lindsay the most agreeable of all, William Spencer the least⁴⁶ – his efforts spoil all his qualities, which are far from brilliant, either moral or intellectual.

Monday March 22nd 1824: This morning I received a note from Foscolo, telling me that he was living in lodgings hard by, under a feigned name.⁴⁷ I called on him. He told me that he had resolved to give lessons in Italian as he found great difficulties in the way of his projected visit to the Ionian Islands.⁴⁸ [The] government suspects him, he says, of being an agent of *Russia*, and the Whigs accuse him of having sacrificed his opinions to his interest in behalf of Maitland, because he suppressed his work on Parga.⁴⁹ He is now trying to sell his cottage in South Bank.⁵⁰ I found when I went home to Whitton that this modest man had paid a visit there, and had actually made a proposal to my sister Matilda, he being some forty-six years of age, to say nothing of his diabolical ugliness, and she at twenty-three, besides being one of the prettiest girls in England.⁵¹ I find the fellow [had] spoke[n] to William Spencer of his intentions. William Spencer, to quiet him, gave him some encouragement.

Matilda told me the whole of his queer courtship – a pretty piece of impudence – amongst other things he talked of his passion being disinterested – though he had catchpoles⁵² running about after him the moment he spoke.

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I went to the House of Commons, came away, and dined at the Asiatic Club, a new society.* Sir John Malcolm⁵³ there – very entertaining, though boisterous – he told me

46: William Spencer is H.'s sister's new father-in-law.

47: Foscolo used a number of aliases in order to evade his creditors. The one for early 1823 is not recorded.

48: Foscolo (who was from Zante) had wanted to join B. in the Greek struggle for independence.

49: See 30/10/18-1/11/18. The British Library (c. 142 aa 24) has a text of this work, entitled *Narrative of events illustrating the fortunes and cession of Parga translated in part by Sara Matilda Hobhouse*. The copy is inscribed "To Miss Hobhouse who had the kindness to translate into English a portion of the unfinished and never-to-be-published volume on Parga".

50: Diagamma, Foscolo's cottage, was on the south bank of Regent's Canal in St. John's Wood.

51: Matilda Hobhouse ultimately married Count Brancaleone of Gubbio. Family tradition has it that she was sent to Italy to cure her of her over-fondness for Foscolo.

52: Bailiffs.

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that the Linnæan Society⁵⁴ threatened to prosecute the Asiatic Society if it interfered in any botanical pursuits – said pursuits belonging to royal Linnæan society!!! This sage body actually took an opinion of the Attorney General on some such matter as this.

I also heard here that someone has threatened to prosecute the Royal Society of Literature for not giving their poetical prize to anybody,* which the prosecution contend they are bound by their charter to do.

This day Sir Charles Ling* asked me to belong to the new society, called *the* society, or the Literary Society, which has been set on foot chiefly by Sir Humphrey Davy, because, so ill-nature says, Sir Humphrey Davy belonging to no great club,* and having taken his name out of the Traveller's Club* for a pique, chooses to have a club of his own. *The* society is composed of all the *great* names in the country almost – in the way of small talents.

I went back to the House of Commons and voted for something – forget what ...

Tuesday March 23rd 1824: Rode in Park. At House of Commons – dined. Moved an amendment on leave to bring in an Alien Bill, and made a strong speech which I heard afterwards was the best I ever made in parliament.⁵⁵ It is capitally reported in the *Chronicle*. Several friends asked me not to divide on my amendment, but Lambton said he would if I did not – so I divided, and got seventy with me. The division was not precisely on my amendment, though in effect it appeared so, and Lord Duncannon headed the minority, with my amendment next day in [the] papers.

I hope that the Holy Alliance, who were attacked in the amendment, will be touched by the seventy names at length.

We divided twice more this night on [the] same subject. Peel said that aliens resident seven years in the country should be excepted from [the] bill, that is, about ten thousand persons.

Up at twelve.

Wednesday March 24th 1824: Rode down to Whitton. Found that my dearest Sophia had had a bad fall from her horse, and was confined to her bed. Also that my sister, Mrs George Spencer, was expected to be brought to bed the same night.

Mr Julius* dined with us.

Thursday March 25th 1824: Sophy better. Took a little walk with her. Harriet has a girl. Dined at Whitton, &c. My father in gout. Rode with George Spencer.

53: 1769-1833. Author of a *History of Persia*, with which B. and H. were familiar (see BLJ IV 147-8). He had been Ambassador there.

54: Founded 1788 for the study of natural history.

55: Hansard X (1824), pp.1343-56.

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Friday March 26th 1824:⁵⁶ Rode up to London. Alien Bill expected, but did not come on. Dined at University Club, I believe. We had [the] County Court in the House of Commons. I acted for Westminster tradesmen.

Saturday March 27th 1824: Walked about. Sat for picture. Dined with Lambton – a large party. Went to Brookes's in evening.

Sunday March 28th 1824: Rode down to Whitton. Sophy not so well. Oh dear ...

Monday March 29th 1824: Stayed at Whitton. Walked with Matilda to Twickenham.

Tuesday March 30th 1824: Rode to London. Dined at University Club. Went to House of Commons. Expecting Alien Bill, but [it] did not come on – we had discussions.

Wednesday March 31st 1824: Rode to [the] Mermaid at Hackney and dined with [the] Middlesex Electors. When my health was drunk, I hung my speech on something said by Byng and Whitbread on [the] popularity of ministers. Samuel Whitbread was in a fury, and it took the whole evening for me to convince him privately that I did not mean to do him any harm. Lefevre, the chairman, took it good-naturedly, but he said in his speech that I had mistaken him and his friends, and also that I had “out-heroded Herod”. This was sure to be taken up in some paper, but to my surprise it was taken up in the *British Press*, and I was overhauled for trying to show that ministers were not popular.

As for Sam Whitbread, he is I fear incorrigible – a selfish, suspicious, obstinate fellow without a spark of public feeling in him. He thinks only of his private interests in Middlesex, and has not strength of mind enough to push them as he ought – namely, by making some little effort, or at least attending constantly in parliament.

Thursday April 1st 1824: Walked about. Dined at the Royal Society. Sir Humphrey Davy spoke to me a great deal on the foolish management of the Museum, and of Sir William Congreve's ignorance. The next day I heard Davy quoted in [the] House of Commons in proof of Congreve's science. Davy's language to me was that of a man despising and hating the great – but he has a character of quite an opposite kind, at least of being very prone to flatter them.

Went to House of Commons, and divided three times on Coal Duties, with the coastwise people – Lambton and Co. Up half-past twelve.

56: *Don Juan* XV and XVI are published on this date.

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Friday April 2nd 1824: Rode in Park. Called on [the] bakers, relative to some parish business. Dined at University Club.

At House of Commons, an altercation between Hume and Lambton. Hume said that Lambton was interested in [the] gas establishment, as he provided materials. Lambton said that Hume provided materials for the pipes – meaning *brass*. Sad work. Lambton says he will never speak to Hume again. The beginning of this is Hume's voting against Lambton last night.

Debate on second reading of Alien Bill. Canning made a very bad speech, Tierney a really excellent one. Canning says [the] Alien Bill is not to be renewed after two years, but a perpetual enactment of a modified kind is to be passed – perhaps registering,⁵⁷ he said. Peel [was] very poor indeed. We divided: first, 67, then 92. The others had 172. I was ready to speak. I shall certainly say something as to the change made by William Lamb and N. Calvert, of its being “cowardly” to attack the Allied sovereigns.

Bed [at] past one.

Saturday April 3rd 1824: Saw Mr Justice Hanson of Hammersmith relative to his fining [the] Westminster bakers on information against them. He promised me never to do so any more. He seems quite an unfit man for the office. He is 73, half a child, and was never anything like a gentleman. He tells me he has been shot at in his own house.

Wrote journal. Going to Greek Committee. Rode in Park. Walked with Seton. Dined at Beefsteak⁵⁸ Club, and had songs and foolery.

Sunday April 4th 1824: Rode, and read a little. Cold, rainy weather. Dined with Sir M.W.Ridley, Tierney, and a large party, there. Talk of dissolution of parliament. Lord Duncannon thought it likely.

Monday April 5th 1824: Rode. Went to House of Commons. Suffered Alien Bill to be committed without opposition. Hume played me a trick. He promised me to oppose the Bill, and then got up in the House, and said he wondered at those who were satisfied with the declaration of [the] Commons that [the] Bill was not to be renewed. He moved an amendment, which was negatived. He then moved the substitution of one year for two years, which he withdrew at my recommendation, owning that he was wrong. Now I say there is no acting with a man who commits these faults and so readily confesses his errors – he is not a safe man.

Voted against Windsor Castle grant tonight.

57: “registraring” (Ms.)

58: “Beefsteaks” (Ms.)

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Tuesday April 6th 1824: Rode. Wintry weather. At House of Commons.

Wednesday April 7th 1824: Rode. Dined with Lord King. He is not a very clever man, but he is a lively man, and a good-natured man, with much information.

Thursday April 8th 1824: Thought of going to Whitton, but did not. Dined at University Club. Sat at home reading.

Friday April 9th 1824:⁵⁹ Dined at House of Commons. Moved an amendment against granting £500,000 for building churches.⁶⁰ Lushington took against us, and several friends ran restive, Gordon, Calcraft, Lennard and others, so we divided only 59. [The] ministers [had] thought they should be run hard. Palmerston and I told. My speech was praised by Peel for its tone and manner, and becoming the dignity and sacredness of the subject. Althorpe and others also told me I had done well. Hume only said I had taken too low a tone. For my own part, I suspected [that] I had incurred the reproach of hypocrisy – but what is one to do? The people are certainly religious, and it is fitting that provision should be made for their indulging in so useful a propensity. Therefore I put the argument against the mode, and not against the thing.

Debate lasted until near twelve.

Saturday April 10th 1824: Snowed for eight hours, and ground covered.

Rode. Dined with Kinnaird. Large party – Lord Alvanley, [the] Duke of Argyle, Lord Gwydir, Pearce and others. Alvanley gave us a humorous sketch of the life of Ouvrard, the great contractor, who furnished the clothing for Napoleon's army at Waterloo, and for the duc d'Angoulême's in Spain. He bought up everything on the Spanish frontier, and when the duc d'Angoulême arrived at⁶¹ headquarters, nothing was to be got, except through Ouvrard. His influence turned out the Duke of Belluno. Ouvrard may be considered as having made the Spanish war – his loan for the Regency settled the question.

Our conversation turned chiefly on the new companies: Lambton has made £2,900 by the Equitable Loan Association, without advancing a farthing. Never since South Sea time were there so many speculations on foot – never so much floating capital in [the] country.

59: On this day, at Missolonghi, B. takes the ride in the rain which finally kills him.

60: Hansard XI (1824), pp.319-21.

61: "or" (Ms).

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Sunday April 11th 1824: Rode and walked in Park. Dined with Lambton – a large party.

Monday April 12th 1824: Trying horses, brought me of Kinnaird. At House of Commons. Dined. Divided twice against Alien Bill – four of our side spoke, and none of theirs – divided against church building.

Coming home, found letters from Greece stating that Byron had been attacked by a nervous convulsion fit at Missolonghi⁶² on February 15th. He lost his sense for a time, and his face was distorted, but he has since recovered, though he is so much shaken that Stanhope says he must retire from Greece – of which he is the life and soul. The Suliots⁶³ have behaved very ill, extorting all Lord Byron's money and then refusing to march, which they were to have done, under Lord Byron, against Lepanto. A Suliot, being struck by a Captain Says, shot him dead. Stanhope attributes Byron's illness to these disappointments. I do not. Stanhope says Byron behaved with great firmness – he always does in emergencies.

The news made me nervous. I could hardly sleep.

Tuesday April 13th 1824: Nugent called, and told me something about Spain. We talked of his intended attack on Canning last night, which I was glad he had [had] no opportunity of making. I think he would have failed, though some of his points, as he told me, were good. Canning's story of the fat woman in the Falmouth coach was false – also about the helmet and uniform.

Rode. Dined at the British Artists' Society, in their new picture room – very pretty sight. [The] Duke of Sussex, Lambton, Hart Davies, Kinnaird and myself, and Ferguson, and Campbell the poet, and Captain Morris [were] the only Grandees!!! Not a Royal Academician present. We had some speaking – Campbell spoke for the poets, and spoke ill; Lambton for the patrons of art, and well. I spoke for the Royal Society. [The] Duke of Sussex made a good speech.

Drank tea with Lady L. Lambton!

Wednesday April 14th 1824: **Wrote journal.** Preparing to go to Whitton for Easter Holidays.

The other day, Kinnaird and I, at the desire of Place and a hundred other householders in the neighbourhood of Charing Cross, called by appointment on the Duke of York⁶⁴ to remonstrate on the intended erection of barracks on the site of the Queen's Mews, Charing Cross. The Duke received us very graciously. Kinnaird read

62: "Missolonghi" (Ms.)

63: "Sullliots" (Ms.)

64: The future William IV. Commander-in-Chief of the army.

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the electors' letter on the subject – the Duke said *certainly* the barracks were to be built – and then we changed the subject. The Duke showed us his garden, and began to talk of the Chelsea soldiers' children's school. He eulogized their discipline, and the mutual instruction plan⁶⁵ which had so improved them.

He then told a story which he said Erskine told him, of a child who was examined in the catechism, and said the Holy Ghost gave him – “his *hat*”. This is an old joke of Horace Walpole's; but I wonder the Royal Duke, the great patron of the church, should tell two radicals so profane a tale.

I spoke to Mr Secretary Peel on the same subject in parliament – he was very civil about it, and listened to objections, but then ended with saying the barracks would be built. He talked with me for some time on other matters – on his plan for beautifying the parliament end of the town – on the British Museum, &c. and last of all on the Alien Bill, or rather on Count Bettera's banishment. He described his interview with Bettera, who told him that he never intended to frighten Esterhazy, but only saluted him *militairement*, with a telescope he had in his hand. Peel evidently thought that Bettera's violence was quite an excuse for any illegal step on [the] part of government – he has no idea of [the] grounds of government except the urgency of the moment.

I have forgot to state that the real story of the plot which Canning said caused the renewal of the Alien Bill this year, has come to my ears. A person called to tell me of it, and afterwards I heard it from the party concerned. It is this: a Spanish regiment at Cuba, which had been formerly commanded by Quiroga, sent him a letter signed by all the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, offering to revolt, and to put the garrison into the hands of Quiroga. Quiroga, being in London, did not give any answer, but as his secretary Pizarro was going to Cuba, of which he is a native, he desired Pizarro to see how things stood, and let him know. Quiroga talked impudently of the matter before several people, and amongst others Mora, editor of a Madrid gazette, who has turned out a scoundrel, and who they suppose communicated the affair to Canning. Peel sent for Quiroga – Quiroga went. Peel kept him talking on indifferent matters for some time, until Canning came in. Canning also conversed with indifferent topics until at last he turned round quickly and said, “General, do you know a Mr Pizarro?” – Quiroga answered he did – “He is gone to Cuba?” said Canning. – “Yes,” replied Quiroga. Canning then told Quiroga the whole story – Quiroga confessed the truth, but added that if it was the intention of government to send him out of England, he hoped it would be done at once, for he would not live here to have the dread of expulsion hanging over his head.

Canning assured him there was no intention of the kind, but said that he had written to apprise the cabinet of Madrid of the circumstance, without mentioning names. It

65: Sounds like a Bell and Lancaster cascading system: economical on adult staff.

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seems also that a steam boat had been sent after the American vessel that carried Pizarro, to take him out of the ship – but had not overtaken him.

Now this shows what a minister will say, for it turns out there was no plot formed in England, which alone Canning made the pretext for the continuance of the Alien Bill, but that the plot was formed elsewhere, which no man in England can prevent at any time. It also shows how truly England acts with the Holy Alliance – why was Ferdinand made acquainted with the plan? Did our government make the constitutional governments acquainted with the plots carrying against them in London?

I had some thoughts of mentioning this story on the third reading of the Alien Bill, but upon after thought, and consulting others, I was afraid Quiroga, or the parties at Cuba, might be injured, so I held my tongue. I had the story from Quiroga's aide-de-camp, and might have had it from Quiroga himself, but I thought it better for him that he should have no communication with me.

I went down to Whitton. Found the Duke of Marlborough there – a stammering, good-natured, polite man, dotingly fond of fiddling and walking and gardening. He stayed three weeks at Whitton and no more, being, like all the Spencers, a great sticker, and being solitary at Blenheim, and liking my sisters' company. He is no fool by any means, any more than he is like the Great Duke. He talks of his "misfortune", by which I suppose he means his extravagance, which has reduced him to six thousand a year. Of political virtue he does not seem to have the slightest conception: he said one day, to my father and me after dinner, that when the Talents came in, he went to Lord Grenville, and said he should very much like to have a place (he having always voted for Pitt). Grenville said he had no place for him. "Well then," said the Duke, "will you make me a peer?" – "Yes," said Grenville. – "Now this was very convenient for me", added the Duke, "as it saved me from arrest." He then told us how he went to Grenville and told Grenville that he should join Lord Liverpool.

And all this he said to me without a smile.

He has a twist in his mouth from a fit when young, but he is now healthy and active at 58. Whilst he was at Whitton we had music every night. I was tired.

Thursday April 15th 1824: At Whitton, walking, &c., and idling.

Friday April 16th 1824: At Whitton ... ditto.

Saturday April 17th 1824: At Whitton, &c.

Sunday April 18th 1824: At Whitton.

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Monday April 19th 1824:⁶⁶ At Whitton. Did not go to Lord Mayor Waithman's fête. Canning and Wynne went. Canning did not make a good speech. He alluded to the great harmony subsisting between people and government. Waithman gave Canning's health in a queer speech, but was evidently frowned at his being there. His presence prevented Waithman, so he said, from paying the proper attention to the Greek deputies, because the Greek deputies were not recognized agents. Very paltry of Signior Waithman.

Tuesday April 20th 1824: At Whitton.

Wednesday April 21st 1824: Rode up to town and dined with W. Williams, on a speculation which did not succeed.

Thursday April 22nd 1824: Returned to Whitton.

Friday April 23rd 1824: At Whitton.

Saturday April 24th 1824: At Whitton, &c., walking and reading a little.

Sunday April 25th 1824: At Whitton. Very fine weather.

Monday April 26th 1824: At Whitton.

Tuesday April 27th 1824: At Whitton.

Wednesday April 28th 1824: At Whitton.

Thursday April 29th 1824: At Whitton.

Friday April 30th 1824: At Whitton.

Saturday May 1st 1824: At Whitton – rain ...

Sunday May 2nd 1824: At Whitton. Read Moore's *Residence in France, and Account of France in 1792 and 1793*⁶⁷ – very interesting. It appears everyone thought the Duke of Brunswick would get to Paris – the rise of the Mountain and Robespierre

66: On this day B. dies at Missolonghi. H. receives the news on May 14th.

67: *A Residence in France ... described in a Series of Letters from an English Lady* (1797); not by "Moore".

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[were] a small minority, both in the National Assembly and in the Convention, in face of the great majority, both in and out of doors. It is truly wonderful – a handful of cut-throats frightened all France – government, legislature, and people ...

Monday May 3rd 1824: Rode up to London in rain – went to House of Commons. Presented butchers' petition against "flaying" acts.⁶⁸ Dined at Clarendon Club.

Tuesday May 4th 1824: Thought of going to Captain Parry's fête with my sisters, but did not. Went to House of Commons. Dined with Kinnaird: Lord and Lady Tavistock, Lord and Lady William Russell, Lord Petersham, Lincoln Stanhope, Pearce, [and] another Russell, there. Dullish day. Lady Tavistock told me after dinner some stories of the Duchess of Bedford's way of going on with her poor paralytic Duke. Lord Tavistock is wonderfully recovered, after being on the brink of the grave.

Walked about with Pearce and Kinnaird.

Wednesday May 5th 1824: Employed with Westminster business.⁶⁹ At Spanish Committee, where I find that more cheating is discovered [on the part of]⁷⁰ one of Wilson's agents – one Captain Dickson – at least he will not give in his accounts.

At House of Commons. Dined at University Club. Read in the evening a good deal of Buckingham's *Oriental Herald*⁷¹ – an essay on Pilpay. Pilpay [is] not so ancient as supposed.⁷²

Thursday May 6th 1824: At House of Commons. Dined at University Club. Hume made his motion on [the] Irish church. Young Stanley spoke against the motion, but did not answer Hume: he answered a pamphlet which he quoted, and a proposition which Hume never made; but there was a good deal of what is called "parliamentary eloquence" in his address. He was loudly cheered by [the] ministers at sitting down. Canning watched, and seemed delighted with him – he was complimented by all speakers.

Now, he is certainly clever, being only twenty-three years old, and would be applauded were he not a grandson and heir of the Earl of Derby, but he would not be reckoned a prodigy, nor would he have been so much cheered had he spoken against, instead of for, the church – nor had he not spoken against his own political friends instead of for them. This sort of apparent candour and boldness is always highly

68: Not recorded in Hansard.

69: H. speaks at length against treadmills: Hansard XI (1824), pp.511-24.

70: "<by> <xxx/xx>" (Ms.)

71: *The Oriental Herald and Colonial Review* (1824-38 app.) ed. James Silk Buckingham.

72: Pilpay, or Bidpai, is a collection of Sanskrit fables, translated into English in 1747.

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esteemed by parliamentary majorities. Plunkett called Stanley's tone and style "manly" and "lofty", and young Clive, speaking to me of him, said, "his speech was so noble and so bold – not currying⁷³ popularity": forgetting that Stanley took the popular side as far as parliament is concerned.

Plunkett made a most impudent and bare-faced speech. Burdett answered him, and spoke part of the time very finely (his first appearance this session); but Hume's reply was one of the best ever heard – he tore Plunkett to pieces – spoke nearly an hour, after having made an opening speech of three hours. We divided, 79 against 152, at past two.

Friday May 7th 1824: At House of Commons committee. Rode. Dined at Holland House. Dumont there. Lord Holland [was] as usual the most agreeable man at the table. We were talking of the duel yesterday between Battier and Lord Londonderry. Lord Londonderry said that when Pitt fought Tierney,⁷⁴ Lord Harrowby said, "Pitt – take care of your pistol – it is hair-trigger!" – Pitt held it up and said, "I do not see the hair"!! Such was his learning as to small arms.

Lord Lauderdale, talking of the late division against the Unitarian Marriage Bill, when the Chancellor beat Lord Liverpool by thirty-nine, said that he had asked the Lord Chancellor how he came off so victorious – "Why," said Eldon, "how could it be otherwise? I had the Thirty-Nine Articles for me!!" – another proof how jocose these pious men can be on sacred subjects.

After dinner Lord Holland showed me a cancelled page-leaf, 113 and 114, of Gibbon's *House of Brunswick*,⁷⁵ describing the efforts made by the Countess Matilda to induce one of her husbands to know her carnally. It was thought by Gibbon that this might be thought disrespectful to [the] House of Brunswick, and he cancelled the whole page – but Lord Sheffield gave Lord Holland the leaf as originally printed.

