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AN EDITION OF THE LETTERS OF MARIANNE FRANCIS
(1790-1832) TO HESTER LYNCH PIOZZI (1741-1821),
1808-10.

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1975
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1975

An Edition of The Letters of Marianne Francis (1790-1832)
To Hester Lynch Piozzi (1741-1821), 1808-10.

By

Diane Menagh

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York

1975

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 19, 1975
date

Frank Brady
Chairman of the Examining Committee

May 19, 1975
date

Allen Mandelbaum
Executive Officer

Frank Brady

Robert Day

Katherine M. Rogers
Supervisory Committee

To my mother, Clare Darcy Menagh, whose observation that

"Life is so daily"

suggests the light in which these letters might best be read.

Abstract

An Edition of The Letters of Marianne Francis (1790-1832)
To Hester Lynch Piozzi (1740-1821), 1808-10.

by

Diane Menagh

Adviser: Professor Frank Brady

The edition of the letters of Marianne Francis, Fanny Burney's niece, to Hester Lynch Piozzi includes an introduction, transcription of the letters, and annotation of the text. All original copies of the letters are in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England and are catalogued under JRL MS. 582.

Acknowledgements

Marianne Francis wrote to Mrs. Piozzi: "With regard to Women, and Scholars, and so forth--I declare, I think you make them out, poor dears, better off than they are. 'Who can hinder them from being Scholars?' Nobody, perhaps. But who is willing to help them? And does not such a task require some assistance?" The task of an editor requires great assistance, and times have changed. I owe a debt of gratitude to many individuals.

I wish to thank the following librarians for approving my work with their collections: Mrs. Lola Szladits, Curator of the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library; Mr. Frank Taylor of the John Rylands Library; the Board of Directors of the British Museum; and the staff of the Burney Room of McGill University. Also, a grant from the Office of Dean Churchill of the City University of New York facilitated my initial work on the Marianne Francis letters.

In the course of preparing this edition, I have been privileged to work with scholars who are examples of excellence in the realms of biography and editing. Professor Joyce Hemlow first suggested an edition of Francis letters for my dissertation work and has since been a generous and invaluable guide through the world of the Burneys.

She has inspired the work, introduced me to other editors in the field, helped my research in the Burney Room, and, finally, read the manuscript. Professor James Clifford has given me direction in the annotation and understanding of the Piozzi materials and has made available to me the Piozzi manuscripts in his possession. Dr. Roger Lonsdale has been helpful in suggesting research material for musicians and the life of Dr. Burney. Professor Coleman Parsons has encouraged my interest in biography and editing and has helped with many of the details of the work. Professor Frank Brady, my adviser, has patiently instructed me in the fundamentals of editing. He has been a constant support in this editorial endeavor, and I am beholden to him.

During the time of my work on this edition, I have depended upon the kindness of my family, my friends and my colleagues, and I am grateful to them. I am especially grateful to my grandmother, Marie J. Darcy, who has assisted me in the task of proofreading with the patience and stamina essential to scholarly work.

Identification of Author and Documents

Marianne Francis (1790-1832) was the daughter of Charlotte Burney and Clement Francis, the granddaughter of Doctor Charles Burney, and the niece of Fanny Burney. Her correspondence, diaries, musical compositions and a fragment of her untitled novel are divided among the Burney family manuscripts in the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library, the Barrett Collection in the British Museum, and the Thrale (Piozzi) manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. The major correspondences of Marianne Francis are with her sister, Charlotte Barrett, the editor of Fanny Burney's diaries; with Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi, the biographer of Samuel Johnson; with Arthur Young, the agriculturalist, and with William Wilberforce, the Evangelical reformer. Marianne Francis served as amanuensis to Arthur Young and as secretary to William Wilberforce. Of her work, only some hymns have been published. Her unpublished letters have provided material for Roger Lonsdale's Dr. Charles Burney, Joyce Hemlow's Fanny Burney, James Clifford's Hester Lynch Piozzi, and John Gazley's Arthur Young.

The correspondence of Marianne Francis with Hester Lynch Piozzi, written during the years 1806-20, consists of one hundred and sixty-two letters; all the letters are in the John Rylands

Library, Manchester, England, and are catalogued:

R 582-84 (R71063) Letters from
 Marianne Francis to Hester Lynch Piozzi, etc.
 I (582) 1-64 Various sizes c. 1806-10
 II (583) 65-125 Various sizes c. 1810-14
 III (584) 126-85 Various sizes c. 1814-20

(Letters 163-85 are from Clement Francis, Marianne's brother, to Mrs. Piozzi.) The Piozzi side of the correspondence has not been located, with the exception of a few letters in the Berg Collection. This dissertation edition is a transcription and annotation of thirty-five letters from Marianne Francis to Hester Lynch Piozzi during 1808-10 (catalogued in the John Rylands Library manuscript collection under Piozzi manuscripts, I, 582, 20-54).