I stayed talking politics in a corner with Lord Holland till twelve o'clock. I told him one or two good things I had heard of Canning through Bowring, who has had several interview with Canning of late, on Greek affairs. Canning owned to Bowring that the present Spanish government had falsified their promises to him several times. Lord John Russell told me today that Lord Lansdowne had mentioned to him the rumour of his coming into office, and laughed at it. It originated from a story of his having been seen coming out of the Duke of York's, "Which," said he, "is not true, and if I had been coming into office would not have been likely to be true".

73: "curring" (Ms.) "craving" (in pencil, above).

74: In 1796.

75: Gibbon's *Memoirs of the House of Brunswick*, republished 1815 as part of his *Miscellaneous Works*, edited by Sheffield. Source for *Parisina*.

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Lady Holland told me that Lord Spencer told her he knew the writs for a new parliament were ready. Lord Holland owned to me that Canning and Brougham were disliked by their respective adherents.

Saturday May 8th 1824: Rode in Park with Burdett. Dined at [the] Beefsteaks, and was sworn a member on the raw rump. Morris sang⁷⁶ beautifully. He is a wonderful man for seventy-eight.

Sunday May 9th 1824: **Wrote journal** for a month. Going to dine at Whitton for the last time [in] some time, since my father's family are coming up to their new house in Berkeley Square – [N^o] 42 – for which my father gave £8,750.

Rode to Whitton. Fine day. Dined, &c.

Monday May 10th 1824: Rode up to London with Burdett. Dined at Athenian Club.

Tuesday May 11th 1824: Attending House of Commons committees. Dined at home. Tom dined with me.

At House of Commons, Lord Althorpe's debate on [the] state of Ireland – not over till near three in the morning. Minority of 136 against 184 – we cheered at the declaration of the numbers.

Canning made an often-repeated speech about himself, and [his] reasons for accepting office notwithstanding he could not carry the Catholic question, which, he said, might be better carried by a divided than by an united cabinet. He then alluded to the impossibility of his coalescing with the Whigs, as they would not come in without carrying Reform of Parliament. Old Tierney answered him in his best style – jocularly – and gave him a complete dressing, but said “[the] Whigs were not pledged to Reform”.

Young Stanley tonight made a sort of recantation by speaking shortly [and] strongly on the motion. Mr North made a cut-and-dried speech, like Counsellor Phillips, or Lady Morgan – well-heard at first, but nobody pleased afterwards. Burdett answered, and spoke well.

Wednesday May 12th 1824: Attended a committee of the House of Commons, with Burdett, then rode with him to Twickenham to look at Sir George Pococke's house. Thence to Ellice's at Wyke, where we dined. I rode home at night.

Thursday May 13th 1824: At committee of House of Commons.

76: “sung” (Ms.)

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Dined at Royal Society Club. Met Captain Basil Hall, the writer.⁷⁷ He told me privately some news of Lord Cochrane, very much to his discredit. Said he had committed various acts of piracy in the south – that he could not come home for fear of actions against him, and for fear of the Admiralty, in whose power he was, but who were inclined to act kindly towards him. He owned that Lord Cochrane was as careless of his money when he got it as he was indifferent how he got it. He said Cochrane was now quarrelling with the Emperor of Brazil about prize-money. He summed up his praises by saying he would make a noble buccaneer

I went down to the House of Commons and said a few words on the promotion of the judges. Wodehouse made his motion to continue the Salt Tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer left him in the lurch, and instantly the whole House abandoned him, and he withdrew his motion amidst shouts of laughter.

Dick Martin then made his motion, to increase the salaries of high official and judicial characters. Not a soul seconded him, and we all laughed again. Peel said, however, that he should soon propose to raise the judges' salaries. Then I spoke,⁷⁸ and I think carried the House with me, against the promotion of puisne judges. There was no motion before the House, and the matter dropped.

HOBHOUSE'S DIARY ACCOUNT OF THE DESTRUCTION OF BYRON'S MEMOIRS

[*Edited from BL. Add. Mss. 56548 73v-87v*]

Byron first mentions the intention of writing his memoirs in a letter to Murray of July 10th 1818.⁷⁹ On October 29th 1819⁸⁰ he reports them as written and as having been given to Moore.

Hobhouse seems never to have read them. Caroline Lamb said they “were of no value – a mere copy-book”. Gifford said “that the whole Memoirs were fit only for a brothel and would damn Lord Byron to certain infamy if published”; Lord Rancliffe had said they were “of a low, pot-house description”; Douglas Kinnaird liked them;⁸¹ Lords Holland and John Russell said they were harmless. “Some of them were agreeable enough” were Holland's words, and Russell gave it as his opinion that “three or four pages were too gross and indelicate for publication”, but that “His early youth in Greece, and his sensibility to the scenes around him, when resting on a rock from the swimming excursions he took from

77: Basil Hall (1788-1844), explored and wrote about voyages in the Pacific rim.

78: Hansard XI (1824), pp.748-9.

79: BLJ VI 59.

80: BLJ VI 235-6.

81: BLJ VIII 91.

the Piraeus, were strikingly described".⁸² Moore thought that "though the second part ... was full of very coarse things yet that (with the exception of three or four lines) the first part contained nothing which on the score of decency, might not be safely published."⁸³

Samuel Rogers claimed to remember an incident from them which related to the wedding day: "... on his marriage-night, Byron suddenly started out of his first sleep; a taper, which burned in the room, was casting a ruddy glare through the crimson curtains of the bed; and he could not help exclaiming, in a voice so loud that he wakened Lady B., 'Good God, I am surely in hell!'"⁸⁴ Byron's letter to Annabella about them⁸⁵ is also relevant.

For Byron's generalised descriptions, see BLJ VI 63-4, 236 and 257. The second part contained all sorts of erotic adventures.

Moore sold the Memoirs to Murray for 2,000 guineas in July 1821⁸⁶ but the money was later converted, at Moore's request, into a loan, redeemable only while Byron lived (this last condition had been forgotten, at the time of the burning, by both Murray and Moore). The arrangement had been suggested by Moore to Longmans on March 20th 1824 and finalised on March 27th.⁸⁷ Moore was trying to raise the money (via a life-insurance) when the news of Byron's death was reported. For Murray's version, see his letter to Wilmot Horton of May 19th 1824.⁸⁸

Both Francis Burdett and Douglas Kinnaird offered to pay Moore the 2,000 guineas so that the memoirs could be destroyed: but, after the burning, it emerged that Moore could no longer have redeemed his loan, Byron being dead. Murray had said that he did not want the money – but it now turned out the memoirs had been his property anyhow!

As will be seen, Hobhouse planned the destruction of Byron's memoirs within minutes of receiving the news of his death. A feeling, current at the time, that all memoirs and biographies were slightly indecent, may play a small part in making him do what he did. But fear of being tarred with the same brush as his libertine friend, now, when he was, as an M.P., respectable, was his main motive. Had he of all people suggested that the Memoirs be placed securely for a sufficiently long

82: LLB 53.

83: *Journal* ed. Dowden, II p. 732.

84: *Table-Talk*, 1952, 193, quoted LBW, p. 251: see also LLB pp. 55-6.

85: BLJ VI 261.

86: See LJ V 242n.

87: *Journal* ed. Dowden, II pp. 720 and 723.

88: Printed LLB p. 30, quoting Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends*.

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period, until no embarrassment could be caused to anyone living, he might have been listened to. As it was, Hobhouse became willing party to the greatest act of vandalism in English literary history.

Tom Moore makes a sad and sympathetic figure here. His motives may in part be proprietorial, material and mercenary (confused, even, as to matters of ascertainable fact), but his voice, the only one in favour of preserving the Memoirs, is, in the long perspective, the only justifiable one.

Hobhouse's measured account underplays the panic which rules all the participants in this degrading drama.

Friday May 14th 1824: This morning at a little after eight o'clock I was roused by a loud tapping at my door, and on getting up had a packet of letters put into my hand, signed "Sidney Osborne"⁸⁹ on the outside, with the words "By Express" above, and also a short note from Kinnaird. I anticipated some dreadful news, and on opening Kinnaird's note, found that Lord Byron was dead. In an agony of grief such as I have experienced only twice before in my life – once when I lost my dear friend Charles Skinner Matthews⁹⁰ in 1811, and afterwards when at Paris I heard my brother Benjamin had been killed at Waterloo / Quatre Bras⁹¹ – I opened the dispatches from Corfu, and there saw the details of the fatal event.

The letters were from Lord Sidney Osborne to me, from Count Gamba, Lord Byron's companion,⁹² to me, from Count Gamba to Lord Sidney Osborne, and from the same to our Consul at Zante.⁹³ Besides these there were letters from Fletcher, Byron's valet, to Mrs Leigh,⁹⁴ to Captain George (now Lord) Byron, and to (Fletcher's) his wife. Also there were four copies of a Greek proclamation by the provincial Government of Missolonghi, with a translation.⁹⁵ The whole of these documents spoke the intense grief of everybody at this great calamity. The proclamation described my dear departed friend's illness of ten days – the public anxiety during that period – his death – the universal dejection and almost despair ... then the proclamation decreed that all the shops should be shut for three days, that the Easter festivals should be suspended, that a general mourning of twenty days should

89: Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne (1789-1861) was the son of Augusta's mother's first husband by his second marriage (sic). He had visited B. in Venice, and was now Secretary of State to Maitland on the Ionian Islands.

90: Matthews had drowned in the Cam on 2 Aug 1811. See 7 Aug 1811 and BB 75.

91: See 7 July 1815 and BB 220 n1.

92: Pietro Gamba, Teresa Guiccioli's brother.

93: Sir Frederick Stoven; see BLJ XI 100.

94: See below.

95: The proclamation is printed in H.'s translation at *Gamba* 268-9.

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take place, and that at sunrise the next morning, the twentieth of April, thirty-seven minute guns should be fired from the batteries of the town to commemorate the age of the deceased – he was in his thirty-seventh year.

I read this proclamation over and over again in order to find some consolation in the glorious conclusion of his life for the loss of such a man – but in vain: all our ancient and most familiar intercourse – the pleasure I had enjoyed in looking back to the days of our amusements at home and our travels abroad – the fond hope with which I had contemplated over again in our own country renewing the more than brotherly union which had bound us together – all our tokens of regard – nay even our trifling differences – all burst upon me and rendered me alive only to the deprivation I was now doomed to endure.

Afterwards I saw the account of his last illness by Fletcher in a letter to Mrs Leigh⁹⁶ – which letter she copied for me. The reading this letter tore my heart to pieces. It showed the boundless and tender attachment of all about him to my dear, dear friend – I shall keep it for ever. It seems he had but imperfectly recovered from the violent epileptic fit which had seized him on the 15th of February⁹⁷ – he had even had a slight return of it – but his death was owing to his being caught in a hard shower of rain when riding near Missolonghi. A fever ensued – he refused to be bled, and his physicians, young men, did not press him much but put it off from day to day. Fletcher says he was on his knees with tears in his eyes and implored him to be bled – at last he consented,⁹⁸ but Fletcher says it was then too late – he became delirious – and then for the last twenty-four hours neither spoke nor moved.⁹⁹ He died on the nineteenth of April at six o'clock in the evening. It is most afflicting to think that with good care he might have recovered, and yet it is possible that in his very reduced state he might not have been able to bear bleeding. To fancy that he might have been saved, and was not, doubles our regret. I shall take some calmer moment for recording some of the particulars of this calamity.

I sent for Sir Francis Burdett and Mr Kinnaird – both of whom were much afflicted ... the former kindly undertook the painful duty of informing Mrs Leigh of the event, the latter transmitted other letters from Lord Sidney Osborne to various

96: Fletcher's letter to Augusta.

97: For this fit, see above, April 12th 1824; *Marchand* III 1181; and BLJ XI 113 (B.'s journal); XI 117 (letter to Kinnaird); XI 121 (letter to Augusta); XI 123 (letter to Murray) XI 125 (letter to Moore). No letter to H. describing it is known.

98: The ill-advised ride was on 9 Apr 1824; B. took to his bed on 12 Apr; he was bled twice on 17 Apr, at intervals thereafter (certainly a primary cause of his death); and died on 19 Apr.

99: According to *Gamba* (p.265) B. was in fact inarticulate during his last twenty-four hours.

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correspondents, and went to the evening newspaper office to make the intelligence public by the speediest means.

After the first access of grief was over I then determined to lose no time in doing my duty by preserving all that was left to me of my dear friend – his fame: my thoughts were turned to the Memoirs of his Life, given to Thomas Moore, and deposited by him in Mr Murray's hands for certain considerations.¹⁰⁰ It had so happened that a few days before Thomas Moore had told me that he had made an effort to get the Memoirs out of Mr Murray's hands by coming to some arrangement with Messrs Longman's the booksellers, who had promised to advance him 2,000 guineas on his insuring his life,¹⁰¹ which soon would enable Moore to repay Murray the loan advanced to him. I was not aware whether or not the money had actually been paid to Murray, and consequently in whose hands the Memoirs were.

I called on Kinnaird, it being agreed that Burdett and I should dine with him. Kinnaird very generously wrote a letter to Moore offering to give him £2,000 at once in order to secure the Mss. in whose ever hands it was, for the family of Lord Byron – that is to say, in order to destroy the same Mss.¹⁰² Burdett came in before the note was written, and he also offered to give the £2,000. I said I should be glad to give £1,000, or whatever I could, for such a purpose, but Kinnaird persisted in sending his note, and it was sent. Kinnaird said at the same time that he doubted not the family of Lord Byron or Lady Byron would see the propriety of repaying the money.

We had a melancholy evening, recalling to mind the various excellencies of our dear friend – I shall never forget this dreadful day ...

100: B. first mentions the intention of writing his memoirs in a letter to Murray of 10 July 1818 (BLJ VI 59); on 29 Oct 1819 (BLJ VI 235-6) he reports them as written and as having been given to Moore: he also says "It only comes up to 1816" (BLJ VI 232). Moore had sold them to Murray for 2,000 guineas, but the money was then converted into a redeemable loan, and Moore was trying to raise the money (see next note) when B. died. For Murray's version, see his letter to Wilmot Horton of 19 May 1824, printed LLB 30.

101: This arrangement had been suggested by Moore to Longmans on 20 Mar and finalised on 27 Mar. See Moore, *Journal* ed. Dowden II 720 and 723.

102: H. does not seem to have read the memoirs ("in 78 folio sheets" – BLJ VI 235). Gifford said they would be damaging to B.'s name; Lord Rancliffe had said they were "of a low, pot-house description"; Kinnaird liked them (BLJ VIII 91); Lords Holland and John Russell said they were harmless enough, and publishable with a few excisions. Moore thought that "though the second part ... was full of very coarse things yet that (with the exception of three or four lines) the first part contained nothing which on the score of decency, might not be safely published" (*Journal* II 732). For B.'s generalised descriptions of them, see BLJ VI 63-4, 236 and 257.

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I should have mentioned <the Saturday Mr> [that] at Mrs Leigh's desire I called on her – she was in a <dreadful> afflicting condition. She gave me Fletcher's letter to read, and I could not restrain my sorrow, but again burst out in uncontrollable lamentation: but when recovered I thought it right to engage Mrs Leigh not to communicate, to any but the nearest friends, one part of the letter, which mentioned that since Lord Byron's fit on the fifteenth of February, he had placed on his breakfast table a *bible* every morning. This circumstance, which pleased his valet Fletcher, I was afraid might be mistaken for cowardice or hypocrisy,¹⁰³ and I was anxious that no idle stories to his discredit should get abroad. I dare say that the bible was on his table – I have long recollected his having one near him – it was a volume given to him by his sister,¹⁰⁴ and I remember well seeing it on his table at Pisa in 1822; but, unless his mind was shaken by disease, I am confident he made no superstitious use of it – that is to say, I am confident that although he might have a general belief in its contents, he was not overcome by any religious terrors. He has often said to me, “It may be true – it is, as D'Alembert said, a *grand peut-être*”;¹⁰⁵ but I own that I think he was rather inclined to take the opposite line of thinking when I saw him at Pisa, for when I remonstrated with him on the freedom of some of his later writing in that respect, he said, “What, are you canting?” He then protested he would tell his opinions boldly, let what would be the consequences. Both Burdett and Kinnaid were anxious as well as myself that no rumours prejudicial to his fame respecting his last moments should get abroad – and we therefore resolved to know the contents of Fletcher's letters to Mr Murray and to his wife. This we accomplished by giving those letters to the parties themselves – Mr Murray read the letter for him to me, and Mrs Fletcher did the same for Kinnaid – they contained nothing but the expression that “my lord died a good Xtian”.

Mrs Leigh seemed to view the subject in the same point of view as myself, and promised to be discreet. Captain George Byron (now, alas, Lord Byron) went down this evening to Beckenham in Kent to communicate the tidings to Lady Byron.

[NOT IN DIARY: Fletcher's letter to Murray announcing Byron's death:
(Source: National Library of Scotland Ms.42445)]

103: B.'s increased interest in religion when in Greece is well-testified by James Kennedy and others. See *Marchand* III 1104-5 and 1125-7.

104: B. to Murray, 9 Oct 1821: “Send ... a common bible of a good legible print (bound in Russia) I *have* one – but as it was the last gift of my Sister (whom I shall probably never see again) I can only use it carefully” (BLJ VIII 237-8).

105: The phrase was not said by d'Alembert, but is attributed to Rabelais, on his death-bed: “Je m'en vais chercher un grand peut-être”. See CMP 186.

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To John Murray Esqre
April 21 1824

Missolonghi

Sir,

Forgive me for this Intrusion which I now am under the Painfull Necessity of wrighting to you to Inform you of the Mallancolly News of my Lord Byron whom his no more he Departed This Miserable Life on the 19 of april after an Illness of only 10 Days his Lordship Began by a Nervious Feaver and Terminated with an Inflammation on the Brain for want of being Bled in time which his Lordship Refused till it was Too Late I have Sent the Honble Mrs Leighs Letter Inclosed in yours which I think would Be Better for you to open and Explain to Mrs Leigh For I fear the Contents of the Letter will be too much For her And You will Please to Inform Lady Byron and the Honble Miss Byron whom I am wished to See when I Return with My Lords effects & his Dear and Noble Remains Sir you will Please Mannage in the Most Mildest way possable <every P> or I am Much affraid of the Consequences Sir you will Please Give my Duty to Lady Byron Hoping She will Allow me to see Her by my Lords Pertickeler wish and Miss Byron Likewise Please to Excuse all Deffects for I Scarseley Now what I either Say or Do for after 20 Years Servies To My Lord he was More to me then a father And I am too much Distressed to now Give a Correct Account of every Pertickeler which I hope to Do at my arrival in England Sir you will Likewise have the Goodness to Forward the Letter to the Honble Capt George Byron whom Has the Representative of the family & Title I thought it my duty to Send him a Line But you Sir will Please to Explain To him all Pertickelers has I have not time has the Express his now Ready to Make his voyage Day and Night Till he arrives In London I must Sir Praying forgiveness and Hopeing at the Same time that you will so far Oblige Me has to Execute all my wishes which I am well Convinced you will Not Refuse I Remain Sir

your Most Obt & Verry Humble

Servant W Fletcher

Valet To the Late L. B. For 20 years.

PS

I Mention My name and Capacity that you may Remember & forgive this when You Remember the Quantity of times I have been at your home in Albemarle Street

To John Murray Esqr
50 Albemarle St
London
Angleterre

January 1st-July 16th 1824: Byron's death and funeral

Inghilterra

By Express]

Saturday May 15th 1824: I sent for Mr Murray, to give him Fletcher's letter¹⁰⁶ and also to sound him respecting the Memoirs – for I own I did him the injustice to think he might prove the obstacle to their destruction. He came. Whilst he was with me Tom Moore's card was put into my hand, and Moore was shown into the other room.

Murray was truly affected. He proceeded to speak of the Memoirs – told me they were still in his hands, that Moore had talked of paying the money, but had not done it. He then added that he had thought of giving up the MSS at once to Mr Wilmot Horton,¹⁰⁷ to be by him delivered to Lady Byron or Mrs Leigh – as for the money he had advanced to Moore, he did not care whether he got it or not.

It is as well to record here that after Moore had found out that Lord Holland and others, as well as myself, disapprove very much of the original transaction respecting the Memoirs – namely that Moore should raise money on them, and that they should be published at Lord Byron's death – he had determined to alter the nature of the agreement between himself and Murray, to which Murray very generously, as Moore told me at the time, consented. He gave the MSS into Murray's keeping, but he gave Murray a bond for 2,000 guineas that Murray lent him on the occasion, and he cancelled the original assignment, or rather explained it away by another agreement, which was drawn up and signed by both parties, so that in fact Moore was a simple debtor to Murray of 2,000 guineas, and the Memoirs were in fact only a sort of honourable pledge to induce Moore to repay the money and recover the MSS I was not aware until afterwards of the exact nature of this agreement, as will be seen.

—
—

Seeing Murray in the proper frame of mind, I ventured to say to him that he should not lose the 2,000 which he had lent to Moore, and that I would undertake, if he delivered the MSS up to Mrs Leigh, that he should be repaid what he had advanced. He made no difficulty about this, but said as he had communicated with Mr Wilmot Horton, he should like that gentleman to be a party to the transaction. I made no objection, of course.

106: See previous item.

107: The cousin of B. and Augusta who had acted for Annabella during the separation. Then he had been simply Wilmot; an inheritance had enabled him to add Horton to the name. LLB 24 says that he and his wife were at this time still acting as agents for Annabella.

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I then spoke to him of the many letters of Lord Byron in his possession, and conjured him to destroy whatever writing of his might be discreditable to his fame. Murray solemnly promised he would do so.¹⁰⁸ He went away.

I called in Thomas Moore – his first address showed me the difference between his feelings and the bookseller's. He began talking about some work of mine. We then went to business about the Memoirs. He complained of Murray – he said he had received Kinnaird's note – he would not let anyone pay the money – he would pay the money himself – he thought it shameful that Murray had not told me the MSS were his (Moore's). He had no objection to delivering the MSS to Mrs Leigh, but he would do it himself – he would have the grace of this sacrifice himself.¹⁰⁹ He would take the MSS home with him.

All this rather pleased me except the latter part – I did not like his taking the MSS home, considering all that had passed before – especially as he told me that he had suffered several people to see the MSS abroad, and that Lady Burghersh at Florence¹¹⁰ had actually copied a great part of them – which copy, however, Moore had seen her burn. I could not help expressing my astonishment that Moore should have ever shown the MSS, much less have suffered them to be taken out of his sight. He told me Lord Byron had wished him to do so – but he afterwards owned that Lord Byron's expressions were "*Show them to the elect*". Now it was impossible Byron should mean by these words any person to whom Moore wished to show his intimacy with Lord Byron – which was the true motive for showing about these unjustifiable Memoirs. Moore also told me that the first part of the Memoirs contained nothing objectionable except one anecdote, namely, that Lord Byron *had* Lady Byron on the sofa before dinner on the day of their marriage¹¹¹ – and Moore actually showed this to Lady

108: So far as can be ascertained, Murray did not keep this promise: though see LLB 23 and 43 for evidence that he sincerely wanted the Memoirs destroyed.

109: "The grace of the sacrifice" would convey a Christian, redemptive value on Moore's pusillanimity.

110: Subsequently the Countess of Westmoreland, and an enemy of Lady Blessington. See 18 May 1814 for H.'s meeting with her mother.

111: Repeated *Marchand* II 510. Samuel Rogers claimed to remember another incident from the Memoirs which related to the wedding day: "... on his marriage-night, Byron suddenly started out of his first sleep; a taper, which burned in the room, was casting a ruddy glare through the crimson curtains of the bed; and he could not help exclaiming, in a voice so loud that he wakened Lady B., 'Good God, I am surely in hell!'" (*Table-Talk*, 1952, 193, quoted LBW 251: see also LLB 55-6). B.'s letter to Annabella, BLJ VI 261, is also relevant.

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Burghersh and others!!!¹¹² When I told this to Burdett, he said, "He ought to have had his brains knocked out for doing so – that, is for showing it".¹¹³

The second part contained all sorts of erotic adventures, and Gifford of the *Quarterly*, who read it at Murray's request, said that the whole Memoirs were fit only for a brothel, and would damn Lord Byron to certain infamy if published.¹¹⁴ Knowing all this, I was anxious to get the MSS destroyed at once,¹¹⁵ so I proposed that Moore should walk with me to Douglas Kinnaird's. We went there and found Douglas Kinnaird at home. Kinnaird entered at once into my views, but agreed with Moore that he ought to have the grace of the sacrifice as the property was his. Kinnaird then drew out a paper in these words as a guide for me in communication with Murray:

Mr Moore has the right to demand from Mr Murray the restoration of the MSS on paying him (Mr Murray) £2,000 for which he holds Mr Moore's bond at this time and the MSS as the security for the same, Mr Moore proposes to meet Mr Murray at Mrs Leigh's house and in her presence to pay over to Mr Murray the MSS and to hand them over to Mrs Leigh to be entirely at her own absolute disposal.

Moore agreed to this paper, only saying that it looked too much like a bargain, and that if his *friends* had transactions with him, they would have trusted more to his honour. He then said (what I shall never forget), "I hope after this sacrifice that if any memoirs are to be written, the family will give me the preference". Kinnaird said, "I think they ought". I added, "Why – that must be for consideration".¹¹⁶

Here was a specimen of a poet's friendship!! it was like Rousseau consoling himself for Claude Anet's loss by thinking he should get his old coat!¹¹⁷

I went to Murray's with my paper.¹¹⁸ Murray agreed to it, with this addition:

112: LLB 47 lists Lady Burghersh, Lady Davy, Lord and Lady Holland, Richard Hoppner, Washington Irving, Lady Jersey, Lord Kinnaird and Douglas Kinnaird, Henry Luttrell, Lady Mildmay, Lord Rancliffe, Lord John Russell, three copyists, William Gifford, William McGinn, Lady Caroline Lamb, Percy and Mary Shelley, and (possibly) Samuel Rogers, as having read the Memoirs.

113: Not that B. had had no right to consummate his marriage with such precipitation.

114: Gifford would probably have said the same about *The Song of Solomon*.

115: H. gets his information about the Memoirs from others: a strong desire *not* to read them may be inferred.

116: Moore did later write the authorised biography of B.: but with no help from H.

117: Claude Anet was the assistant and fellow-herbalist of Rousseau's *Maman*, Madame de Warens. He died of a pleurisy: see *Confessions* V for the thought relating to his coat – of which Rousseau is at once ashamed.

118: He wrote a note in case Murray wasn't there: see LLB 27.

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2,000 guineas with interest and the collateral expenses of stamps, agreement, bond, &c. already disbursed by Mr Murray.

I undertook for this additional sum. Murray then said that, having spoken to Mr Wilmot Horton, he wished that gentleman to be present on the occasion when the MSS were burnt.

I left Murray and called on Mrs Leigh – told her of the purposed destruction of the MSS – she did not at first understand it – but was much pleased afterwards.¹¹⁹

Captain George Byron came into us – he was much affected – he had seen Lady Byron, and told me she was in a distressing state. She had said she had no right to be considered by Lord Byron's friends, but she had her feelings. She wished to see any accounts that had come of his last moments. I agreed to send my letters down to her by Captain Byron, and I did so.

This day I dined with my family in Berkeley Square.

[NOT IN DIARY: Fletcher's letter to Augusta announcing Byron's death (this transcription is from a copy made by Augusta. Source: National Library of Scotland Ms.42445)

To the Hon^{ble} M^{rs} Leigh
1824

Missolonghi – 20 Ap^l

Madam

I am sorry to be under the painful obligation of writing you the most disagreeable *Letter*, that I *ever* to this *unfortunate moment* had *ever* to *write*, not only for *me* or *you*, but the World in general –

How I shall be able to proceed – or pronounce the fatal *word*, which my duty *demands* from *me* as a faithful Servant – but proceed I must tho' it costs *me* *tears* of *blood* – In the first place on the 15th of Feb^y My Lord was attacked with a Convulsive fit which was after a quarter of an hour or less was quite gone off – But the remembrance of it was followed up by the most strictest and lowest and *moderate* way of *Living* – so much so that his Lordship would not even take a dish of Fish, which is the only good thing we have here – & My Lord was [taken] afterwards but more

119: She seems not to have been worried that B. had been too frank about their relationship. LLB 23 suggests that her “distaste” was dictated to her by Annabella. See LLB 25-7 for her letter to Annabella of the night following this, where she describes her interview with H.; she attributes her incomprehension to “nervousness”.

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slightly, with another Convulsive Fit – but with much exercise, with walking quick, it went off with a slight Head ache, & slow fever went off – But the effect of the first & then this slight attack the second time, made My Lord doubly attentive both to his maxim of low living & the more greater duty of a good Christian, which I am happy to say My Lord studied most fervently, for the *Bible* was placed on his Lordships Breakfast Table as regularly as his simple cup of Tea which his Lordship always drank without either Cream or Sugar – Now, Madam, I must proceed with my fatal history, which to the 10th of April was in every respect well – excepting a cold which I did not wonder at, this [place] being so very low & every sort of the most *disagreeable filths* in every part of the Town, with stagnated dirty *water* which makes the people die by scores in a day – My Lord still continued with this slight cold & a violent pain in his Bones, for which I daily applied the Flesh Bark with a composition of Camphor Oil &c which my Lord's Doctor prepared – On the 10th of April, My Lord took his ride out as was his daily practice & a very heavy rain came on and my Lord was very wet, & in the Evening of the same day, My Lord complained of a violent head ache & slight fever, which daily increased – on the 3^d day in the Evening I begun to be very much alarmed, & I even went down on my knees, to beg permission of My Lord & with tears in my eyes – well knowing how serious it was in losing one moment in saving the life of so kind a Lord & Master & so kind & generous a friend to every one in distress of whatever nation or religion – Jew – Turk or Infidel – which every one of each of these Tribes has received from his generous hands, most liberally – Now I must proceed with my Lord's answer to me on the subject – he says “Oh no it will be of no use for I shall either be better or *dead* before I can have an answer from D^r Thomas or his arrival” – I replied – [“]My Lord pray don't let the Doctors deceive you for I am convinced your illness is serious” – My Lord replied, “The Doctors say it will be over in a few days and I shall be quite well in a week if I take care of myself which I shall certainly do” – – I went to the Doctors & explained to them my wish to have an English Doctor of long & very great experience – D^r Thomas whom My Lord acknowledges to be a man of very great Experience & a very sincere *friend*; they answered, if my Lord by any ways should have a change for the worse D^r Thomas' arrival would be too late – Very well – My Lord[s] illness continued with still more violence & my Lord still refused to be let blood – on the 7th (day) I still found my Lord worse & I requested My Lord once more for D^r Thomas to come – [to] which my Lord said “I wish you w^d write for I should like to know what is the matter with me, & never mind the expences –” very well. I went & got a Man & Boat to go to Zante with orders to spare neither Men or Money – Zante being a distance of 70 or 80 Miles & to my & all the World's Misfortune, he could not be in time – & my Lord still refused to be let Blood till at last I went to his Lordship to not lose one moment in having 6 or 8 ounces of Blood took from his Lordship – which he at last consented, and the Doctor took at least 8 ounces, which as soon as I saw, I said My Lord will never be better in this

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world – for I saw that his Blood was quite gone – in such a state of Inflammation that there was not more than ½ an ounce of real Blood in the 8 ounces – I prayed again for my Lord to allow the Doctors to take a few ounces more, which he at last agreed to – I was quite happy to see the second much better – but it was too late for the Blood had begun to rise & flow in his Lordship's head, which affected his Brains and caused an Inflammation – My only blame which I can lay to the Doctors is this – for not being more positive in their request of taking blood from My Lord, when they so well knew the consequences of his refusal – The Doctors were both too young & was too much afraid of my Lord's displeasure to do their Duty – saying we will then put it off till tomorrow – and tomorrow was too late – there was on the 18th a consultation 4 Doctors which was here – They came to the resolutions of giving My Lord Bark – My Lord even before this was delirious at times & I never left him for a minute night or day – My Lord on the 18th began to make sure of his speedy dissolution & was beginning to give me several orders – first that I should instantly come to see Miss Byron – “and then you must go to my poor dear Sister & tell them all.” ... and then were Delirious for a short time, and then he came to his reason for a few minutes, & began saying “I should like to do something for you, Tita, & Luca –” I cried out, pray give your other orders of more consequence than these He said *I have a great deal to tell of me which I hope you will see done, for I feel I am going –* My Lord I replied, I will with my life my Lord do every thing to the utmost in my power – “I know you will Fletcher” he replied & then was delirious again & began to talk at random for a few minutes – which might be 5 minutes, then came to his Reason – and said, “You will go to my Wife & say that” But could go on no farther, & then he turned again to me in such a faltering voice that I could not understand a word – he still very earnestly continued talking to me – once more I understood so far as, “Now you will be sure to attend to all these orders” – I said shall I write them down – my Lord said – “No – there is not time” - & was gone again at quite a delirious state for a few minutes – when he again commenced saying, “Now pay great attention to all I say” My Lord now again got me by the hand saying “*be sure mind all I say*” – and at this moment his voice began to falter & I was not able to distinguish one word from another – My Lord continued talking for more than a quarter of an hour – I may say nearly half an hour, when My Lord said quite plain – “Now I have told you all which I hope you will attend to –” I answered my Lord I am very sorry, but I have not understood one word, which I hope you will now tell me over again – My Lord – in great agitation said, “*then if you have not understood me it is now too late*” – & in a faltering low voice repeated, “*I am truly sorry you have not understood me – but I will try to make you understand me again – but I know well it is too late now*” – and in a minute's time all was over – for my Lord was delirious & continued so, excepting now & then a single word from 4 o'clock till 6 – after which My Lord – how shall I pronounce the fatal word – my hand trembles & my tongue forbids the naming of the fatal word but my

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duty to the best of Lords & kindest of Masters bids me to proceed – tho it costs me tears of Blood – So it was now 6 o clock on the 18th – after that my Lord never spoke nor moved even hand or foot to 6 o clock on the 19th – when he breathed his last – without even a sigh or a groan – I was watching by him as usual, when I perceived him open his eyes – when I said to the Doctors – “Feel his pulse – for I fear him gone” – which they did & cried “it is too true” – & then he shut them never to open them again, but went without even a sigh or a groan or moving hand or foot – Now Hon^d Madam I hope I have done my duty in stating every thing that time will permit – but have so many things to say when I see you – My Lord told me you had been very ill – I hope Madam you are quite recovered & that your amiable family is all quite well, is the Prayer of Y^r most Obed^t & Humble Servant at Command – We have every thing done which can be done for My Lord's removal to England, as soon as every thing is settled – and all Papers & Property is sealed by Prince Maverecordati with the Government seal of Greece – I have not time to add more as the Council is waiting for the letter to bring them to you, with the fatal news as quick as possible – I have only to add that My Lord died a good Christian & was it possible for the tears of Greece as well as England to restore My Lord, he would be instantly restored to Life eternal – but I am convinced My Lord is much happier for his good deeds will be recorded as long as the world exists, with honor to his existing Family & Friends – Count Peter Gamba comes with my Lord & the Italian Doctor whom my Lord had brought from Genoa & myself & Tita my Lord's footman – and all the property of every description which shall be safe rendered into your *hands* – I must conclude by my Prayers for you to receive this fatal news with the consolation of being certain My Lord is much happier than any of us – I remain Hon^d Mad^m

Yr most obed^t & very humble
but very miserable Serv^t
W.Fletcher

Sunday May 16th 1824: Moore and Kinnaird called. I communicated Murray's assent to the proposal – Moore then began to abuse Murray, and he also threw out hints again that he did not think his feelings of honour had been sufficiently relied upon – “He might have been trusted,” &c., &c., but he would do what he had promised. The money was ready and would be paid tomorrow at twelve. Kinnaird said the sooner the better. I mentioned that Murray had said he hoped if any memoirs were published he should have the preference – Tom Moore decried this, forgetting he had made the very same stipulation. Kinnaird went away, he being on the moment of departing for Scotland.

Moore began to talk on the same subject. He then, for the first time, said he would not be present at the burning of the MSS I told him I thought he had better be there – it

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would be a satisfaction to him to be able to say hereafter, if any spurious work appeared, "I saw the Memoirs burnt" – he said no, but he would think of it. He talked of Lord Byron's friendships, and said he had told him in his last letter that he never felt safe when absent from him – that he feared stones might be suddenly generated in the higher regions of his fancy and even in the serenest sky might drop down and crush him (Moore). Byron's answer to this was pettish¹²⁰ – I told Moore that Byron did not like being suspected.

Moore then asked me if we had been as good friends during our last interview at Pisa in 1822 as we used to be!!!¹²¹ – a delicate question, quite of a piece with all the other conduct of Tom Moore respecting Byron – whom I am confident he did not like, and never forgave for his satire in *English Bards &c.* against him.¹²²

Moore at last went away, agreeing to be at Mrs Leigh's with the money next day at twelve. Sir Francis Burdett called. My dear sisters Sophia and Matilda came. When Burdett was gone, I showed them the copy of Fletcher's letter to Mrs Leigh, and went upstairs – on coming down I found them in floods of tears, such had been the effect of this simple narrative of the last moments of my dear friend on their tender hearts. They continued weeping during their visit.

Indeed, I see by the papers that the regret is universal – the loss is felt to be a national loss.¹²³ Party feeling is suspended in the contemplation of the genius of our fellow-countryman, and of sympathy with him for the great cause, to promote which he may fairly be said to have died. The *Times* of yesterday announced his death in a manner which is I think a fair sample of the general opinion in this event.

The writer, is, however, mistaken in saying that others may have "been more tenderly beloved than Lord Byron",¹²⁴ for no man ever lived who had such devoted friends. His power of attaching those about him was such as no-one I ever knew possessed – no human being could approach him without being sensible of this

120: There are no references to falling stones in either of B.'s last two extant letters to Moore (BLJ XI 84-5 and 125-6): Moore may have edited them out.

121: "No", would have been the answer. See 20 Sep 1822.

122: *English Bards, and Scotch Reviewers* lines 128, 287-94, 343 and 348, where Moore is referred to as "Little" except in a pun ("sin no more") at line 294; and 490 and 921, where he is simply "Moore".

123: Not strictly true. The *Courier* obituary is half-hearted, and *John Bull* malicious. For *The Times* and *John Bull*, see LLB 54.

124: *The Times* wrote: "There were individuals more to be approved of for moral qualities than Lord Byron – to be more safely followed, or more tenderly beloved; but there lives no man on earth whose sudden departure from it, under the circumstances in which that nobleman was cut off, appears to us more calculated to impress the mind with profound and unmingled mourning" (quoted LLB 54).

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magical influence. There was something commanding but not overawing in his manner. He was neither grave nor gay out of place, and he seemed always made for that company in which he found himself.¹²⁵ There was a mildness and yet a decision in his mode of conversing, and even in his address, which are seldom united in the same person. He appeared exceedingly free, open, and unreserved with everybody, yet he contrived at all times to retain just as much self-restraint as to preserve the respect of even his most intimate friends – so much so that those who lived most with him were seldom if ever witnesses of any weakness of character that could sink him in their esteem. He was full of sensibility, but he did not suffer his feelings to betray him into absurdities. There never was a person who by his air, deportment, and appearance altogether <gave one> decidedly persuaded you at once that he was well-born and well-bred – he was, as Kinnaird said of him, “a gallant gentleman”.¹²⁶

The influence he had acquired in Greece was extraordinary, and he had exerted it in a manner most useful to her cause. Lord Sidney Osborne, writing to Mrs Leigh, says that had he never written a line in his life he had <already> done enough in the last six months in Greece to immortalise his name. He adds that no-one unacquainted with the circumstances of the case can have any idea of the difficulties he has overcome: he has reconciled the contending parties, he has given a character of humanity and civilisation to their warfare, and he has contrived to prevent their offending their powerful neighbours in the Ionian Islands.¹²⁷ Sir Frederick Adam, in a dispatch to Lord Bathurst,¹²⁸ bears testimony, I hear, to his great qualities, and laments his death as depriving the Ionian government of the only man with whom they could act with safety.

His friend Gamba says in his letter to me that, “though cut off in the flower of his age in the midst of his hopes”, Byron will “always be regarded” as the saviour of

125: For B.'s own feelings about this quality, see *Don Juan*, his note to XVI 97, 4: “In French, *Mobilité*. I am not sure that mobility is English – but it is expressive of a quality which rather belongs to other climates – though it is sometimes seen to a great extent in our own. It may be defined as an excessive susceptibility of *immediate* impressions, at the same time without *losing* the past, and is – though sometimes apparently useful to the possessor - a most painful and unhappy attribute. – – –”

126: *Henry V* IV viii 82.

127: That is, the English, oppressing another part of Greece in their own way. Osborne's is an idealised account of B.'s influence on the Greeks

128: Sir Frederick Adam (1781-1853) Lord High Commissioner on the Ionian Islands, and Earl Bathurst, (1762-1834) Secretary for War and the Colonies.

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Greece – “always!” Mavrocordato, in his letter to Bowring,¹²⁹ calls him “a *great* man”, and confesses himself almost ignorant how to act when deprived of such a coadjutor.

Monday May 17th 1824: On getting up this morning I found two letters on my table, one from Murray, to whom I had written desiring him to be with the MSS at Mrs Leigh's at twelve o'clock, and who now announced that he could not be there, and another from Moore in these words:

Monday morning –

Dear Hobhouse

There has been since I saw you yesterday a sort of *modification* of the agreement then agreed between us which was suggested by my own friends Luttrell, Rogers, and Lord Lansdowne,¹³⁰ and concurred in by Mr Wilmot Horton and Doyle,¹³¹ whom I saw on the subject – I trust that this arrangement will be equally satisfactory to *you* – as the first step towards it I mean to redeem the MSS – this morning from Murray at eleven o'clock (in Albemarle Street) and it would be perhaps as well that you should be there –

Very truly yours

Thomas Moore

I immediately went without breakfasting, and met Moore in Albany Yard.¹³² I expostulated with him on changing his mind respecting the immediate and total destruction of the MSS without reading them. At last I said that he must excuse me for telling him that if the matter were ever publicly discussed I must say what I thought of the whole transaction. He quoted Lord Lansdowne's and Rogers' opinions. I said I cared for no man's opinion – I had his agreement – I was born all my life to be in a minority – but I was certain that in this case there was but one line for a man of honour and for a friend of Lord Byron to take. He proposed my going with him to Luttrell in Albany. I went, but Luttrell agreed to come to me. Moore and I returned to my rooms.

Presently Murray came, and afterwards Luttrell. On hearing that Moore proposed that the MSS should be read, and extracts made for publication, Murray became angry. He sat down, and with a very determined voice and manner protested that the MSS

129: Prince Alexander Mavrocordatos (1791-1865) Greek revolutionary leader respected by B.; and John Bowring (1792-1872) Secretary of the London Greek Committee.

130: Henry Luttrell, a poetaster friend of Moore (see 18 Apr 1815); Samuel Rogers, banker and poet; the Third Marquess of Lansdowne, Whig peer and patron of Moore.

131: Colonel Francis Hastings Doyle and his wife Selina were close friends of Annabella.

132: H. had rooms in the Albany.

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should be burnt forthwith, according to Moore's written proposal. Moore then said that the MSS was his, and that he had now a right to redeem them, upon which Murray said as follows – "I do not care whose the MSS are – here am I as a tradesman – I do not care a farthing about having your money, or whether I ever get it or not – but such regard have I for Lord Byron's honour and fame that I am willing and determined to destroy these MSS which have been read by Mr Gifford, who says they would render Lord Byron's name eternally infamous. It is very hard that I as a tradesman should be willing to make a sacrifice that you as a gentleman will *not* consent to!!" Moore replied something to this, when Murray rose and said, "By God, then I say I will burn the papers, let come what will of it – you agreed to it – you proposed it – you have acted anything but like a man of honour!"

Moore said, "Go on sir, you know you may say what you like".¹³³ Luttrell now and then put in a word, saying he could see no harm in reading the MSS I took the other side, and insisted very strongly on the impropriety of such a proceeding. Moore said that both Wilmot Horton and Colonel Doyle, friends of Lady Byron's family, saw no objection as to the perusal of the MSS I said I could hardly believe that. Murray said that these gentlemen were waiting at his house in order to see the MSS burnt.¹³⁴

On this we agreed all to go to Murray's. We went there. We found Horton and Doyle.¹³⁵ The former had just finished a letter to Murray, which he read us. We then proceeded to discuss the matter. It appeared that Moore had stated a naked case to Doyle and Wilmot Horton, and on this they had given their opinion; but when they came to know of Moore's written proposal – when they came to know of Mrs Leigh's wish that the MSS should be destroyed at once – they both allowed nothing else could be done, and urged the necessity to Moore. I added to this that Lord Byron in 1822 had to me personally certainly expressed himself very strongly as being of my opinion as to the unfitness of making use of the MSS as originally intended.¹³⁶

We had a good deal of squabbling, Moore still struggling against the burning. At last, when the MSS, and a copy made under Moore's inspection, had been brought up, and Wilmot Horton had declared that it was unnecessary to proceed to Mrs Leigh's, as he had her permission to see the MSS burnt for her, Moore was obliged to consent, but

133: Moore's implication is that Murray, as a tradesman, not a gentleman, is free to be as abusive as he likes without fear of being challenged.

134: Doyle subsequently wrote to Horton that he had no idea that the meeting was going to be about the destruction of the Memoirs, and that Lady Byron had instructed no such thing: see LLB 27.

135: Another witness, unrecorded by H., was the sixteen-year-old John Murray III.

136: See 20 Sep 1822; except that H. does not report B. there as saying that the Memoirs should not be published.

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he said, "Recollect I told you, Hobhouse, I would be no party to the burning". – "No," said I, "you did not – you only said you could not be present at the burning – and when I replied that I thought it would be more satisfactory to you afterwards if you were, you said you would think of it". I continued telling him that I had no notion whatever that he made any objection to the destruction of the MSS – Indeed, he had said that if Lord Byron had lived long the MSS might have been considered as an early frolic, but his dying so soon after the writing altered the case. Moore still remonstrated, saying "Remember I protest against the burning as contradictory to Lord Byron's wishes and unjust to me". – "That is not in the bond",¹³⁷ said I, holding his proposal out to him.¹³⁸ Moore said, "Shylock and his bond!" – "Whatever you please", I replied, "but I protest against your protestation, which you never said a word of originally".

Someone¹³⁹ then started whether or not it would be better to deposit the MSS under seals somewhere in order to compare them with any spurious copy that might be published – this was overruled.¹⁴⁰ Colonel Doyle lastly said to Moore, "I understand then that you stand to your original proposal to put the MSS into Mrs Leigh's absolute disposal?" – "I do", said Moore, "but with the <former> protestation". – "Well then", said Doyle – "I put them into the fire" – accordingly Wilmot and Doyle tore up the MSS, and the copy, and burnt them.¹⁴¹

"Now," said I, "remains to pay the money, and to have the bonds, agreements &c. returned". Murray went downstairs, and returned, saying he could not find the <bond> agreement.¹⁴² This gave rise to another dispute, about whom the property was really rested in.¹⁴³ Moore contended he had three months time allowed him after Lord Byron's decease to redeem the MSS At last Murray's solicitor appeared with a foul-copy of the second agreement, entered into at the time Moore received the money from Murray – there appeared nothing like it in that agreement. At last the solicitor returned with the original, which did contain the stipulation as to the three months, but of a

137: *The Merchant of Venice* IV i 257.

138: "me" (Ms.)

139: LLB says this was Wilmot Horton.

140: Not, however, by H. *RLL* (III 341-2) has "Mr. Hobhouse said he could see no objection to this proposal if Mrs. Leigh consented, but the proposal was overruled." LLB (35) contends that the person overruling was either Murray or Doyle – the latter acting (perhaps) on Lady Byron's orders.

141: *RLL* (III 342) has "Mr Wilmot Horton handed some of the papers to Mr Hobhouse to be put into the fire, but that gentleman declined, saying, that those only who were empowered by Mrs. Leigh should have any share in the actual destruction of the Memoirs".

142: Murray's paper-management was notoriously lax.

143: That the question of ownership should only have been raised after the Memoirs had been destroyed shows what a panic and rush they were all in.

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totally different nature, for it appeared the MSS could not be redeemed by Moore, except during Lord Byron's life – and that Murray could not publish the MSS except in three months after Lord Byron's death.¹⁴⁴ A most important passage there was in the agreement – namely, that the motive for entering into this agreement was said to be “*Lord Byron's and Mr Moore's not now inclining to make the said MSS public*”.

This was, to be sure, a complete confirmation of all I had said – and I certainly did ask Moore how he could have possibly forgotten such a particular. He said, he did not remember it. He also said he did not know whether he had a copy of the agreement, and he repeated, what I have heard him say before, that he had not read the original indenture which I had complained of to Lord Byron giving up his fame and letters and friends and all to Murray and to Murray's executors to be *biographied* by Moore, or if Moore were dead, by any one appointed by Murray or by Murray's executors. This indenture Doyle and Wilmot read – before we burnt it.

Moore now pulled the money out of his pocket, and put it on the table. Murray said he would not take it – he had as it now turned out destroyed, not Moore's, but his own property, and he would not take any money for that. Moore insisted that he thought the MSS his own when he consented to the burning, and he would pay it. At last Murray seemed to have some influence on Moore, but Luttrell said, “Recollect, Moore, you have had the money of Murray”, so the money was paid, and the bond was given up to Moore – Murray kept the agreement.

Previously to our going away, Murray expressed his regret at having used hard words to Moore. I also said, “Moore, I am sorry I was obliged to <use/>tell you what I thought – but I did so to Lord Byron respecting the original transaction – and I do so to you. Besides, I felt that by changing your mind as to the burning of the MSS you had compromised me with Mrs Leigh and Lady Byron”.

Moore replied, “I kept watching your words – you did not go beyond the bounds – if you had I should have stopped you”.¹⁴⁵ I told Luttrell that the harshest thing I said to Moore was said in private – “If offence had been meant I should [have] said it publicly”.

Moore and Luttrell went away. Murray spoke to me about the propriety of Murray's family reimbursing Moore, and said he should advise it. I ran after Moore and Luttrell, and told [them] this. Luttrell agreed, and I did not think that Moore objected much – he told me a story of an Irishman who being asked why sentence should not be passed upon him said, “Oh by Jesus you have settled it all very nicely

144: I take this to mean “after three months had elapsed since Byron's death”.

145: H. being – unlike Murray – a gentleman, his words were open to more pedantic perusal by Moore lest honour should be offended.

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amongst you".¹⁴⁶ I laughed, and replied, "It is all your own fault – if it had not been for that Irish honour of yours, Murray would have burnt the MSS – and you would have had no return of money to make ... now it appears Murray was right, Kinnaird was right, I was right, and you were wrong."

Luttrell quoted "Father Foigard's preference of taking money *logice*,"¹⁴⁷ and so we parted.

My impression certainly was that Moore regretted he had paid the money, and was willing to get it for the family again.

Called on Mrs Leigh.

I called in Berkeley Square and walked a little – at half-past six came home to dine, and found this letter lying on my table:

15 Duke Street, St James's

Dear Hobhouse

Tho' it is difficult to suppose (particularly after the apparently friendly manner in which you parted from me) that you could have seriously have intended to insult me during the conversation of today, yet there was something in your manner and certain expressions that looked so very like it, and which haunts me so uncomfortably, that it would be highly satisfactory to be told by yourself that you had no such intention – and I trust you will do me [the]¹⁴⁸ favour, as soon as possible, to set my mind at rest on the subject

yours truly

Thomas Moore

To – J.C.Hobhouse Esq.

I dined, then I went and found Sir Francis Burdett at Brooke's. I told him all the story, and communicated my resolution to give no answer at all to Moore, who had no right to ask such a declaration of me at any rate, particularly after he had told me he had watched my words and would have stopped me if I had gone beyond due limits. I asked Burdett to call with me on Luttrell the next morning and to hear his opinion.

146: *RLL* (III 346) has "Oh nothing, except that by Jasus you've settled it all very nicely amongst you".

147: Father Foigard is the Irish Jesuit in Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem*. See IV i: "If you receive the money beforehand, 'twill be logice, a bribe; but if you stay till afterwards, 'twill be only a gratification" (my thanks to Chris Little here).

148: H. adds Moore's "the".

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Burdett joined with me in regretting that Moore should have played such a part throughout the whole transaction, but attributed it to "his poverty and his vanity" which to be sure is the best excuse to be made for him.¹⁴⁹

I should mention that this day I received a curious message from Lady Byron through Captain George (Lord) Byron. It was that she wished me to give out that I should write Lord Byron's memoirs, in conjunction with the assistance of the family, including Lady Byron – as that would stop all spurious efforts and would be particularly agreeable to her. I returned for answer that I had no spirits now nor inclination for undertaking or thinking of any such task.

Poor Byron! here is his dear friend Tom Moore – his publisher Murray – and his wife – the first thing they think of is of writing his life or on getting it written – such are the friendships of great authors!!¹⁵⁰

I passed the evening in Berkeley Square.

149: As in his relationship with Foscolo, the comfortably-off H. seems unable to empathise with people who, like Moore, see the breadline closing in perpetually.

150: H. probably congratulates himself on the failure of his own youthful literary ambitions.

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[NOT IN DIARY: HOBHOUSE'S POEM ON BYRON'S DEATH

**To Lord Byron
From his Friends**

by John Cam Hobhouse

1.

What was the charm that bound us all?
What was the magic of thy spell?
What pleasing traits does time recall
To make and mourn our fond farewell?

2.

Was it that power of wondrous force
That all the nerves of thought could bare –
That traced the passions to their source
And showed vile man his image there?

3.

Was it the whirl of fashion's pool
That drew us in and dragged us down
Companions of each airy fool
That swims the bubble of the town?

4.

Not so – to us who knew thy soul
In all the turns of fortune tried,
Still pointing towards the only pole,
Unvaried by distress or pride –

5.

To us – who more have felt and seen
Than hate or admiration can –
Who long have stood within the screen
That veils the poet from the man –

6.

To us – whom not one feverish year
Of fondness closed, alas! in strife –
But all the scenes of youth endear
With hopes of friendship fixed for life –

7.

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To us each feature nobly bold
 Thy pencil drew – each speaking line –
 Served but to show our hearts foretold
 That fame which surely would be thine –

8.

Served but to show thy generous breast
 With each familiar feeling warm,
 Where kindness finds her genial rest,
 And confidence her mutual charm –

9.

That breast its glowing rays could pour
 Beyond Affection's narrow round,
 And tones that charmed our social hour
 Enchant a nation with their sound.

10.

Each noble or each tender thought
 Was but a brilliant of that mine
 Explored and prized – whilst yet unwrought
 And precious ere it learnt to shine.

11.

And hence though all who love the Muse
 To thee their lingering looks shall bend,
 'Tis we lament – 'tis we that lose
 The gay companion and the friend.

12.

We lose that voice of candid praise,
 That feeling sympathy of tone,
 And all the courteous winning ways
 That made each heart at once thy own.

13.

We lose that converse keen yet kind
 That polished playfulness and ease
 That speaks to every liberal mind
 And pleases all whom wit can please.

14.

To us thy parting steps announce
 That misery worse than all relief,
 Which bids us break the chain at once

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And find our fondness by our grief.]¹⁵¹

Tuesday May 18th 1824: Burdett and I called on Luttrell by appointment. Luttrell completely confirmed my view of the transaction, and stated his surprise at Moore having written such a letter. He said that he thought Moore only meant me to give him an assurance by word of mouth. I said I would not do even that, considering all that had passed. Luttrell said Moore had no right to demand it, but he hoped, and Moore hoped, we should be friendly as before. Luttrell authorized Sir Francis Burdett to state his opinion to Moore, and we took our leave.

Burdett went to Moore, and, I understood afterwards, communicated Luttrell's sentiments – on which, Moore said he had no more to say.

I found that Moore had been with Burdett only in the morning, and had said, *we* must be either good friends as before, or quarrel. I told Burdett that I saw no necessity for the alternative, but if it were so I should not hesitate a moment in making my choice. Of course, my mind was made up.

I walked with my sisters in Kensington Gardens, and dined in Berkeley Square.

Wednesday May 19th 1824: To my surprise, I read the following article in *The Times*:

The memoirs of Lord Byron written by himself are, we believe, lost to the world forever. This posthumous record of the deceased nobleman had been deposited, as our readers may have informed themselves, with Mr Thomas Moore, and designed as a legacy for his benefit. This gentleman, with the consent and at the desire of Lord Byron, had long ago sold the manuscript to Mr Murray, for we have been told, the large sum of £2,000. Since the death of Lord Byron it occurred to the sensible and honourable mind of Mr Moore, that by possibility, although the noble author himself had given full authority for a disclosure of the document, some of his family might be wounded or shocked by it. He appointed therefore a time for meeting a near connexion of the noble lord – (not Lady Byron) and after a deliberate and joint perusal of the work, finding that the lady apprehended from it much pain to the minds of many persons still living, though no sort of imputation <in/>to her brother's memory, Mr Moore with a spirit and generosity which the better part of mankind will be at no loss to appreciate, placed the manuscript in the lady's hands – and permitted her to burn it in his presence! This sacrifice of self-interest to lofty feeling was made the day before yesterday, and the next morning the £2,000 was repaid to Mr Murray by Lord Byron's self-destituted legatee.

151: John Murray Archive (National Library of Scotland).

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The last words of that nobleman, before the delirium which seized his powerful mind within three days of his death, were: "I wish it to be known, that my last thoughts were given to *my wife, my child, and my sister*".

Now as to the last anecdote, I know nothing, but anything so false, so totally unfounded, as the vile puff to raise Tom Moore, I never read even in a newspaper. I felt extremely indignant, and when Mr Murray called I communicated my feelings to him. If anyone should ever read the truth, such as, I solemnly protest, has been told in this journal, he will indeed be able to "appreciate" Mr Thomas Moore's conduct – of which I will now say no more in this place.

I recommended Murray to call on Moore, and tell him to contradict the paragraph – otherwise it must be done by himself, or by some of the parties present at the real transaction; for it was not to be tolerated that false characters should thus be made in spite of all realities, and in the face of half-a-dozen persons acquainted with actual occurrences. He agreed to this, and left me.

I should have mentioned that Captain Byron told me on Monday, at Mrs Leigh's, that Lady Byron herself had said that she thought the persons who had the bulk of Lord Byron's property should repay Moore.

I called on Burdett, [and] told him about the paragraph. He was equally angry with myself, but hoped Moore would have the honesty to contradict it.

Walked about in the Green Park with Burdett. Dined with Hanbury Tracy. A small party. Sat up till two in the morning.

Thursday May 20th 1824: No contradiction in *The Times*. Had a letter from Wilmot Horton, containing y^e article that yesterday's *Times*, and advising a contradiction. Also a copy of a letter he had written to Luttrell, stating the necessity of Moore accepting the money again.

Walked with my sisters. Dined in Berkeley Square with a party. Went in the evening to a great party at Lady Lansdowne's. Saw there Doyle, and Wilmot Horton, and Luttrell. Luttrell owned the total falsehood of the article in *The Times*, and Doyle and Wilmot stated their determination of making a contradiction one way or the other. Luttrell said he hoped I should meet Moore in a friendly way again. We all seemed to think it would be advisable for Moore to take the money. Grattan asked me if I had any hand in the destruction of the Mss.

Friday May 21st 1821: Murray called. He told me he had not made any contradiction (which, by the way, Wilmot Horton said he had done shortly, in some evening paper),

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but he said he would draw up a regular statement of the whole transaction and give it to me.

When Murray was gone, Luttrell and Moore came. I took Moore by the hand, and he said, "Believe me, I am most happy to take you by the hand again". I said nothing, but gave him a chair, and we began to talk about him¹⁵² accepting the money. Moore said he had great difficulties in taking it, and Luttrell owned he had difficulties now¹⁵³ in advising Moore to do so.

After some time, Moore said to me, "Now tell me – if I had been a rich man instead of a poor man, what would you have said?" There was no getting over this, and after some hesitation I said, "Why, Moore, do you wish me to speak?" – "Certainly," said he. "Then," replied I, "although if I were your enemy I should be silent, yet as I am not, I will say that it is my opinion you should not take the money".

Moore seized me by the hand, and said, "There you spoke as a man of honour and as a friend – thank you a thousand times – I felt all along I could not take this money – I am now sure I am right".

I replied, "Do not mistake me. If Lord Lansdowne or others should advise you to take the money, and you can reconcile it to your notions, I shall be glad for you to have it, and you may have it. All I mean is, that in not taking the sum you are safe, and in taking it there might be a difference of opinion. I mean I would not take it myself." Moore said, "I know your¹⁵⁴ meaning – as a poor man, you would wish me to have the money: as a man of honour, you would wish me not".

I then spoke to him about contradicting the article in *The Times*, and he consented to do so immediately. At last he drew up something, which, although it did not tell all the truth about his great reluctance to lose the Mss., did rectify some of the gross mis-statements respecting the other points, and did justice to Murray. I could not insist upon more. I did not answer for Murray being satisfied, but I did undertake to stop Wilmot Horton and Doyle from putting in counter-statements for the present. Also I agreed that the point about the money should be in abeyance for the present, until Moore could consult his friends.

Moore and Luttrell left me.

I then went to Mr Ponsonby in St James's Square, at his request, and he communicated [to] me Lady Caroline Lamb's wish to have her letters to Lord Byron returned to her. I said, "Yes, provided she returns Lord Byron's to her" – Mr Ponsonby owned this was quite right. I added, "It will be better to burn both mutually, instead of returning them". He agreed with me in this point also. I took my leave.

152: "the" (Ms.)

153: "now difficulties" (Ms.)

154: "you're" (Ms.)

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Went to Wilmot Horton. He said Moore *should* take the money.

Went to House of Commons and sat on committee. Told Burdett what I had done regarding Moore. Had his approval. Coming back, I saw Moore at my door.¹⁵⁵ He told me he had made a small alteration in the paragraph for tomorrow, which went to speak his reluctance to burn the Mss. without perusal. This was true, so I could make no objection.

I went to Berkeley Square and walked with my sisters. Dined there.

Saturday May 22nd 1824: This morning I was called up to Lady Caroline Lamb, whom I found waiting for me in my room. She had written to me saying she was perfectly satisfied if <the/>her letters were in my hands. She now added that she would not give up Byron's letters to her, but she would leave them under seal, directed to me, in case of her dying before me – and she was dying, she said.¹⁵⁶ I found her in a sad state; but I could not consent to give up in <Byron's/>her letters – the only guarantee against her making a novel out of Byron's letters.

I shall give the same answer about Lady Melbourne's letters, and all to whom I have spoken agree with me in the propriety of this measure.

I find in *The Times* the contradiction, or rather the correction, of the former article. It is as follows:

We gave a statement the other day of the late transaction with respect to Lord Byron's MSS., which, though correct in the leading facts, viz. the destruction of the manuscript and the repayment by Mr Moore of the 2,000 guineas, contained, we find from authority, some errors which we hasten to correct.

The manuscript was *not* perused by Mrs Leigh, or any of the persons concerned previously to its destruction, though it was the opinion of Mr Moore and others that such a step should be taken. We are also informed that, though it was originally the intention of the noble author to have this document published, yet that latterly both himself and Mr Moore strongly doubted the propriety of such a measure. With respect to Mr Murray's share in the transaction, we understand from the same authority, that this gentleman was equally desirous with the rest of Lord Byron's friends for the destruction of the MS, and so little regarded his own interest in the concern that he declined accepting the money from Mr Moore, who, however, insisted upon his receiving it as a debt due upon his bond.

Murray called. He showed me a note written to Lord Lansdowne, who he understood had abused him the other day "for wishing to publish the Mss". I showed

155: Moore is in fact on the verge of a nervous breakdown from guilt and confusion.

156: Caroline Lamb dies on January 25th 1828.

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him *The Times* – he was tolerably satisfied, and expressed a wish that Moore should shake hands with him, and they should put their materials together for a life of Lord Byron.¹⁵⁷ He said that one part of the transaction was left out of sight, namely, that Murray had advanced Moore 2,000 guineas, for writing a life, of which not one line was written – how then could he do other than give back the money? I told him the advice he gave to Moore. He approved.

After he went **I wrote in this journal**, which I have done from time to time since Wednesday last, an account of these transactions, beginning with the announcement of the fatal intelligence to me. I am sure I have not omitted a single important particular, or given a false colouring to any fact, or put down anything not strictly true. I foresee the possibility of misrepresentation, and am determined to have a record of the facts by me.

Lambton called, and I told him these facts in confidence.

I find after walking out that that *The Courier* has an article from some paper called *The Literary Observer*, evidently written by someone in Murray's confidence, in which article some facts are truly stated, but the main fact, of Moore repaying the money, is left out.

Dined in Berkeley Square.

Sunday May 23rd 1824: Thought of what one ought to say to the Westminster electors tomorrow – but totally at a loss. [The] times [are] so changed in appearance that except the necessity of Reform, which is an axiom nothing to enforce, a word or two on foreign politics [was all I could think of].¹⁵⁸

Walked with Gardner to the Greek Deputies' house near Regent's Park, and invited them to the dinner tomorrow. This was to have been done before, but the Westminster Dinner Committee omitted it: one or two men do everything in this city, as elsewhere.

Dined at the Duke of Sussex's at Kensington – the Beefsteaks' Club [was] there, singing and smoking. The Duke talked a good deal to me of radical politics, and seemed sincere – also of books, which he is fond of collecting. I promised to give him my Pacciandi inscriptions.

Coming home late, found a letter from Moore, in which he talks with contempt of the article in *The Courier* – and also one in *John Bull* – and promises to keep silence.

Monday May 24th 1824: Moore came this morning and told me Lord Lansdowne thinks he should answer the article in *The Courier*. He asked me to join in an answer –

157: This seems the first mention of the project, which came to fruition in 1832.

158: H. leaves his sentence unfinished at the page-turn.

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I said I would with the others. He went for Luttrell, and returned with him. Luttrell had advised him to answer in his own name. I agreed this was better.

Walked with Burdett to <Islington> Mile End Committee Room, and threw out that bill. Called in [] [].¹⁵⁹

Went to Crown and Anchor. Numbers at dinner, 320 – forty less than last year, but respectable. Nine MPs, all dreadfully put to it for speeches. The Greek Deputies were what Canning called the American ministers at Liverpool – “a godsend”: but I could not allude to Greece as I otherwise would – the very name stuck in my throat. Burdett, in giving the memory of my dear Byron, introduced it by a moving and eloquent address. The Greeks performed what they had to do well. Orlando was in the Greek dress – he returned thanks for his health being drunk in Greek. I translated for him, from a French translation. It was but short.

Adams gave Burdett's health, Lambton mine. Burdett and Lambton expatiated on the inutility of attending parliament. Hume did not stay to thank for his health. He told me he did not, because if he had he should have been obliged to contravert Lambton and Burdett – unusual prudence in my friend Joseph Hume.

I went to [the] House of Commons and voted three times – found a note from Moore.

Tuesday May 25th 1824: Murray called, and told me that Moore was going to publish a statement to which neither he nor Doyle nor Wilmot would agree. I had seen the statement, and did not think it so objectionable, but I engaged to see Moore and Lord Lansdowne on the subject, and to set the letter right as to Murray's conduct – Murray saying that if Lord Lansdowne and “the two universities” thought ill of his conduct, he should be ruined!!!

I called on both, but neither was at home. Lambton and I walked to the House together, [and] fought the Islington Improvement Bill. Lambton brought on the question of Buckingham's treatment in India – *did it very well*. Canning tried to joke – called Wellesley and Hastings “candid souls”, out of Horace – came poorly off. Lambton's reply [was] very good and ready – he is certainly a very neat, and indeed finished parliamentary speaker.

Burdett, Ellice and I dined with Lambton at ten o'clock, and walked about the street afterwards until near two.

Wednesday May 26th 1824: Thinking of going to Greece. I proposed it the other day to my friend John Fuller, and if he would go I would go in ten days. [I] proposed it

159: First words, twined one over the other, illegible. Second word is “<Street/>Square”.

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also to Lord Nugent. Lord Nugent told me yesterday that he had heard the Greek Deputies¹⁶⁰ accuse Bowring of having pocketed nine per cent on the Greek Loan, and that *he and Hume* went snacks!!

Oh, rare – not a word of truth, I am sure –

I walked with my sisters – dined in Berkeley Square.

A revolution in Portugal, made by [the] Infant Miguel, to put down his father and put up ultra-royalists, succeeded for three days, until King John escaped on board the English line-of-battle ship Windsor Castle (94), and, being backed by all the *corps diplomatique*, recovered his authority. Don Miguel cashiered, but pardoned.

Thursday May 27th 1824: In [*The Times*] this morning, a letter from Tom Moore, and a comment on the letter by [the] editor, in both of which as much credit as possible is given to the said Thomas Moore, and a great deal more than he deserves.¹⁶¹

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir, – in consequence of the many misconceptions that are abroad, with respect to the share with which I have had in the destruction of Lord Byron's Memoirs, I think it right to state the leading facts of that transaction to the public. [**the leading fact is that Tomas Moore behaved like a ——**]

Without entering into the respective claims of Mr Murray and myself to the property in these Memoirs, (a question which, now that they are destroyed, can be but of little moment to any one), [as if there was any doubt that the MSS belonged to Murray] it is sufficient to say that, believing the manuscript still to be mine, I placed it at the disposal of Lord Byron's sister, Mrs Leigh, with the sole reservation of a protest against its total destruction [false!! no such reservation was made] – at least without previous perusal and consultation among the parties. The majority of persons present disagreed with this opinion, and it was the only point upon [It was not the only point – The question was whether Mr Moore should keep to his original proposition] which there did exist any difference between us. The manuscript was accordingly torn and burned before our eyes; and I immediately paid to Mr Murray, in the presence of the gentlemen assembled, 2,000 guineas, with interest, &c., being the amount of what I owed him upon the security of my bond, and for which I now stand indebted to my publishers, Messrs. Longman and Co.

Since then the family of Lord Byron have, in a manner highly honourable to themselves, proposed an arrangement, by which the sum thus paid to Mr Murray might be reimbursed me; but, from feelings and considerations which it is unnecessary here to explain, I have respectfully, but peremptorily, declined their offer. I am, Sir, your's &c.

May 26, 1824.

THOMAS MOORE.

160: "Deputies (Greek)" (Ms.)

161: H. pastes the two *Times* articles into his diary, and annotates in the margin. Here his notes are printed in the text, emboldened in square brackets.

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A letter from Mr MOORE, in this day's *Times*, will be read with that interest which is due to the generous and independent spirit of the writer, distinct from all his other claims to public respect and attention. The gossips of both sexes and parties are silenced by this brief and decisive statement of the manner in which, and of the feeling under which, the manuscript containing Lord BYRON's Memoirs were destroyed. That such a sacrifice to real or supposed expediency should have fallen with such exclusive weight upon Mr MOORE, [so far from this – the sacrifice was not made by Moore – but Murray – and whether weighty or not, was not voluntary – nothing but Murray's decisive conduct backed up by my own representations procured the destruction of the MSS –] must be a subject of regret to all who know and can appreciate him; and that the hardship was properly felt by the relatives of the deceased Nobleman, is creditable to their sense of justice; but we confess we admire the proud and delicate self-denial of Mr MOORE, in declining the fair indemnification offered him for a loss which he incurred on the account of others, and at their especial instance; though we know there are some who accuse him of having strained the cord of magnanimity rather¹⁶² too high.

In this way is fame "got up". Moore is a friend of Barnes, the editor – hence the first paragraph, which appeared on May 19th – a man connected with the *Morning Chronicle*, one Hill, complained to Murray that Moore had not "sent that paragraph" to the *Chronicle* as well as the *Times*, "... which he ought to have done," said Hill, "considering that we 'put up' a speech of Moore's at the Literary Fund, which he sent us beforehand, and then at his request took it down before publication, because he had made some alteration before he spoke it".

:

Kinnaird called this morning. I told him all that had happened. On seeing the above letter, he said it was all a damned lie, and he should say so.

I called on Mrs Leigh. I heard from her, and also from Sir Robert Wilson, that Scrope Davies had been in London, and had called on Mrs Leigh, with a copy of a will of Lord Byron that he had made in 1809, and which copy S.B.Davies contrived to lose¹⁶³ in a hackney coach as he came away from Mrs Leigh. Wilson has applied to Sir Richard Birnee to recover the copy.

Mrs Leigh and I, talking over Lord Byron, agreed that his principal failing was a wish to mystify those persons with whom he lived, especially if they were in an inferior condition and of inferior intellect to himself – also to make them instruments for indulging any whim of his of the moment – hence his corresponding in such terms with Murray the bookseller – he knew Murray would show his letters about – hence his giving the memoirs to Tom Moore – Mrs Leigh said this was a family failing.

162: H. underlines this passage but does not comment on it.

163: "loose" (Ms.)

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I have had a letter from Caroline Lamb, consenting that the greater part of Byron's letters to her should be burnt, but asking to retain one or two. She says she has seen Byron's journal. I said to Murray, "What does Caroline Lamb mean by saying she has seen Byron's journal? Had he any journal except his memoirs?" – "No," said Murray, looking as red as fire and turning away his head – now I am sure, notwithstanding his written and solemn assertion, Murray has shown the manuscripts to Caroline Lamb.

Caroline Lamb says she did not copy the manuscripts, but others did. I returned Caroline Lamb a short answer.

At [the] House of Commons today I spoke to Wilmot Horton about Moore's last letter – we agreed that it was better to let the matter drop. I find that Murray had gone to Horton directly on hearing of Lord Byron's death, and had agreed to give up the Mss. to the family, *if he would be assured of his 2,000 guineas, &c.* He had a right to make this stipulation, but he did not exactly tell me that he had made it.

I voted three times tonight, and made a short speech against unpaid magistracy.¹⁶⁴ *Told – one of eight.* Hume got a committee, to enquire how committees upstairs might be amended.

Friday May 28th 1824: Went to Lambton's, and saw Mr Buckingham. He told us the story of Bankes, and his quarrel with Buckingham. Rode with Burdett to Holland House. Dined in Berkeley Square.

Saturday May 29th 1824: **Wrote journal a little.** Went with Kinnaird to a villa belonging to Lambton at Wimbledon – a beautiful place, looking upon Coombe Woods, and as retired and rural as any spot in England. Lambton gave £18,000 for it, expecting to give £25,000. Secretary Peel intended to bid against him, but told his bidder not to begin bidding till the sum reached £20,000 – it never came so high!!! Dined at Lambton's – Denman and Colonel Roberts there. Denman came from Carshalton, where the balloon came down with Mr Harris and Miss Stocks.¹⁶⁵ Denman told us that while Miss Stocks was lying almost insensible upon the bed, *four newspaper reporters* and four gentlemen of the Balloon Committee insisted upon being admitted to her!!! Denman also told us that when the Queen was dying he saw *two reporters* in her antechamber, and Peter Finnerty, reporter for the *Chronicle*, actually rode on the box of the carriage that carried Denham and Brougham back to London, after they had taken their last leave of the Queen – a newspaper-ridden people we are.

We returned to town at night.

164: Hansard XI (1824), p.910.

165: The accident happened in late May. Ascent was from City Road. Lieutenant Harris, who was experimenting with a new valve, died; Miss Stocks lived to ascend thrice more.

January 1st-July 16th 1824: Byron's death and funeral

Sunday May 30th 1824: Kinnaird and Colonel Young, late secretary to Lord Hastings in India, called. The Colonel told me some curious news relative to the state of society in Calcutta, and how my excellent brother Henry, who is a great radical in London, takes the high-prerogative line there in the East.

Lord Lansdowne called. I told him the whole story about Tom Moore and the Memoirs. When I showed him Moore's note, in which he mentions him (Lord Lansdowne), as having advised the partial preservation of the Memoirs, Lord Lansdowne said, "Ah! I never said that – I only saw him for half a minute opposite your house in Piccadilly, and all I said was that he should be cautious in what he did".

So that it turns out our friend Tom will not stick at a little bit of _____

I did what I promised Murray I would do, namely, set his conduct in a proper point of view for the eyes of Lord Lansdowne.

Walked with my sister Matilda and rode with Kinnaird in the park – dined in Berkeley Square.

Saw Sir John Malcolm at Lambton's. Malcolm [is] fearful that he may lose the government of Madras because Lambton said in debate that Malcolm was [an] advocate for [a] free press.¹⁶⁶

Monday May 31st 1824: Went down to [a] committee of [the] House of Commons. Walked, &c. Dined at the Athenian Club.

Tuesday June 1st 1824: Walked in morning. Dined at the House of Commons. Attended Brougham's debate on [the] case of Missionary Smith. At one time I thought we had a majority, but Scarlett made a damaging speech against us. Adjourned debate at half-past one.

Wednesday June 2nd 1824: Thought of going to Lambton's at Wimbledon, but stayed for [the] adjourned debate – which, however, did not come on, for the House divided on some question respecting the South London Docks at five o'clock, and a great many members having run out to look at Graham's balloon,¹⁶⁷ then sailing over the city, there were not forty in the House, and of course an adjournment took place. I dined at y^e University Club, and sat with my sisters for the remainder of the evening.

Thursday June 3rd 1824: Rode to Whitton. Looked over and sorted some of Lord Byron's letters – that is, letters to him – with the intention of putting them in readiness to be returned to the writers.

166: This paragraph is crammed at the page-top over the entry for May 31st.

167: George Graham made numerous balloon ascents, and crashes, with his wife Margaret.

January 1st-July 16th 1824: Byron's death and funeral

Rode through Richmond Park to Lambton's at Wimbledon. A large party there, from Epsom races, where Sir J. Shelley's horse Cedric, as he had prophesied to me, won the Derby Stakes easily. Lord Grey was there. He talked a little politics with me – seemed to doubt the propriety of Brougham's motion respecting Smith, and thought he should have asked only for [an] enquiry. He agreed with me in thinking that the South American states ran a great risk of losing their independence, and that it was a most base and shabby policy of ours to do nothing except with a reference to our commerce, their liberty and our honour being nothing in the balance.

Slept at Lambton's.

Friday June 4th¹⁶⁸ 1824: Fine day. Went over to Epsom races with Lambton and his party – a beautiful sight, but tiresome waiting. Did not bet, though strongly tempted to back Lord Jersey's Cobweb, which turned out the winner of the Oaks – 6 to 4 on her. Lambton told me he had won more than £6,000 in the two days, but Lord Normanby and John Mills doubted this when I told them of it.

Returned to Lambton's large party at dinner of racing dandies. George Anson – George Russell – John Mills – Lord Jersey – Sir J. Shelley. Talk of horses and nothing else. It is inexplicable to me how men like Mr Anson, for example, continue to bet perpetually, and generally, as it appears, to lose large sums. Anson is said to have had only £15,000 originally, and he now loses perhaps two and three thousand pounds in one race. It is true his brother has paid his debts once or twice. Tom Duncan¹⁶⁹ is another phenomenon of this sort.

Saturday June 5th 1824: Rode to London. Went to Greek Committee, and mentioned that I had some thoughts of going to Greece. Heard read some letters from Stanhope at Athens and Salona, with short remarks from Lord Byron,¹⁷⁰ in which he expresses himself as fully aware of the difficulties around him – but [is] resolved to do his duty – dear fellow. At last Stanhope, who arrived at Salona, where the congress from Eastern and Western Greece were to meet, and where Lord Byron had promised to be present, heard first of Lord Byron's illness and then of his death. Parry, whom we sent out to superintend the engineer department in Greece, is mad at Zante. Colonel Stanhope is ill, and coming home. But Blaquiere is arrived, with £40,000 of the loan, at Zante.

A most atrocious piece of folly or villainy has been played off by Lord J. Churchill, commanding HMS Hinde in the Archipelago.¹⁷¹ He was at anchor off the Piraeus. He invited the General Ulysses, Ghora, the commandant of Athens, Mr Trelawny, and

168: "June 3" (Ms.)

169: Conjectural reading. Word cramped. Could be "Duncannon".

170: The letters from Stanhope with addenda by B. have not been found.

171: In fact Sir Robert Cavendish Spencer (1791-1830), brother of Viscount Althorpe. His ship was not the Hinde but the Naiad.

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twenty or thirty Greek soldiers, on board his ship. As they were at dinner, some of the Greeks ran down to the cabin to Ulysses and told him the ship was under weigh. Ulysses, Ghora, and Trelawny rushed on deck and found the ship under press of sail. They drew their swords, cut the tiller-ropes and halyards, then jumped into the boat and made it to shore. Trelawny drew up a letter to Captain Clifford, commanding in those seas, but Lord Byron in a short note says he knows not whether it was sent.

A large sum of money being offered by the Turks for the head of Ulysses, and the Hinde having just come from Smyrna, the Greeks believed they were seized to be given up. Perhaps it was only a frolic – what an influence it might and may have on the future fate of Greece – especially on the connexion of England with Greece. This Churchill seems a worthy scion of the Spencer stock.

I dined at Beefsteaks – was in y^e chair – [the] chief sport of evening [was] rowing Brougham for his missionary propensities

Sunday June 6th 1824: Dined at Lambton's. Met Mr Buckingham and Colonel Young, Burdett and Kinnaird, &c. Mr Buckingham a very clear-headed, fluent, earnest, and intelligent man apparently. He gave me the account of Bankes's conduct towards him, which was confirmed by Colonel Young, who was secretary to Lord Hastings at Calcutta at the same time. Buckingham also gave us an account of a school on a new plan, established near Birmingham – they have laws and tribunals of their own, and a press, from which proceeds a periodical newspaper. Buckingham has a boy there, and visited the school, which astonished him. A hundred boys there, I believe.

Monday June 7th 1824: Dined at Robert Gordon's. Met my old acquaintances Captain and Mrs Pellew, whom I knew at Rome. Pellew confessed he was against the impressment of seamen.

Tuesday June 8th 1824: At House of Commons, but did not stay. Dined at Berkeley Square.

Wednesday June 9th 1824: At House of Commons, presented petition against Window Tax, and gave notice of a motion for next session.¹⁷²

Dined at Mr J. Smith's, MP – a large party. General Mina, and the "divine" Arguelles, to whom Brougham introduced me. Mina talked to me with delight of the curates in Spain beginning to preach against the French, and said, "Ah, you will see a very different war soon from the last". His manner was just the same as when I saw him before at Hume's – that of a lively, jolly gentleman farmer. Arguelles has a plain but a very striking countenance, much marked with the smallpox, a grave but placid

172: Hansard has no record of Commons business on June 9th.

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air. He seemed to talk placidly but not vehemently. His manners were highly polished. Brougham sat between me and him, so that I could not have any conversation with him – he talks English, and understands it well, but he preferred speaking in French to Brougham. We had Denham and Hume and Ferguson of the party. I went away to accompany Matilda to Lady Pococke's.

Thursday June 10th 1824: This morning I went to Kinnaird's by appointment, to meet *Hanson* – *the* Hanson. Kinnaird has heard from Genoa from Mr Barry (Lord Byron's banker), that having completely looked over all the papers left by my friend in his possession, no will has been found. This made him desire Hanson to bring the will made by Lord Byron in 1815.

Hanson came. He showed us the copy of the will. It had a codicil, made in November 1818 at Venice, by which Byron gave £5,000 to his natural daughter Allegrina, since dead.¹⁷³ The executors of the will are Hanson and myself: there was another in 1813, Charles Hanson, but he was struck out afterwards. We agreed that Hanson ought to deposit the original will in Doctor's Commons, until every search had been made again in Italy for a later will. It is possible Madame Guiccioli may have a will. Mr Barry wrote to Kinnaird that Lord Byron certainly left a will at Genoa, and that in a conversation with him Lord Byron had mentioned Kinnaird as his executor – but I began to entertain some doubts of any posterior will to that of 1815 and 1818. None was made in Greece, we know.

Hanson talked of some early letters of Lord Byron's at nine years old, which he said were perfectly characteristic of what he afterwards became.

Kinnaird and I breakfasted, and talked over the event that has deprived us of our illustrious friend. We called to mind many traits of his character. Kinnaird told me that Sheridan asked Byron to be his biographer, and said it would be the highest honour that could await him. The last time but one that Sheridan ever dined out he met Byron and Kinnaird at Sir G. Heathcote's. He went away very drunk in a hackney coach with both of them. Kinnaird got out first, and then, coming back, found Byron in fits of laughter over Sheridan, who had dropped almost senseless to the bottom of the coach, but when lifted up and taking leave of them, Sheridan stammered out, "Goodbye, my dear lord! May you have a little one just like you!" (his wife was then with child), "Goodbye, Douglas! Tell Mrs Kinnaird" (Kinnaird's duck), "that I shan't forget to send her the pig I promised!" Thus showing his habit of finishing with something agreeable, or desiring to make an impression, drunk as he was.

I sat for my bust today to one Mr Ternouth, a pupil of Chantry's, at [the] desire of Robert Gordon.

173: H. does not mention the condition that Allegra shall not receive the money if she marries an Englishman.

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Walked about with Kinnaird. Dined at University Club. Went to House of Commons and made a speech in favour of Hume's proposition *against impressment*.¹⁷⁴

Sir George Cockburn and I had a hard word or two. I hinted that Sir George had performed no great naval services. This being true, he was very angry, but he had been rude to friend Hume, otherwise I should not have said what I did. We divided very few – only 38, I think, but the majority not great. House sat till three in morning.

Friday June 11th 1824: Dined in Berkeley Square. Went to House of Commons – adjourned debate on Missionary Smith's case. Brougham's reply one of the best things ever heard. He <was/>is too much for Canning, a great deal, and he and Williams and Denman too much for [the] Attorney-General and Tindal, the new lawyer in the House. I must alter my tone about the lawyers – we have two or three such honest men in that line.

Wilberforce spoke very fully – he is going fast. We divided 146 to 193, at past three.

Canning moved [the] previous question, after Wilmot Horton had¹⁷⁵ opposed [it] altogether.

C. Grant voted with minority, but Inglis and others who are usually ministerialised¹⁷⁶ with us – so much for Grant's saintship. I saw him sneaking to the door, that he might not be seen going out with the majority.

Saturday June 12th 1824: At Greek Committee, squabbling with Luriottis, the Greek Deputy, about the Loan. These poor deputies have no powers. They have got into bad hands, and suspect Bowring and Hume to be acting for their own benefit.

Rode in Park. Dined with Robert Knight MP. Saw and heard nothing.

Sunday June 13th 1824: Walked with my sister Matilda in Kensington Gardens – great crowd. Dined in Berkeley Square – Burdett with us.

Monday June 14th 1824: Sat to Jackson for portrait. Jackson confirmed to me my opinion of Tom Moore as to the transactions relating to Lord Byron's Memoirs, and when I told him that we had some suspicion there was an entire copy of them at Paris, he said he thought it very likely.¹⁷⁷ He might have read them himself, if he had liked, in his journey with Moore from Italy.

174: Hansard XI (1824), pp.191-4.

175: "has" (Ms.) Sense of paragraph unclear.

176: Could be "ministreated".

177: There were several copies on the continent: all were recalled and destroyed.

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Dined with the Asiatic Club, of which I am a member. Sat next to *Mr Wilkins* – he is a member of the Literary Club (Johnson's), which meets in the room where we dined. He told me that Charles Fox and Windham owned one day in his hearing at the Club, that they had been wrong in their conduct towards Hastings.

Wilkins told me that Liverpool and Canning, now members of the Club, are perfectly free with Mackintosh, Lord Holland, and others, also members, who may differ on politics with them – but neither politics [n]or religion [are] ever talked. *Wilkins* censured to me, and so did Colebrooke (the chairman), the conduct of government in ceding Sumatra to the Dutch. No advice had been asked of men who knew the value of Sumatra – not even of Marsden.

Wilkins said to me, "What do you think of Dr Johnson?" – I answered [that] it was a leading question, but I ventured to speak as I thought – namely that he had too [great] a reputation in everything except for humour, where I thought him chiefly excellent. Wilkins said he agreed in all I said – particularly as a philologist – in that department he thought as little of Johnson as Tode did.

I went down to [the] House of Commons, and [we] divided against [the] Irish Insurrection Act, and against new churches. Our friends Rice and Lord Althorpe have agreed not to oppose [the] Insurrection Act, on condition the enquiry shall be to continue next session; but I think the compromise foolish.

Up late – two.

Tuesday June 15th 1824: Sat for bust. Rode in Park. Dined in Berkeley Square, and went with my sisters to the opera.

Wednesday June 16th 1824: [I] see by [the] paper this morning that Mackintosh presented [a] petition from London merchants, and made a long speech relative to the propriety of recognizing the independence of [the] South American states. Canning made a speech, which I cannot comprehend, except as a proof [that] he knows not what to say. Burdett, however, seems to be the only man who was not pleased, and spoke not.

My fears are that the South American states will fall like Italy or Spain.

Had a letter from Henry about his boy, who, I suppose, is come over.

Wrote journal from June 6th. I have had a letter from Count Gamba and another from Blaquiere from Zante. The former appears to have been reading Lord Byron's private letters.

Sat for picture. Dined in Berkeley Square.

Thursday June 17th 1824: I dined in Berkeley Square, and went in the evening to a great assembly in Grosvenor House – the great room [is] too large for the smaller rooms, but not large enough for the great pictures it contains. Met Wherry, our *chargé*

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d'affaires at Dresden, who told me anecdotes which show that Canning is not master even in his own department, but is counter-acted by the Hertford party.

Friday June 18th 1824: Walked about. Dined at [the] House of Commons, and made a speech and divided the House against the third reading of the Irish Insurrection Act.¹⁷⁸ No minister answered. We had only 14 to 53. The Whigs of the committee on the Act recommended, and voted for, the renewal – merely, so Lord Althorpe told me, to secure the continuance of the committee. Rice said, in a speech, that he had no doubt the continuance of the committee would show the “inexpediency” of the Act – ergo, he voted for the renewal this year!!!

Saturday June 19th 1824: Rainy, wintry weather.

Went to Mr Hanson's in Chancery Lane, and thence with him to Doctor's Commons, where we deposited Lord Byron's will of 1815, with codicil of 1818, “for safe custody”. We were accompanied by Mr Glennie, partner of Mr Farquhar of the Commons. By a curious coincidence Hanson told me that the room in which we delivered the will was the very one to which he accompanied Lord Byron when my friend applied for his marriage license. Lord Byron at that time said very gravely to the Doctor of the Commons, “Pray Sir, what is the proportion of those who come here first to make marriages, and then afterwards to unmake them?”

Hanson told me afterwards one or two curious anecdotes of Byron – he knew him since nine years of age and has many very early letters of his. Hanson talked to me of Mrs Byron as a very foolish, passionate woman, totally ignorant, never reading anything but a novel or a newspaper. She used to break out into the most violent fits of passion against her son, and then weep over him and stifle him with caresses; at last Hanson thought it necessary to take Byron away from his mother, and place him at school with a Mr Glennie at Dulwich. Hanson owned, however, that Lord Byron was sincerely attached to his mother and lamented her death. Hanson said he was putting together a memoir of his recollections of Lord Byron, which, joined with his letters, he thought would be highly creditable to Lord Byron. He told me at the same time an instance or two of his love of frolic amounting to teasing: when Byron was a man and in London he used to be followed to Hanson's door by a drunken woman to whom he gave all the silver in his jacket and who consequently always frequented Hanson's door, to his great annoyance. Byron never appeared there except with the woman in his train. At last Hanson had the woman taken up, but Lord Byron actually took the pains to find out where she was confined, and contriving to get her liberated brought her again to annoy his friend. Hanson says that in his earliest youth Lord Byron showed signs of being a humourist. It is my opinion that he was peculiarly so, and what is

178: Hansard XI (1824), pp.1463-5.

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called "very fond of fun." In this way I account for several eccentricities of conduct which I am persuaded arose from his desire to *mystify* and to *quiz* certain people about him. I find that Mr Barry, his banker of Genoa, has written to Kinnaird a letter with the following paragraph in it:

You will excuse my mentioning to you rather a singular request that Lord Byron made me when he was on the point of sailing; the eccentricities of a man of his genius may I hope be mentioned to a friend valued – by him, as you were without giving offence or appearing childish or impertinent – he had kept for a long time three common geese, for which he told me he had a sort of affection and particularly desired that I would take care of them as it was his wish to have them at some future time – it being his intention to keep them as long as he or they lived. I will send them to England if you please.

Now here is a plain case of mystification, which succeeded with the worthy Barry.

Hanson told me he had already had two applications made for his materials respecting Lord Byron's biography. He promised me never to let them go out of his hands.

Murray the bookseller talked to me yesterday of publishing a volume of Lord Byron's letters – of which he offered me the selection. I told him my objection to having anything to do with memoirs, considering that Moore would then charge me with having wished to destroy his manuscript in order to become biographer myself.

I went to the Greek Committee. Found Bowring intends to retire from the secretaryship, in consequence of the want of confidence shown by the Greek Deputies towards him. We resolved to appoint a deputation to remonstrate with Luriottis and Orlando on this subject. John Smith MP, William Smith MP, Charles Sheridan and myself [were] appointed.

Went to Kinnaird, and found the letter from Barry before mentioned, by which also, it seems, Lord Byron made no will in Italy, though he often talked of it.

Dined with John Smith MP. Present [were] Brougham, Lambton, Hughes, Western, and young Davenport. [The] talk [was] all politics, chiefly on Mackintosh's character, which Brougham defended. [He] said that Dr Parr was the author of the calumny against Mackintosh respecting his appropriating the money []¹⁷⁹ for *Gerald*, and that Parr afterwards cried "Peccavi", and Mackintosh forgave him. The sum, indeed, [was] only £17 and odd shillings. Brougham said Mackintosh might have been President of the Board of Control when he came from India.

We discussed whether an opposition lawyer ought to take a judgeship. Brougham said yes – the rest, no.

Brougham and I walked home together. He differed with me in thinking that the people would never have spirit or power to produce a fair government, and thought the

179: "salsented" (Ms.)

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Mechanics Institute and other establishments for instructing the lower classes would work out the cure for all political evil, and make the people too strong for the government. He said he thought Peel coming forward on Friday at the public meeting in honour of Watt, and saying he owed everything to the steam engine, would excite an ambition amongst mechanics. I thought that the effect would be that the mechanics would say, "See how a man may rise, *according even to the present system of government* – who knows that a Watt, or a Peel, may not spring from among us?" This consideration, it appeared to me, would retard a real reform.

Brougham appears to me daily a more extraordinary man the more I see of him.

[End of B.L.Add.Mss. 56548; start of B.L.Add.Mss. 56549.]

Lord Byron¹⁸⁰

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Fletcher, his valet for twenty years, and who was with him when he died, told me on board the *Florida* sailing up the Thames with the body –

Byron was not sensible of his danger until within half an hour of becoming delirious / insensible, but that when he became delirious he showed by what he said that he was trying to give some last directions. He frequently muttered, "My wife – my child – Ada – my poor sister – go and tell my sister – go to Hobhouse – tell Hobhouse ..."

He frequently repeated the words "four thousand five hundred dollars".

Fletcher told me pretty much what he said in his letter to Mrs Leigh as to his muttering for half an hour, and saying, "I have told you all – I hope you have understood me –" on which Fletcher said, "My Lord, not a word". On this poor Byron looked shocked: "What a pity, it is too late now". Shortly after, he added, "I want to sleep now", and then turned on his back and shut his eyes. This was at six o'clock on April 18th. Every means were used to <keep> rouse him, but in vain. He opened his eyes just at six o'clock on the following evening, and then closed them instantly. The Doctors felt his pulse, and he was gone.

Fletcher told me that he thought the doctors had killed Lord Byron – at least, all but Bruno, who recommended bleeding strongly, but was overruled. Fletcher from the beginning thought Byron very ill, and prayed him to be bled, and send for Dr Thomas of Zante. Lord Byron said that he only had a cold, and that his doctors had told <him> so. "Oh, my Lord," (said Fletcher), "it is no cold – you are very ill" – but Lord Byron still continued incredulous. Fletcher says the doctors did not <bleed> press bleeding him half enough, and that Lord Byron would have consented to have been bled directly had they done so. In fact he did when they urged it, but too late. The doctors

180: These notes are at the back of B.L.Add.Mss. 56549: ff.157-66 (back to front).

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gave him an immense quantity of medicine, trying strong purgatives when there was nothing upon his stomach or bowels. Dr Bruno's account, given to me, confirms this.

At last Lord Byron did seem to think himself much worse than usual, and said to Fletcher, "If you think me so ill, send for Dr Thomas, and spare no expense, and do not let the doctors know, for they do not wish to have anyone here but themselves." Still, however, he had no idea of dying, but was afraid of madness, and of a recurrence of his fit which he had in February: so much so that he told Fletcher he did not care for dying, but that he could not bear madness – at the same time looking for his pistols and dagger, which were lying beside him, and which Fletcher subsequently removed.

It was not until the afternoon of the 18th that he thought he might die – then he began to be angry with his doctors. He said to Fletcher, "The damned doctors have assassinated me, and you are in the plot to assassinate me too". Fletcher burst into tears, and said, "Oh my Lord, how can you think so?" at which Byron was very moved, and said, "No, Fletcher – I did not mean to say so – come here", and then he took his hand and began to talk to him, and to say he was sorry he had done nothing for him by his will: "But Mr Hobhouse is your friend – he will see you provided for". He then expressed an anxiety to do something for his favourite *chasseur*, Tita, and his Greek boy, Louka¹⁸¹ – but Fletcher told to speak of more important concerns.

He still continued angry at the doctors, and particularly at Dr Millingen, who had all along made light of the disorder – he told the doctor to leave the room. Dr Millingen said, "I cannot leave you thus," and wept. Byron said, "You have been with me too long".

Byron then said to Fletcher that he believed he was in a very dangerous way. "I hope not," said Fletcher, "but the Lord's will be done." – "Yes," replied Lord Byron; "not mine".

He got out of bed a little before six on the evening of the eighteenth, and walked across the room, with Fletcher's help, to the stool. Coming back, he said, "The damned doctors have drenched me, so that I can hardly stand". He got into bed again, and shortly after, he said the words before mentioned, and became quite insensible.

I have seen an account drawn up by Blaquiere, professedly from Fletcher's statement, that Byron said something about "leaving poor Greece": but Fletcher told me nothing of the sort.

Fletcher told me Dr Kennedy, of the medical staff at Cefalonia, had tried to convert Lord Byron to Methodism, but had failed. He added, however, that Lord Byron was different in respect of religion from what he had been, and that he was a good Christian. Dr Kennedy has written to Kinnaird, who handed the letter to me, that although Lord Byron was not what he would wish on points of orthodoxy, yet he was not what the world imagined. Kennedy asked Fletcher for particulars of his death, and

181: "Luca" (Ms.)

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in his letter to Kinnaid, requested to have his own letters to Byron sent to him, in order to frame an account of their conversations. I wrote to Dr Kennedy, assenting.

Fletcher told me Byron regretted having written *Cain* and *Don Juan*. Colonel Stanhope told me the same; and yet I find seventeen stanzas of a new canto of *Don Juan* amongst his papers.

Fletcher said that Lord Byron used to joke with him about being killed in his intended expedition to Lepanto. Fletcher said the Greeks would run away and leave him. "Then," said Byron, "you would get my 8,000 dollars and baggage." Another time he said, "Fletcher, if I die in Greece, what will you do with me?" – "My Lord," replied Fletcher, "what should we do but take you home?" – "Why," said Byron, "it is not worth while to take such a body as this home." But a little later he added, "Perhaps on the whole it is better to do so".

Colonel Stanhope told me on board the Florida a few things which I noted, and here set down: but I premise that Stanhope had taken a different view of the proper mode of action in Greece from Byron.

:

Byron was sorry now and then that he had ever come to Greece. He expressed anger at the Greek Committee for publishing his letter from Genoa in which he talked of going, so that when his intention was made known, he felt himself bound to act up to it.

At others times he said he was glad he had come, and talked with enthusiasm of the cause. He would say that it was better being at Missolonghi than going about talking and singing at parties in London at past forty, like Tom Moore.

He did little but shoot pistols and ride, and drink punch with *Parry*, our engineer, whom he laughed at. Dr Bruno told me indeed that he was not tipsy, but was not sober any evening before his fit, and had drunk twelve tumblers of punch in the course of the twenty-four hours before it. He tried to leave it off at Bruno's remonstrance, but said he could not, his head felt so uncomfortable, and he would rather die.

He could not be persuaded to move from Missolonghi, and his influence there, by giving money all directions, was very great; but Mavrocordato had []ly¹⁸² got great power over him.

He was generally idle, but by fits – he proposed and projected desperate projects, such as cutting out ships, which he afterwards laughed at.

He might have taken Lepanto – the Albanians were prepared to give it up – but he would not move from Missolonghi.

He used to make a joke of everything – he was to be made generalissimo of Western Greece, and then, when Stanhope remonstrated with him on account of his inactivity, he would say, "Come – propose you something – I am no soldier – I do what you like. I will send for Napier, and supersede myself".

182: Adverb illegible. Could be "instantly"

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Mavrocordato rather took him in – he began to think so himself. He quarreled with Stanhope, but made it up as often, and said “Give me your honest right hand”. I have heard from others that Stanhope tried¹⁸³ to get him to approve of some of Jeremy Bentham's theories, and Byron laughed at them. One day he left Jeremy Bentham's *Springs of Action* on the table, hoping [for] Byron's approbation. Byron said, “What does the old fool know of springs of action? My —— has more action in it”.

But Stanhope told me he thought he had no opinions at all, at least no fixed opinions, and he frequently said so himself. Feelings he had – very strong ones. There was a Greek boy, to whom he was much attached. The boy was taken ill, and he put him down into his bed, and laid himself on the floor. He left this boy 3,000 dollars, advanced by him to [the] town of Missolonghi. Yet he confessed to Stanhope he quarreled with everybody. “Why,” said he, “I quarreled with Hobhouse”. Stanhope told me that he thought the two friends he liked best in the whole world were Lord Clare and myself. He mentioned Kinnaird also with great affection. Sam Rogers he hated very much indeed.

He seemed pleased at anyone praising his wife, and talked a great deal of his daughter – he regretted having written *Cain* and *Don Juan*. I find now that the fourteen stanzas of [the] seventeenth canto of *Don Juan* were written before he came to Greece.

He and Stanhope talked one day of his eventful life. “I said, ‘Why do you not write your life?’” – Byron replied that his friends could do it as well. Gamba knew all his latter years and Hobhouse his early time. He said something about Moore's Memoirs, but Stanhope did not recollect what.

Stanhope and his friends used to ask him why he did not write more in Greece. He said it would be ridiculous to write poetry whilst engaged in his present efforts for Greece; but on the morning of his birthday he came into the room where Stanhope and the others were sitting and said, “You accuse me of not writing. I have written something – and it is better than the stuff I usually write”. He then produced his stanzas on his thirty-sixth birthday, which I have got written in a sort of broken journal, of which he wrote¹⁸⁴ a little in Greece.

:

Count Gamba has told me a few things of my friend worth putting down.

He does not think that the physicians were so much to blame. Byron would not positively be bled. Neither he nor anyone had the least guess at his danger till near the very last day on which he lost his senses. He had been a little delirious, and had spoken a great deal of disjointed words, in which his daughter's name, and other names, were distinguishable – for example, Mrs Leigh, and my name, and Douglas Kinnaird's – but he had recovered himself, and on the morning of the 18th of April, so

183: Reading conjectural. Word half-formed.

184: “he a wrote” (Ms.)

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little did Gamba think Byron was dying that, in order to prevent the Greeks from firing off their guns, &c., near the house, he exercised Byron's artillery brigade without the town, and to draw off the crowd, being Easter Sunday: and when he came back, found Byron insensible.

Byron had said before this day, however, to Gamba, one or two things which made him think Byron knew his danger. Speaking of Greece, he said, "I have given my money and my time for her – and now I give my life".

On the day he lost his senses, the 18th, he was up sitting in a chair in another room. He asked if there were any letters for him. There was one from me, which they did not like to show him, and two from Kinnaird, which they did not show him; but Prince Mavrocordato <read> to him a letter which he had received from the Metropolitan Ignatius, in which were these words: "Lord Byron enjoys so great a consideration, &c., that perhaps you had better open your designs to him". This made Byron look up and say, "Ah, the damned ———. They think to take me in, but I'll be too much for them. Wait till Hobhouse and Napier come out ...". He evidently believed Mavrocordato had some designs of his own – and he used to talk to <Gamba> of my coming out to him.

One day, reading a letter of mine, in which I advised [him] not to go to the mainland of Greece without great precautions, he said, "Ah, it comes too late – it is like telling a man to beware of his wife after he had married her."

He was exceedingly well when at Metaxta in Cefalonia, and very well when he first came to Missolonghi. Things went on well at first, but he soon found that Mavrocordato had promised more than he could perform, and when the Suliots refused to march against Lepanto, saying they could not fight stone walls, he was very much hurt and vexed – then he saw Mavrocordato had no power – the captains used to abuse him before Byron. One day, when a fellow insisted upon having a Turk given up to him that Lord Byron had saved, Byron desired Mavrocordato to interfere, but Mavrocordato got nothing but hard words – on which Byron drew a pistol, and presenting it to the fellow's head, walked him out of the room.

Gamba says that occasionally he was afraid Byron's house would be broke into to obtain his money, which was [said] to be much more than it really was. The Artillery Brigade was composed partly to protect him and his dollars. After his death Gamba was obliged, so he says, to make a sacrifice of some 4,000 dollars in order to save the other 7,000, which at one time he thought would have been detained. One of the captains encamped without the town offered to march his troops to protect the treasure and goods of the deceased.

I think Gamba's account of Lord Byron seems a fair one – he appears to me to have known him well.

Stanhope handed me yesterday (August 5th), a letter from Dr Millingen, one of Byron's physicians, in which I find these words:

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Mesalunghi April 27t. 1824

He (Lord B) expired in my arms on Monday last after a malady of only ten days duration. His health had suffer'd previously very much in consequence of the convulsive fits he fell into Feby last, but the immediate cause of his death was a rheumatic fever which attacked him from getting wet in a shower. The fever was at its outset very strong, and bleeding was proposed, but he obstinately refused to listen to the urgent remonstrances and intreaties both of his physicians, and mine, till the brain was attacked and the lesions that organ suffered from inflammation became irremediable – the prejudice he entertained against bleeding was insurmountable – his answer to all our arguments was “The lancet has killed more than the lance[”] – During the latter part of his complaint two objects seemed to absorb all his thoughts Greece and his daughter – He at last fell into a comatose sleep which after 24 hours duration gently terminated his existence – The whole town is in tears – amidst our grief it affords us some consolation to <know> see him terminate his career at so fine a period of it – he could not terminate it at {a} more glorious <day/time>¹⁸⁵ His political character now justly deserves the admiration of mankind – an admiration not far inferior to that due to his poetical merits, but had he lived much more I doubt much whether the former would not have lost some of its brilliancy – His temper was highly singular – I have repeatedly known him to joke and laugh at the most important affairs, and burst into violent passions about trifling ones – This in my opinion made him unfit for this country – his mind was ever disgusted with the minutiae of affairs & was unacquainted with that persevering patience so essentially necessary to do something in Greece. My judgement may appears severe, but it is not unfounded —

So [much] for Millingen, with whom I think Stanhope agrees – true or not, Millingen has made a demand of £100 for embalming Lord Byron's body – Bruno did the same!!!

:

Hanson told me one or two things of Byron's early days – When Hanson brought him to Newstead to take possession, Byron was *nine* years old – Miss Chaworth of Annesley came over one day to dine at Newstead – Hanson said to Lord Byron, “There is a pretty young lady, you had better marry her” – “What, Mr Hanson?” said Byron, “*the Capulets and Montagus intermarry?*”

Byron alluded to the family feuds.

Mr Frederick of Montagu of Papplewick came over to see him, and was much struck with his manners – he thought him proud and sulky, but having something singular about him.

Hanson brought him up to London and carried him to Dr Matthew Baillie, to see whether he could do anything with his distorted foot. Baillie was much struck with him, and said he would have given £1,000 to have been present at *his* birth – he could have prevented the distortion.

185: Millingen (or H.), erases both words and inserts no substitute.

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Hanson sent him to school at Dulwich, where he stayed a year, and then Byron was sent to Harrow. Dr Drury was completely mistaken – he wished to have him taken away, and thought there was nothing in him.

When thirteen, he was brought by Hanson to dine, where Mr Heald, and John Williams MP, were. He wore a great many seals. Heald said, "My lord looks like a seal engraver!" Byron would not speak a word all dinner time, and the next day took off his seals.

His mother used him so foolishly, now kicking and now kissing him, that Hanson took him away by force to Dulwich School. She fell in love with a French dancing master at Brompton, and laid a plan for carrying Byron to France. The Frenchman called at Dulwich to take him away, but the master would not let him go.

When nine years old at his mother's house, a fine Scotch girl used to come to bed to him and play tricks with his person. Hanson found it out, and asked Lord Byron, who owned the fact. The girl was sent off.

I saw at Hanson's a will of Byron's, made in 1809 – Hanson and I were executors. He left all to George Byron and to heirs of the title. He desired to be buried without any funeral service at Newstead, and to have "G.G.B." and some other initials (*only*) on his coffin.

I saw another will of 1813. I was executor, with Hanson and Charles Hanson. He left half to George Byron and half to Mrs Leigh. (B.L.Add.Mss. 56549, ff-167-57, back to front).

Diary continued:

Sunday June 20th 1824: Walked in Park with my sisters. Dined at Douglas Kinnaird's – a large party – Payne Knight, Hughues, Burdett, [the] Duke of Leinster, Brougham, and Colonel Young. Very pleasant, but remember nothing in particular.

Monday June 21st 1824: Nothing at House of Commons. Dined with my father at Lord deDunstanville's. My lord has lost his wife not quite a year ago – or not much more, and is going to be married in a fortnight, to a Miss Lemon. He is about 64 or 65 years of age. We had a small party. I sat next to Black Rod, Sir Thomas Tyrwhit – a merry man. He told me stories of his investing the Emperors and Kings with the Garter. He said he had refused to go to Portugal to give the Garter to King John.

He mentioned one or two traits of our present King: amongst others, that he is very quick at quoting Latin. He told us that Lord Grenville, when at Oxford, gutted a man's rooms in four minutes and a half, for a wager. Lord Greville is now living, or rather lingering, at Dropmore. He lies on the sofa all day – he is affected with a complaint said to belong to his family – a softness of the skull at the top of his head. Tyrwhit told us that a certain chandelier at the House of Lords, under which Lord Grenville usually

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sat, was and is never lighted, out of consideration for his Lordship, who cannot bear any heat above his head.

Tuesday June 22nd 1824: Burdett thought of moving an address to the King on the state of Ireland, and came yesterday morning to me to concoct it. It was a strong anti-Orange denunciation, but he did not bring it on yesterday as he intended, but gave notice of it for today. However, I met him in the Park, and to my surprise heard he did not intend to bring his motion. Lord Holland, it seems, had heard from Canning that he (Canning) thought it unhandsome, whilst ministers were delaying the prorogation of parliament, solely for the sake of the Earl Marshall's Bill, that advantage should be taken merely to give a parting blow to administration. Canning added that if Burdett brought on his motion, ministers must have an attendance, and if there was an attendance, he could not answer for the Marshall's bill passing without opposition. Lord Holland sent an express to Burdett down at Wyke. Burdett came up this day and breakfasted at Holland House, and agreed to put off his motion – he did so until Thursday. Canning came up to him in the House, and thanked him for his handsome conduct, but added, "I am afraid I cannot promise you a debate, even on Thursday".

The fact is that ministers are split on more than one question, and do not like to speak on any great point. They are divided on the South American question: the Marquis of Hertford does not scruple to go about saying that if Canning goes farther towards recognizing the republics, out he shall go. Ireland also, and the Catholic question, are points of difference.

Two or three singular divisions of the Chancellor and Liverpool have taken place in the Lords. On the Earl Marshall's Bill, the Catholic portion of cabinet have actually craved [the] assistance of [the] opposition. Lord Duncannon told me that Huskisson, meeting him, said, "I hope you have sent out notes to your friends for an attendance on the Marshall's Bill". Duncannon answered that he had not, as Lord Holland thought it better not to make a party question of it. Huskisson answered, "But you have, though, for the Chancellor is making a party question of it!" However, the thing ended by the Chancellor and [the] Duke of York giving in. The bill passed yesterday in the Lords.

Lambton, Burdett and I went to [the] Southwood dinner. I attacked Canning's state papers relative to South America, which Mackintosh had called models. Lord Grey spoke to me with great indignation of Mackintosh's fulsome praise of Canning, and said he had better go over to the other side.

Only 150 at dinner, but [it] went off well. Burdett and I went afterwards to Berkeley Square.

Wednesday June 23rd 1824: Conference with Greek Deputies.

Dreadfully wintry weather. Dined at Clarendon Club – a large and merry party. [The] Duke of Sussex, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Darlington, Lord Bessborough, Lord

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Grey, at the top of [the] table – about eighteen in all. John Williams in [the] chair. Last dinner.

Coming home, found a long petition from [the] debtors at Horsemonger Jail. Went to Brookes's, to show it to Denison, [the] MP for [the] county.

Thursday June 24th 1824: Rainy weather. At House of Commons, presented petition, and made a debate¹⁸⁶ on [the] subject of regulations in prisons by visiting magistrates, and especially on Captain O'Callaghan's case, which has lately made such a noise. Denison answered, and agreed with me on the necessity of reforming the prison rules.

Burdett intended to move his address, which, however, he had remodeled – but Hutchinson [sic: for "Huskisson"??] had a motion before Burdett and would not give way. So, as Burdett did not intend to divide, I went away to dine with Lord Tavistock, where I met Baillie, Bruce, Pearce, and Lord and Lady William Russell. Burdett came in during dinner, and told us he had been most ignominiously extinguished, for Colonel Trench had counted out the House at the end of Hutchinson's debate, and found only thirty-six members. The Speaker was very angry, but Trench persisted, saying that Burdett's speech would do a deal of harm, &c.

The ministers were all gone to dine with the King at the Duke of Wellington's.

The heads of [the] opposition were invited to the Duchess of Wellington's musical party this evening to meet the King. Lord Grey [was] invited.

Rumours of change (immaterial) in [the] ministry – retiring of Liverpool, who is much shaken – [the] Duke of Wellington [is] talked of for the Treasury – but he is very ill – never sleeps.

Friday June 25th 1824: Parliament prorogued by King in person – a most empty speech. I had an interview with John Hunt as to the publication of some of Lord Byron's poems – afterwards walked to Paternoster Row and saw Messrs Knight & Lacey on the same subject – they promised me to discontinue the sale of their volume, just published, of Lord Byron's *Hours of Idleness, English Bards, &c.*

I had a letter on Thursday (yesterday) from Mr Trelawny, dated Missolonghi April 30th,¹⁸⁷ giving me particulars of Lord Byron's last days, for true it is, as Trelawney says, his loss has made a void which nothing can fill up – I find it so daily. I called on Mrs Leigh lately and advised her to write to Lady Byron to ask if she had any wishes respecting Lord Byron's funeral – this night I had her answer, saying if the deceased had left no directions she thought the matter might be left to Mr Hobhouse – there was

186: Hansard XI (1824), pp.1493-5. H. paints a dreadful picture of conditions in Horsemonger Jail.

187: This letter is in the John Murray Archive (National Library of Scotland).

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a postscript saying "*if you like you may show this*". The coldness and calculation of this person¹⁸⁸ on such an occasion are quite unaccountable. It would be impossible to live with such a woman.¹⁸⁹

I dined with Denison – met Hughes and Wharton and a Mr Lockwood – Hughes and Wharton told us several anecdotes of parliament in the days of Pitt and Fox.

Saturday June 26th 1824: Called on Kinnaird and Mrs Leigh on Lord Byron's affairs – rode in the Park – dined with Hanbury Tracey – a large party – Western – Clive (of Hereford), Hughes, Knight, Davenport, Burdett, &c. We had some lively talk on public men – and on my friend Burdett when he left the room. They asked me what my own motives of action were – whether ye ambition of making a figure was not a prominent one. I said that if I said no they would think me such a sort of fellow as Joseph Surface¹⁹⁰ – Western said – "not a bit of it," and I then ventured to tell what I believed to be true of my political conduct – namely that it was prompted by no other desire than that of doing public good in a small way - not now, perhaps, but leaving an example of political integrity.

If I know myself this is true, but perhaps I was a fool saying so.

Sunday June 27th 1824:

38

My birthday. I write the journal of the last week – I think of the occurrences of the last year – most melancholy indeed to the public, and to me.

As for myself, I find myself sunk into a complete valetudinarian – so much so that I quite wonder that I have been able to do the little I have done in the House of Commons this year – where I learn that my constituents think I have made progress, instead of going back or standing still. I have received thanks by deputation for what I have done on behalf of one large body of tradesmen, and I learn generally that my good Westminster friends are contented with me, yet I find my head a very different head from what it was a few years ago. My memory is as weak as water, and that vivacity which is the next best thing to wit and humour, which is sometimes taken for it, and which I once possessed, has almost entirely left me. It is possible that ill health may have caused this premature decay, and that returning health, if it does return, may restore what I have lost – but if this does not happen I know not how I shall be able to bear life much longer. Everything palls upon me – and the prospect that by the common course of nature myself and those of whom I <was/am> fond cannot add to

188: *RLL* (III 53) has ...of so young a woman.

189: Last sentence not in *RLL*.

190: Compare 6 Nov, 21.

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but must lose gradually the capacity for enjoyment makes me look with distaste upon what may remain of existence. This feeling has been growing upon me strongly of late and I recollect when I was at Newstead Abbey last year¹⁹¹ thinking of some rhymes, which I afterwards put upon paper, but most of which I have lost. Here however are some of them:

Youth, health, and pleasure all are gone
 Gone never to return
 And coming life has left alone
 To suffer and to mourn

The powerful charm the vivid hue
 That all creation wore
 When every object still was new
 Adorn it now no more.

Each brilliant hope, each gay desire
 That time and truth dispel
 I feel ye one by one expire
 And bid my soul farewell.

Each hour some dear delusion flies
 Some pleasing visions fade
 And life's too sad realities
 The dreary prospect shade.

When memory doubles each regret
 And hope no promise gives
 Of happier days why lingers yet
 The weary wretch and lives?

I added some other verses in answer to the question in the last line, which I will try to recollect some time or the other. Whilst I <was/am> thinking on the return of this sad day, the Greek Deputies call upon me, and remind me that there is a duty still to perform in life; and I also receive a letter from the Debtors in Horsemonger Gaol, in which the poor fellows thank me for presenting their petition for them in terms which,

191: See 28 Oct, 23.

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if they were justified by my real conduct and character, might reconcile a man fond of praise to the weight of existence. It seems the magistrates have, in consequence, recommended a relaxation in the rules of the prison.

[NOT IN DIARY: LETTER TO HOBHOUSE FROM THE DEBTORS IN HORSEMONGER JAIL:

Surry County Goal
26 June 1824

Sir

I am again deputed by the whole of the Prisoners confined for debt in this prison to convey to you their most sincere thanks for your condescension in presenting their Petition to the Commons House of Parliament and to express their unfeigned gratitude for the able and zealous exertions so eminently displayed by you in support of their Prayer – exertions which have caused the Justices of Peace assembled here yesterday – to recommend some relaxation of the Rules as they now exist – to the next general quarter sessions – my friend Mr Sargent who was the bearer of the Petition will do me the favour to deliver this communication, and to express my own humble gratitude, and my being in unison <of> {with} every one here – that you may be long spared – to plead the cause of suffering humanity, and continue to be the guard of the liberties of mankind, as well as the ornament of our common country.

I have the honour to remain with feelings of immense respect

Sir
Your most humble
and obedient Servant
Thomas Temple

To John Cam Hobhouse Esqre / MP. &c &c &c

(B.L.Add.Mss. 56549 6r, attached).]

Hanson called to talk on my dear friend's affairs. He recommends not asking Dr Ireland for leave to bury him in Westminster Abbey directly, but to sound him through some third person, for fear of a refusal. I dined at home, after walking in the Park with my sister Matilda.

Monday June 28th 1824: I see by the papers that Rossini composed and performed on the Piano Forte the other evening at his concert a piece of music on the death of Lord Byron. Also that Signior Pistrucci, the Italian *improvvisatore* at the Argyll Rooms, made an extemporaneous elegy on Lord Byron, which they say was very good. Monodies and other things have been written.

I saw Murray today. He told me that Wilmot Horton has written a long letter to Lord John Russell, endeavouring to make him press on Moore the acceptance of the money he has *returned* to Murray, from the hands of Lady Byron. Lady Byron has

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given her jointure of £2,000 a year over to the present Lord Byron – but Mrs Leigh tells me that Lady Byron, remarking probably on *no* provision being left in Lord Byron's will for her daughter Ada, "on account of her being amply provided for", said that it was very unlikely her daughter would inherit her fortune.

Murray told me that Dallas, the Dallas author of *Aubrey, &c.*, to whom Lord Byron gave his first two cantos of *Childe Harold*, had actually made over some letters from Lord Byron to his mother, and other letters from Lord Byron to him, Dallas, to Knight, a bookseller in Pall Mall East, and that a book of them was to be published immediately. Murray said he was called Jew in these letters. I told Murray I had written a letter to Dallas on the subject, remonstrating with him on publishing the letters without a previous inspection by the family, and before Lord Byron's body was in the grave.

I walked with my sister. Dined at Hanbury Tracy's – a large party. My friend ——— made it a very disagreeable one. Went to Berkeley Square.

Tuesday June 29th 1824: On Lord Byron's affairs. Saw Mrs Leigh and Douglas Kinnaird. Dined at Mr R. Williams. [The] Duke of Leinster told me that when [the] King went to Ireland, or rather when he was coming away, he walked up and down the deck of the vessel with him, and the King said that he was sorry there had been any coolness between them, but the cause of that coolness was now removed – meaning the Queen was dead. The Duke said that he also was sorry that His Majesty should have felt displeased with him – that if anyone had told His Majesty that he had acted except for the King's honour, he had said what was not true – that he had had no other view in his opposition to the Queen's trial, and that if the same circumstances should occur, he should do the same thing over again. The King was not displeased, but thanked the Duke for what he had done to make the visit to Ireland agreeable to him, and the King has always since been very civil to the Duke.

We had a large party. Burdett, Pearce, Kinnaird, Bruce, and others: but nothing said.

Went to Berkeley Square afterwards.

Wednesday June 30th 1824: Went to Spanish Committee, where I found our accounts in most admired disorder.¹⁹² A Captain Dixon, recommended by Sir Robert Wilson to take charge of our stores at Gibraltar, has refused to deliver in a statement of his mode of dispersal of several large sums.

Bowring showed me letters from Blaquiére, giving a most deplorable account of affairs in Greece. The Ionian government has laid an embargo on the £40,000 part of

192: Macbeth: *You have displaced the mirth, Broke up the good meeting, in most admired disorder ...*

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the loan taken out by Blaquiere, and poor Blaquiere writes like a distracted man. Lord Byron's body was on board the *Florida*, which was to sail on the 24th of May – Colonel Stanhope comes home with it.

I called on John Williams MP. Walked back with him to Westminster. Called with him on Knight the bookseller. I talked quietly to Knight on the impropriety of Dallas's conduct. Knight, as quietly, replied that he had nothing to do with the indelicacy of Mr Dallas – he looked at his purchase merely as a commercial speculation. I said that the haste in which the publication was to take place was unjustifiable – before Lord Byron was buried. Knight said that *he* presumed Mr Dallas was a needy man and knew the intense interest attendant upon everything respecting Lord Byron. "What?" said I, "you mean, he wished to strike whilst the iron was hot?" Knight smiled, and then said that the work was passing through the press under charge of one of the first literary characters of the day, whose name he could not mention, and that he, as well as himself, would take care that no living characters were compromised. Two letters in which Murray the bookseller had been compromised were cancelled, and delivered to Murray. I replied that in confidential correspondence individuals might be slightly mentioned *en passant*, and their feelings most sorely wounded – also that Lord Byron's literary character might suffer. Knight opined that neither would be the case, but the contrary. I then said that as Lord Byron's executor, acting for his sister, I thought it right to say that unless Dallas could prove his right to the property of Lord Byron's letters to his mother, I should step in and move an injunction against the work. Knight replied that he believed Dallas could prove that, from a letter from Lord Byron. I said, "Very well – if he can, that is another thing, but I must see the letter itself – I shall not be contented with a copy". Knight answered that he was almost sure there was such a letter. I thought, however, and so did Williams, that he seemed taken aback with my point about the injunction. I begged him not to take what I had said as a sign of hostility on my part – but merely as a performance of my legal duty by the legatees of the deceased. He assured me that he understood me perfectly; and then he told me that he would speak to the "literary person" performing the duties of editor, and if permitted by him would mention his name to me.

Knight told me that the work had been prepared by Dallas for a posthumous work, and was all ready when the news of Lord Byron's death arrived.

We took our leave of Knight, who was coldly polite. Williams remarked that the man knew his case perfectly, and that the book would be published: but that unless Dallas could show the letters from Lord Byron to his mother to be his property, he would advise an injunction by all means.

I walked with my sister in y^c Park. Dined in Berkeley Square. Found in the evening that the Duke of Devonshire has offered (upon being asked), George Spencer the living of Buxton, worth £180 a year. I advised him to take it, as did my father.

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[I] read [a] review of Captain Cochrane's pedestrian travels. He went 6,000 miles for less than a guinea.

Thursday July 1st 1824: Wrote journal for three days. I see by the *Oriental Herald* that Buckingham condemns the destruction of Lord Byron's memoirs – but he knows nothing whatever of the subject – Sam Rogers and I suspect the Hollands do not like the share they suppose me to have had in the business – poor Byron – he always left his friends in hot water during his life and it seems his [] will be of no easy management after his death.

The *Journal des debats* contains a fine speech said to be made by Byron on his death bed relative to Greece – he said nothing of the sort, but a letter from Trelawny written to someone at Leghorn and quoted in a paper the other day says he was quite fearless at his death – the letter says,

“He died perfectly fearless without the slightest indication of weakness, and all his disjointed sentences gave token of this”. I have often, I think, heard him express an apprehension of the manner in which he might behave at his death – not from any conviction of cause to fear, but from the debility of disease. He once (as well as I recall), said to me, “Let no one come near me when I am dying, if you can help it and we happen to be together at the time”.

Mr Woodeson the undertaker called. I told him I did not expect the *Florida*¹⁹³ with the body for a fortnight. Just after he was gone Bowring came into my room and told me the *Florida* was arrived in the Downs. I went off immediately to Chancery Lane to Hanson – he was not at home – then I went to Doctor's Commons to prove Lord Byron's will – but I could not tell what the personal property was – however, Dr Lushington told me I need not take out *probate* yet – I might act to a certain extent without – so I returned, and getting into a post-chaise with my servant – went to Rochester, and put up, dined and slept at the Crown.

HOBHOUSE'S DIARY FOR BYRON'S FUNERAL

[Edited from *B.L.Add.Mss.* 56549]

It is a narrative of anti-climax. Hobhouse's early, vertiginous horror at being in the presence of Byron's dead body is powerfully conveyed, and his grief thus needs no stressing; but his initial unwillingness to look at the corpse relaxes into bathos after he has summoned up the nerve to do so. Fletcher's emotions seem

193: The *Florida* had taken Edward Blaquièrre to Greece with the first instalment of the Greek Loan (*Marchand* III 1240).

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more powerful than those of anyone else; Lyon seems not to understand what's happened.

Both in London and in Nottinghamshire Hobhouse seems surprised and uneasy at the number of ordinary people who come to mourn or to gawp. Byron, he is made to realise, is neither his exclusive property, nor that of his class.

The small-scale provincial surroundings of St Mary Magdalene, Hucknall Torkard, contrast with the funeral in Westminster Abbey which, despite his disclaimers, is what Hobhouse has really wanted.

But he stage-manages it all with stoic professionalism.

Friday July 2nd 1824: Up early – off, a little before eight, in a chaise for Standgate Creek¹⁹⁴ – fifteen miles. Could not get within two miles of the shore, but walked over the marshes and got into a boat which took me to the *Florida*, which was just under weigh. I got on board, and sent back the boat. I found Colonel Leicester Stanhope¹⁹⁵ in charge of the remains of my friend, and of all his effects. There also were Fletcher, and Dr Bruno,¹⁹⁶ a young Italian physician, a courier,¹⁹⁷ a groom (a black American),¹⁹⁸ and a *maitre d'hôtel*.¹⁹⁹ Three dogs belonging to Lord Byron were playing about²⁰⁰ – I could hardly bear to look at them. The remains were below – I could not bring myself to see where they were placed, but I see by the inventory that the body was in a large butt of spirits, and the heart, the brain, and the intestines in separate cases but included in one chest.

We had to beat up the river. The sensation I experienced during the passage for five or six hours up to Gravesend I cannot describe. I was the last person that shook hands with Lord Byron when he left England at Dover in 1816²⁰¹ – I recollect him

194: A branch of the Medway, south of Sheerness.

195: The Benthamite Colonel Leicester Stanhope (1784-1862) was on-the-spot agent for the London Greek Committee. He had great faith in printing as a means of civilising the Greeks, few of whom could read.

196: Francesco Bruno had been engaged by B. at Genoa on the recommendation of Vaccà. His insistence, and that of Dr Millingen, on bleeding as the most efficacious way to cure B., had been responsible above all else for B.'s death.

197: The courier was probably Tita Falcieri.

198: Benjamin Lewis. He had originally been Trelawny's servant (*Marchand* III 1078). He spoke French and Italian, and knew horses and cooking.

199: Lega Zambelli.

200: Moretto, his bulldog, one, and Lion, his Newfoundland favourite, another; the third unidentified. Mediterranean tic fever – picked up from dogs – has been adduced as the disease from which B. died, although neuro-syphilis has also been mentioned.

201: See 25 Apr 1816.

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waving his cap as the packet bounded off on a swelling sea from the pier-head – and here I was coming back to England with him ... but ...

Poor Fletcher burst into tears and sobs when he first saw me, and several times, when telling me the sad story of his Lord's last illness and death, he could not contain his grief – so much real feeling I never saw. I shall take a note of a few things he mentioned, as well as what that excellent man Colonel Stanhope told me.²⁰²

Dr Bruno the physician presented me a narrative of Lord Byron's last illness, and a description of the body after death.²⁰³ It is a curious document – he seems to think Lord Byron's life lost by wrong treatment – he has copies of this narrative, which he intends for others. Fletcher gave me a narrative drawn up by Blaquièrè,²⁰⁴ chiefly from Fletcher's information, directed to Mr Bowring,²⁰⁵ with a letter to me saying he "hoped I should not be displeas'd".

About five o'clock we came to Gravesend. Stanhope and I [went] on shore, and getting into a Rochester coach proceeded to London where we arrived a little after nine.

Stanhope gave me some most interest[ing] particulars of the struggle in Greece.

Early to bed – unwell.

Saturday July 3rd 1824: Went before breakfast to Mrs Leigh's, where I was given a letter written by Mr Dallas²⁰⁶ to Mrs Leigh. In this letter I was called the "son of a gentleman", [and] was charged with writing an insolent letter to Dallas, and with having wished to prevent the publishing of Lord Byron's letters merely on my own account²⁰⁷ – also with being a "pretended" friend who had hindered Lord Byron from appearing in that amiable light in which the publication of these letters would place him. Dallas said that he had dashed out some passages, which he should now be justified in restoring, and also that he had omitted some things which might have given Mrs Leigh pain. This is a pretty way of making a man appear amiable – namely by

202: H.'s notes are printed above.

203: Reproduced at J.S.Chapman, *Byron and the Honourable Augusta Leigh*, Yale 1975, Appendix.

204: Edward Blaquièrè was a co-founder of the London Greek Committee.

205: John Bowring (1792-1872) man of all-round talent, was Secretary of the London Greek Committee, and responsible for two anthologies of Russian poetry, at least one of which B. read (see BLJ XI 85).

206: The Rev. Robert Charles Dallas (1754-18??) early confidant of B. and dedicatee of *Childe Harold* I and II. He did publish the letters, which were from B. in Greece, to Mrs Byron and to him.

207: Probably a just enough accusation.

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showing private letters in which he speaks ill of his confidential friends, and gives pain to his sister.

Murray came. I showed him the letter – he said the man was a swindler. He then showed me a new magazine, in which appeared some of the first part of “Byron's memoirs” – *the* memoirs²⁰⁸ – which Tom Moore had sold to Murray for 2,000 guineas – what will Moore say to this? The Mss. were sold as property – they were not property – for Moore had showed them about so as to permit them to be copied, so that in fact, besides the gross indelicacy of the original transaction, we have a direct deception practised on a tradesman; and yet Tom Moore – honest Tom Moore – merry Tom Moore – clever Tom Moore²⁰⁹ – will get over this. Holland House, Lansdowne House, and Barnes of the *Times*²¹⁰ will push and puff him through, whilst those who declare against such nefarious dealing will be run down and reprobated – so goes the world – but never mind – go on.

I took Murray to Mrs Leigh. She declared her approbation of my letter to Dallas, and her indignation at his to her. She asked me to dictate an answer, but I refused, and told her to do it. I then thought of going to Mr Knight, the intended publisher of the letters,²¹¹ and, saying that I was threatened with a publication of Lord Byron's letters respecting me, I should now withdraw my warning of stopping the work. But it then occurred to me that I had no right to give up the claim of the family to the property. I consulted Kinnaird – he agreed with me, and told me to despise any such threat. I did nothing.

Went to Greek Committee (in the chair). Gave Bowring Blaquièrè's Mss. – he said he would do nothing without me.

Came back to Mrs Leigh and saw her letter to Dallas. Went to Berkeley Square – dined and stayed the evening.

Sunday July 4th 1824: Woodeson²¹² called, and Hanson called. Hanson advised an immediate injunction against Knight's book – he told me several things of Lord Byron. I walked to Lincoln's Inn and then called on Mrs Leigh – walked in park with Joanna – dined at Berkeley Square <saw Murray who told me Dr Ireland, Dean of Westminster, had given his negative to burying Lord²¹³>

208: Intriguing publication unidentified.

209: Compare *Henry IV I II* iv 456-60.

210: Thomas Barnes (1785-1841) editor of *The Times* from 1817 until his death.

211: Knight of Knight and Lacey.

212: The undertaker H. has hired.

213: This occurs two days later.

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Monday July 5th 1824: Went early to Lincoln's Inn, and saw Bickersteth, who advised to move for an injunction against Dallas's book. Went to Doctor's Commons and proved Lord Byron's will, as did Mr Hanson.

Went thence to London Bridge and got a boat in which I went to London Dock Buoy,²¹⁴ where the *Florida* was anchored. I went on board – found Woodeson and his undertakers. They were emptying the large butt in which the chest was enclosed containing the remains of Lord Byron. It took a long time to get out all the spirit – when it had been done, the head of the barrel was knocked out and the chest appeared. It was a long black box, hooped with iron, something like a coffin – the best that could be made at Missolonghi. This was lifted out of the barrel with some difficulty and hoisted upon deck and placed alongside a leaden coffin prepared for the purpose. I stayed by whilst they were knocking off the hoops of the chest – but when they began to break it open I could stand it no longer, and went into the cabin. Indeed, during the whole previous operation I had felt like a person intoxicated, or in a state of feverish excitement without the power to think distinctly, and still preserving a sort of capacity for action which sometimes belongs to that condition of mind.

I endeavoured to divert my attention by looking over all those papers which had come sealed from Cefalonia, and had not been opened since Lord Byron had deposited them there. There were present Captain Hodgson, his father, and Fletcher. We looked at every paper²¹⁵ – there was no will, and the persons present signed a document to that effect.

Previously to going into the cabin, I [had] ordered some canvas to be drawn around the quarter-deck, and desired everybody but those of Lord Byron's household and the undertakers to retire whilst the body was removed. The cotton in which it was wrapped was soon removed – I preserved a bit of it. Mr Woodeson came into the cabin, and told me the body was placed in the coffin and asked me if I wished to see it. I believe I should have dropped down dead if I had ventured to look at it. He told me, as did the physician, Bruno, that it had almost all the freshness and firmness of life.²¹⁶

They did not open the chest containing the vases that hold the heart and brains and intestines. No order arrived from the Custom House for the delivery of the body without inspection, but a fellow came on board and demanded [to] look at the body – after a few words, I gave him leave, on his saying he was Surveyor-General of the Customs, and would facilitate the removal.

The Captain went on shore. I remained on board. I continued leaning on the coffin, which I had now covered with a lid and the ship's flag, and felt an inclination to

214: Note on the London Dock Buoy pending.

215: The papers included the unfinished Canto XVII of *Don Juan*.

216: This is not what H. finds when he looks at the body the following day.

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take a last look at my friend – just as one wishes to jump down a precipice – but I could not – and I walked away, and then I came back again, and rested again on the coffin.

Lord Byron's large Newfoundland dog²¹⁷ was lying <quite to my> feet – I wished I was as unconscious of my loss as he was. A young man²¹⁸ came on board and prayed hard to see the body. He did this in such moving terms, and was so much affected, that I could not help promising him a sight of it after the removal to land. He took up a bit of the cotton in which it has been wrapped and carefully put it in his pocket<book>.

At intervals Fletcher talked to me of his master. He told me that he had said he loved me better than any man on earth, and yet had never passed twenty-four hours without quarrelling with me.

At last the Captain came with the order from the Custom House, and in half an hour we got the coffin, and chest with the heart &c., on board the barge brought by the undertaker. The coffin was wrapped in a mat only, and put under [an] awning with a sail to conceal it. Poor Fletcher said, "What, is there to be no pall?" There were a great many boats around the ship at this time, and the shore was crowded with spectators. I left the servants on board to take care of the effects, and taking only the papers with me, went on board the barge. We passed quietly up the river and landed at Palace Yard stairs, at a quarter after five in the afternoon.

I went away to the house hired for the purpose, 20 Great George Street Westminster,²¹⁹ to see whether it was ready to receive the coffin, but I could not help going back again to witness the safe removal of the body to the native shore of the deceased. A black cloth was strapped around it, and it was put upon six men's shoulders, who, without the least remark from anyone, or any crowd being collected, bore it across Palace Yard, to the house in George Street ... I walked a little before it, and saw it deposited in the room prepared for its reception. The room was decently hung with black, but with no decorations except the escutcheon of the Byrons, roughly daubed on a deal board. I waited till the chest, with the heart &c., was also lodged in the same room, and then went away.

I walked to Albany, and there saw a note from Murray stating that Dr Ireland²²⁰ had sent a polite answer, but saying "No" to the proposal for burying in Westminster Abbey ... Meeting George Tierney,²²¹ I asked his advice whether an application should

217: Lion.

218: Young man unidentified.

219: Now at the north-west corner of Parliament Square opposite Westminster Abbey. Number twenty was the house of Sir Edward Knatchbull.

220: The Dean of Westminster.

221: The leader of the mainstream Whigs.

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be made to Lord Liverpool.²²² Tierney said on the whole *not*, considering that the family wished to bury Lord Byron in the family vault in Nottinghamshire.

I called on Mrs Leigh, and told her what I had done, then asked her commands. She was for burying in Nottinghamshire – so was Colonel Leigh. I said the public would expect every respect to be shown to such a man, especially by Mrs Leigh, and we must have the funeral properly attended through the streets. She told me that Lady Jersey had been the only person who had enquired after her of all Byron's friends. Mrs Leigh said she would wish to see the body. I promised she should, though I dissuaded her – poor creature, she cried bitterly, but said it would be a comfort to her.

I dined at Berkeley Square, and I believe they must have thought me tipsy, for the events of the day actually had raised my spirits and over-excited me.

Went away early, and called on Murray, who showed me Dr Ireland's letter, which, to my surprise, I found was written to Murray, and desired the Dean's compliments to me, and that considerations of duty prevented him from acceding to "my request". I told Murray that I thought Gifford was to have written to sound the Dean. I had no conception that Murray had written, still less that he had made a positive request in my name.

Murray said that Gifford would not write,²²³ and that Kinnaird had come in on Friday and said I had told him to ask Murray to write – accordingly Kinnaird dictated the letter for Murray.

I was much vexed, and told Murray so. I did not know how to act – the refusal made me uncomfortable. I wished him to tell the Dean the story. The next thing to think of was how everything could be properly done for the funeral, in case it should take place in Nottinghamshire. I called on Kinnaird, and told him what had happened. Went home and read Blaquiere's Mss. memoir sent to Bowring, on the last days of Lord Byron¹² – a very vulgar performance, and which cannot be published as it is.

222: The Prime Minister.

223: Gifford would never have asked for B. to be buried in Poets' Corner, for he was convinced that B.'s gift had damned him and that *Don Juan*, especially, was pernicious.

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Tuesday July 6th 1824: A letter from Tom Moore asking me when the funeral is to take place, and whether Hanson intends writing Byron's life. Kinnaird called, and told me Moore had engaged with Rees and Longman to write Lord Byron's life, and had given out that Kinnaird and I were quite satisfied with him and would help him. I wrote a short notice of the probability of the funeral taking place in Nottinghamshire;²²⁴ also a note to Murray begging him to communicate to the Dean of Westminster that I had *not* made any request for Westminster Abbey.

Went down to Great George Street with Kinnaird – met Hanson and his son there. Hanson had just been looking at Lord Byron – he told me he should not have known him, except he had looked at his ear and his foot.²²⁵ Kinnaird went into the room to look at him. I followed, and drawn by an irresistible inclination, though I expected to be overcome by it, approached the coffin. I drew closer by degrees till I caught a view of the face. It did not bear the slightest resemblance to my dear friend. The mouth was distorted and half open, showing those teeth, in which, poor fellow, he once so prided himself, quite discoloured by the spirits. His upper lip was shaded with red mustachios which gave a totally new colour to his face, his cheeks were long and bagged over the jaw, his nose was quite prominent at the ridge, and sunk in between the eyes, perhaps from the extraction of the brain. His eyebrows [were] shaggy and lowering. His forehead, marked with leech-marks probably, his eyelids closed and sunken – I presume the eyeballs having been removed when he was embalmed. His skin was like dull yellow parchment. So complete was the change that I was not affected as I thought I should be. It did not seem to be Byron. I was not moved so much scarcely as at the sight of his handwriting, or anything that I know to be his. I did not remark what Hanson told me he had observed in his lifetime, that his left eye was much larger than his right.²²⁶

Mrs Leigh had seen the body the same morning. She afterwards told me that she made exactly the same remark as myself, and²²⁷ had not been so affected as she had anticipated. One effect, however, the sight produced upon me – namely to make me despise existence and think less of the end of it than ever.

I called on Mrs Leigh – settled with her that the <funeral> should take place Monday next, and that he should be buried in the family vault at Hucknall in Nottinghamshire.

224: Moore did not attend the funeral at Hucknall.

225: Hanson means the deformed right foot; Ali Pacha had praised B.'s aristocratic ears, which, however, had no lobes (see BLJ I 227 and *Don Juan* V 106, 2, rough draft note; and 21 Oct 1809).

226: If B.'s eyes had been taken out during the embalming, this need not surprise us.

227: "as" (Ms.)

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I dined in Berkeley Square.

Wednesday July 7th 1824: Went early to Chancery Lane, and swore to an affidavit against the publication of Dallas' volume of Byron's letters. Went next to [the] Spanish Committee, gave Bowring Blaquiere's *Last Days of Lord Byron*, and told him the remarks I had made on it.

Employed in arranging matters at Great George Street. Dined at George Byng's. A young Frenchman,²²⁸ going from Havre in the suite of Lafayette to America,²²⁹ sent me a note to tell me that he had come all the way from Havre to see the funeral or the remains of Lord Byron. He called out from Byng's, and I spoke to him, telling him that the coffin was closed down, which indeed I had ordered it to be this afternoon. He would scarcely take a refusal, and I was sorry to give it.

Philips the artist²³⁰ also applied; but to him I did not wish to show the altered face of Byron – he would have made a sketch of it. There was a mask taken at Missolonghi²³¹ – but so badly as to be no likeness. I had thought of taking a mask here, but dropped the intention when I saw the change.

Lord Holland dined at Byng's – after dinner we had a long conversation on Byron – he told me he considered Byron scarcely sane. He had an unpublished poem in the *Beppo* style on Madame de Staël's visit here in 1814.²³² I told him my resolution of not delivering up the letters of Lord Byron's correspondents without their delivering up his to me – Lord Holland said I was quite right. Lord Holland spoke about the memoirs. He owned that Moore had been inadvertent in showing them – he (Lord Holland) had seen them – and thought some of them agreeable enough.

I heard from Mrs Leigh this day that Lady Burghersh²³³ had *not* burnt the copy she made of the memoirs until after she heard of Lord Byron's death – now Tom Moore told me she had burnt them *before him!!!*

Mrs Leigh showed me a long rigmarole from Wilmot Horton to Lord Lansdowne, trying to show the necessity of Tom Moore accepting the money back again from Lord Byron's relations, together with copies of correspondence, and minutes of

228: Unidentified.

229: Lafayette had been invited to visit the U.S.A. by Congress, who voted him a gift of \$200,000.

230: Thomas Philips – note pending.

231: A bust was made from this mask, by an artist called Flatters: the mask is untraced.

232: Work otherwise unheard-of: was it about Madame de Staël, or just written at the time she was in London?

233: See 18 May 14.

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conversations, and heaven knows what, in the true official style.²³⁴ I desired Mrs Leigh to say no more of the subject for the sake of Tom Moore and all the parties.

Before dinner I wrote a note to Mrs Leigh telling her that I should return the £1,000 left to me by Lord Byron to one of her family.

Joseph Hume²³⁵ dined at Byng's – we walked away together, and [he] did his best to persuade me to go out [as] Commissioner for managing the loan to Greece.

Thursday July 8th 1824: Stanhope called, and used every argument to second what Joseph Hume [had] urged last night. He told me that he knew of no man who could do what I would do in Greece – no man in England – he said I might gain absolute control over the councils, and actually form the government.

I stated my fears and objections,²³⁶ and told him unfeignedly that I thought myself unequal to action in such a crisis, and also that it seemed to me absurd to attempt to save or found a state in the *holidays*, for I must come back by February next.²³⁷ However, I promised to think over the proposal, and said if the deputies would put £20,000 at the disposal of the Greek Committee to make an outfit of some artillery &c. to accompany me, I would go.

Stanhope told me one or two things, too true I am sure, about Byron's last career in Greece.

The Vice-Chancellor has granted an injunction against Dallas' book.

I walked down to Great George Street to make arrangements, and look over some of my friend's effects. He had sixty packages with him of one kind or another. Walked in the park with Sophy. Dined in Berkeley Square.

Friday July 9th 1824: Employed on Lord Byron's affairs. Dined in Berkeley Square.

Saturday July 10th 1824: Employed as before and dined with family, I believe.

Sunday July 11th 1824: Lord Byron's coffin lay in state, as it is called, yesterday and the day before. Immense crowds applied for admittance, but very few persons of any name or note.²³⁸ This day no-one <called><to> came except my sisters. I walked with

234: That is, in the manner of a spokesman for Annabella.

235: Joseph Hume (1777-1855) Benthamite M.P.

236: Sensibly, given the extraordinary naivety Stanhope displays.

237: That is, by the time Parliament opened again.

238: H. not impressed by B.'s popularity with the vulgar many.

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Sophy. Woodeson the undertaker told me that Lord Lonsdale²³⁹ had sent back an invitation to <attend> send his carriage to the funeral in a black cover. Now this invitation was misdirected to him instead of Lord Scarsdale,²⁴⁰ a relation of the family. The meanness of the insult on Lord Lonsdale's part deserved some notice, but I thought it advisable to keep quiet.

Monday July 12th 1824: Went at ten o'clock with Burdett and Ellice in my father's carriage to Great George Street, to attend the removal of my dear Byron's remains as mourner and executor. There was a vast concourse of people, and about forty-seven carriages, of which a list was given in the papers tolerably correct. Lord Carlisle and Lord Morpeth sent theirs, and Lord Aberdeen²⁴¹ – these were the only carriages of persons of not strongly opposition principles.

Moore, Rogers, and Campbell, who had been sent to as mourners, came. I must say that the two first were very much affected indeed. The crowd behaved with great propriety, although there was something shocking in the unavoidable noise and tumult attendant on such an assemblage of people. When the coffin was put into the hearse they pulled off their hats.

Barry O'Meara (of St Helena)²⁴² was impudent enough to intrude himself into the house as a mourner, but was sent out before I came. Sir Charles Morgan (Lady Morgan's husband)²⁴³ did the same, but was soon convinced of the impr<uden/>propriety of such a step, and had his scarf taken off by the undertaker. The only paper that gave a correct list of the mourners was the *Times*, apart perhaps from *Globe and Traveller*, to whom it had been sent.²⁴⁴

239: William Lowther, first Earl of Lonsdale (1757-1844) was Wordsworth's patron (see *Don Juan*, B.'s note to Dedication, 6, 6). It was hardly surprising that he returned his invitation, even though in 1824 few people knew about the Dedication.

240: Nathaniel Curzon, 3rd Baron Scarsdale (1781-1856).

241: The conservative mourners had reasons for sending their carriages. George Hamilton-Gordon, fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860) was a philhellene. B. and H. had seen his signature in a Greek cave – see 16 Dec 1809 and 19 Jan 1810. George Howard, sixth Earl of Carlisle (1773-1848; known until 1825 as Lord Morpeth) had contributed to the *Anti-Jacobin*.

242: Barry O'Meara (1786-1836) Napoleon's doctor on board the *Bellerophon* and – until dismissed in 1818 – on St. Helena. Author of *Napoleon in Exile* (1822) which recorded Hudson Lowe's malice.

243: See 15 Sep 1822.

244: The *Globe and Traveller* had reported: *We understand, and can well believe it, that at Missolonghi, the grief that pervaded the inhabitants did not require this notification from the Government. Mourning was deep and universal. England is thus deprived of the man to whom even those who have felt the most violent enmity towards some of his recent writings have not denied the title of the first poet of the age. His death is more melancholy at a time when he*

January 1st-July 16th 1824: Byron's death and funeral

The procession moved off at eleven o'clock, and had come to the stones' end²⁴⁵ a little after twelve. The streets and windows were full of people,²⁴⁶ the day being very fine, George Leigh, Captain Richard Byron,²⁴⁷ Hanson and myself went in the first coach, Burdett, Kinnaid, Bruce, Ellice, Stanhope and Trevanion (one of the family) in the second, Moore, Rogers, Campbell, and Orlando the Deputy, in the last. I believe this was the arrangement.

We all returned as the funeral left the stones. On the whole as much honour was done to the deceased as circumstances would admit of. He was buried like a nobleman, since we could not bury him as a poet.²⁴⁸

devoted himself to a cause in which, in common with all generous minds, he felt the deepest sympathy--a cause of which it is enough to say that it would have been worthy of his muse. The character of Lord Byron has already been the subject of very strict, and not very friendly investigation; but it will be acknowledged, that even if he fell into some of those errors which those who have too early an opportunity of gratifying all their wishes can scarcely escape from, he is now entitled to be remembered for the great qualities in which he has excelled all men of his age and rank--not for the failings of which he has shared with so many of them. His brilliant talents, and his careful cultivation of them, his benevolent heart, his aspirations for the happiness and liberty of mankind, and finally his noble devotedness in the noblest struggle which this age has witnessed, will cause him to be numbered among the great men of whose memory England is proud, and whose premature loss it has been her fate to lament. The Greeks have requested and obtained the Heart of Lord Byron, which will be placed in a Mausoleum in the country, the liberation of which was his last wish. His body will be brought to England. His Lordship leaves one daughter, a minor. (My thanks to Chris Little here.)

245: The hearse then went to Nottingham via Welwyn, Higham Ferrers and Oakham.

246: Including Mary Shelley (who watched the procession from a window on Highgate Hill, accompanied by Jane Williams), Coleridge, and John Clare. Coleridge, as he also watched it passing up Highgate Hill, gave forth "... a strain of marvellous eloquence", lasting not less than a quarter of an hour, starting with B.'s "unhappy youth" and going on with great generosity over his whole career up to his climactic death in Greece. Porter [Seymour Porter, his interlocutor] was moved by Coleridge's sense of B.'s greatness, and his view that the "Satanic" reputation was ephemeral. "Byron's literary merits would seem continually to rise, while his personal errors, if not denied, or altogether forgotten, would be little noticed, & would be treated with ever softening gentleness" (Holmes, Coleridge: *Darker Reflections*, p.542). A young girl next to Clare sighed "poor Byron!" and, as Clare recorded later, "I looked up in the young girl's face it was dark and beautiful and I could almost feel in love with her for the sigh she had uttered for the poet ... the Reverend the Moral and fastidious may say what they please about Lord Byron's fame and damn it as they list - he has gained the path of its eterni[t]y without them and lives above the blight of their mildewing censure to do him damage - the common people felt his merits and his power and the common people of a country are the best feelings of a prophecy of futurity".

247: The new Lord Byron said he was ill in Bath.

248: H.'s protestations that he was *not* interested in an Abbey funeral rendered hollow.

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I dined with Douglas Kinnaird, and employed myself looking over papers with him, and talking of our friend.

Tuesday July 13th 1824: Employed looking over Byron's letters and papers. Walked with one of my sisters. Dined in Berkeley Square. Mrs Leigh sent me Byron's watch as a present.

Wednesday July 14th 1824: Set off in Leicester coach at a little past five in the morning. Arrived at Leicester about seven in the evening. Had a violent storm of thunder and lightning in the road – set off in a post chaise for Loughborough, where I slept.

Thursday July 15th 1824: Went to Lord Rancliffe's²⁴⁹ at Bunny,²⁵⁰ and found what he had promised – a hearty welcome from this kind and excellent man. He told me his tenants had requested leave to join the funeral procession, and would go <there> headed by his steward. In the course of the morning a messenger arrived with a request to see me from the Mayor and Corporation of Nottingham, asking leave for the Mayor and a deputation from their body to attend the funeral from Nottingham to Hucknall. I wrote a handsome answer in the affirmative.

I strolled about Bunny – saw the little school-house which C. S. Matthews and I had remarked in 1809, and the little inn, the Rancliffe Arms, where we had lodged – and had the company of a travelling drawing-master, who surprised us by the account of the many miles he walked to give lessons. C. S. Matthews and I left Newstead on foot, and walked to London. Byron came up in his carriage – I recalled his passing us on the road near the hut gate of Newstead Park, and we gave him a huzza.²⁵¹ I am the survivor of the three – how long I shall be is another matter.

Of the five that often dined at Byron's table at Diodati near Geneva – Polidori, Shelley, Lord Byron, Scrope Davies and myself – the first put an end to himself, the second was drowned, the third killed by his physicians, the fourth is in exile!!!

249: A friend of B. from his early days, George Augustus Henry Anne Parkyns, Baron Rancliffe, was a Whig M.P. and had been equerry to the Prince of Wales.

250: Rancliffe's property on the road between Nottingham and Loughborough.

251: *RLL* (III 69) has "hurrah".

January 1st-July 16th 1824: Byron's death and funeral

I went with Lord Rancliffe to Nottingham – overtook the hearse and coaches on the road. They were covered with dust. At Nottingham a crowd expected their arrival. I ordered some preparations in the Black Boy Inn²⁵² for the coffin lying in state.

Returned to Bunny to dinner – beautiful summer weather. There dined with us a Dr Attenborough, or some such name,²⁵³ a surgeon of Nottingham. He told me what I never heard before, and what I doubt whether my friend Byron knew, that the village and glen of Papplewick near Newstead was the scene of one of Ben Jonson's pastoral dramas, in which is the character of Mad Madge of Papplewick,²⁵⁴ also that Mrs Radcliffe²⁵⁵ lived at Nottingham, and probably drew some of her romantic pictures from the old Abbey.

He mentioned that the *old* Lord, in a rage one day, shot Betty Hardstaffe, a woman who lived with him,²⁵⁶ in the breast – her stays saved her. When he dismantled Newstead he went to live in a sort of pot-house by the roadside. He returned to Newstead, but only inhabited a room or two. He lived on £300 a year, and left nothing to bury him with.²⁵⁷

Friday July 16th 1824: Set out in Lord Rancliffe's carriage, and with him, for Nottingham to accompany the funeral from that place to Hucknall.²⁵⁸ On arriving at Nottingham, the Black Boy,²⁵⁹ where the coffin &c. lay, found an immense crowd pressing into the room to see the apparatus, and a great throng in the streets. My friend and Byron's friend Hodgson, the translator of Juvenal,²⁶⁰ was there, and Colonel

252: Corrected by *Marchand* (III 1261) to *The Blackamoor's Head* (on the corner of Pelham Street and High Street) owned by the Duke of Newcastle and frequented by the gentry. It was often used for lyings-in-state. The Black Boy, in Long Lane, was not so favoured.

253: Last phrase not in *RLL* (III 69).

254: The Ben Jonson play with a Nottinghamshire setting is *The Sad Shepherd: or A Tale of Robin-Hood* (pr.1640) and the character referred to by Attenborough is Maudlin the Envious, the Witch of Papplewick. I am grateful to Anne Barton for the information here.

255: "Radcliffe" (Ms.) Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823) Gothic authoress of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and so on. Her novel *The Romance of the Forest* (1791) had been written in Nottinghamshire.

256: Known politely as "Lady Betty", she was the principal legatee in the Wicked Lord's will.

257: It was Mrs Byron who, by the sale of her effects in Aberdeen, had paid for the funeral of the Wicked Lord.

258: The village north-east of Nottingham, where the Byron family vault is.

259: The Black Boy (but see 15 July 24) was demolished in the 1960s.

260: For Francis Hodgson's Juvenal, see BLJ II 95 and III 150. Hodgson had always had a tender regard for the salvation of B.'s soul, and had elicited one of his most explicit attacks on Christianity (BLJ II 97).

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Wildman, the owner of Newstead,²⁶¹ to attend as mourners. There were placards inviting the people, admirers of that “great and distinguished nobleman and patriot”, &c., to attend the funeral with or without mourning. There was certainly a great deal of feeling and interest excited on this occasion.

The procession began to move about eleven. Colonel Wildman was in the first mourning coach, with Hanson and Colonel Leigh²⁶² and me. The *Times* newspaper of the following Monday, and the *Nottingham Review*, contained a tolerably accurate account of the sad ceremony, and of the passing to Hucknall. We went very slowly, by the longest road to that place, first going seven miles on the Mansfield road,²⁶³ and then turning down towards Papplewick²⁶⁴ through the grounds of Mr Fountain Wilson.²⁶⁵ The procession altogether extended about a quarter of a mile. The coronet²⁶⁶ was carried the whole distance – the view, as it wound through the very romantic villages of Papplewick and Linby,²⁶⁷ and then towards Hucknall, excited sensations in me which I shall never forget. As we passed under the hill of Annesley²⁶⁸ to our right, crowned with “the peculiar diadem of trees” which, Colonel Wildman reminded me, had been immortalised by Byron in his *Dream*,²⁶⁹ I called to mind a thousand particulars of my first visit to Newstead,²⁷⁰ when I visited, in company with my friend, Annesley Park and saw his first love and his continued favourite, Mrs Chaworth²⁷¹ – and now I was following his remains — [scrawl] —

We were five hours in the road to Hucknall. The churchyard and little church of this sequestered village were crowded so thickly that with difficulty we could follow

261: See 10 Dec 1817.

262: The presence of Augusta's husband at the funeral is striking. She was herself too upset to attend.

263: Mansfield is north of Nottingham, and

264: Papplewick north-east of Hucknall. The cortege deliberately took a roundabout route.

265: Richard Fountayne Wilson of Melton-on-the-Hill (my thanks to Chris Little here).

266: His Baron's coronet.

267: Linby is between Papplewick and Hucknall.

268: The Hill of Annesley is still visible from the road linking Papplewick and Hucknall; but the trees are gone. Annesley Hall itself is abandoned by its millionaire owner, having been gutted by its previous one.

269: *The Dream*, 36-7. Wildman knows B.'s poetry better than does H., a fact not apparent from *RLL* (III 70).

270: In 1809. See 28 Oct 1822 and 15 July 1824.

271: B.'s cousin Mary Chaworth had been beloved by him in 1803. Indifferent to him then, she had attempted, after making an unhappy marriage, to make contact again in 1812, after he had become famous; but without success. He answered her letters (which survive, though she destroyed his) but, too involved with Augusta, would not see her. He and H. had dined with her and her husband in 1808.

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the coffin and up the aisle. There was something striking in the contrast between the gorgeous approach of the coffin and urn and the coronet and the appearance of this humble church. After the first part of the service had been read, whilst the coffin rested in the aisle, the coffin was then moved into the chancel – the mourners followed it. I saw it lowered into the vault of the Byron family. The remainder of the service was then performed. I had been so long resigned²⁷² to the contemplation of the irreparable loss of my friend, that the seeing him buried was no source of more profound grief to me, but I felt stunned and unable to lament. I went down into the vault to see where they had laid him. They told me that his coffin stood upon that of the late Lord,²⁷³ and I saw that beside it was the coffin, all mouldered and with the plate scarcely visible, of his mother.²⁷⁴ I wished to have his coffin placed on this, but was told that it would give way; so I left his coffin and the urn where it had been first placed, and ascended from the vault. Taking one last look at the coffin, I withdrew.

I have since been informed that the church was crowded up to a late hour in the evening, and the vault was not closed till the next morning. A few days afterwards some thieves broke into Hucknall church and stole the black cloth with which the pulpit was hung.

I returned to Nottingham and Bunny with Lord Rancliffe. The Corporation of Nottingham offered me the freedom of their town, but I declined to take it up on such an occasion.²⁷⁵

272: This word looks like “liaised”.

273: The Wicked Lord, B.'s great uncle, had died in 1798.

274: B.'s mother had died in August 1811.

275: H. was M.P. for Nottingham from 1834 to 1847.