The correspondence between Marianne Francis and her sister, Charlotte Barrett, is divided between the Barrett Collection and the Berg Collection. The Barrett Collection contains letters from Marianne Francis to Charlotte Barrett (1805-28) catalogued under Egerton MS. 3704A. Three additional letters are in the Berg Collection under "Scrapbook: Fanny Burney and Family, 1653-1890." Eighty-three letters from Marianne Francis to Charlotte Barrett (1803-32) are in the Berg Collection. No letters from Charlotte Barrett to Marianne Francis have been located.

The third major correspondence of Marianne Francis, between herself and Arthur Young, is also divided between the Barrett and Berg Collections. The letters of Marianne Francis to Arthur Young (1817-30) in the Barrett Collection are catalogued: Egerton MS. 3703B. Young's letters to Francis are in the Berg in folders entitled "From Arthur Young to Marianne Francis."

Additional manuscripts relating to Marianne Francis survive; they consist of letters from Sarah Wesley, Charles Wesley's daughter, in the Barrett Collection, and letters from William Wilberforce catalogued under "Wilberforce" as "73pp. of Miscellaneous MSS." in the Berg Collection. Also in the Berg Collection catalogued under Francis are "Marianne Francis' holograph diaries (1803-21) in 18 folders"; "12 letters to Charlotte Burney Francis Broome, Marianne Francis' mother, (1811-31)"; "2 A.L.S. to Henry Barrett, Marianne Francis' brother-in-law (1808)." Marianne Francis' fragment of a novel is in the Barrett Collection under Egerton MS. 3707.

Editorial Procedures

Manuscripts and Transcription

The original manuscript letters generally consist of three sheets, two single sheets $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ and one double sheet, folio, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$. The letters are transcribed from photostats of the original manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. The originals have been consulted, but they are not the basis for transcription.

Postmarks. All legible date stamps are transcribed; others are ignored.

Datelines. Datelines are placed at the head of the letter, regardless of their position in the MS., except when more than one dateline appears in the letter, in which case one is placed at the head and one at the close of the letter, according to their place in the MS. Periods following datelines are included.

Complimentary closes. Elements which appear in the MS. on separate lines are run together and are set off, as in modern convention, by commas.

Signatures. Periods following signatures are omitted.

Terminal punctuation. Colons and semi-colons which serve as terminal punctuation are reproduced, as are lower-case letters at the beginning of new sentences. Marianne Francis uses dashes throughout the letters as terminal punctuation and as connective punctuation. In some cases her intent is to suggest both. When her intent is terminal punctuation, a period is supplied in place

of the dash. When the dash is connective punctuation, it is reproduced. When the author's intent is to suggest a pause and connection to related material, a period is supplied in place of a dash. Dashes following periods are omitted unless they serve as a device for signalling transitions (i.e. as a substitute for paragraphing). Marianne Francis frequently employs the punctuation of a period and dash for transition.

Interlineations and marginalia. Interlineations and marginalia are inserted in line with the text. In the few instances when a parenthetical sentence appears in the MS. as starred material in the margin, it is transcribed in parentheses.

Deletions. Insignificant deletions are ignored, as are occasional corrections in spelling or punctuation by the author.

Lacunae. Words and letters obliterated by a defect in the MS. are supplied within angular brackets. When a word or letter cannot be recovered, a series of three x's are supplied in angular brackets: $\langle xxx \rangle$. Words and letters inadvertently omitted by the writer are supplied within square brackets, the inadvertent misuses of one word for another, such as "that" for "their," are corrected silently in the text and cited in a footnote.

Abbreviations, contractions, and symbols. The following symbols are expanded: & (and), &c. (etc.). Terminal punctuation is supplied for "etc." when omitted in the MS. All other abbreviations, contractions and the punctuation used for them in the MS. are retained, including the use of "th" for "then" or "wh"

for "where" or "which".

Quotations. Omitted terminal quotation marks are supplied. Quotation marks for dialogue are regularized. Verse quotations set off from the rest of the text in the MS. are set off in the transcription. Quotation marks for verse are regularized; they are reproduced at the beginning and end of each passage, but not at the beginning of each line.

Spelling and punctuation are retained.

Capital letters are retained.

Paragraph organization (or disorganization) is preserved.

Annotation

The annotation and editorial notes have been designed for the eighteenth-century scholar. Well-known material receives less annotation than more obscure references. The material for annotation is drawn from the unpublished letters and journals of the Burney and Piozzi families, discussed under "Documents," as well as from published reference sources. The "Who's Who" file in the Burney Room of McGill University, compiled from material gathered for the edition of Fanny Burney: Journals and Letters edited by Joyce Hemlow, has been a particularly useful reference source. Also, Hester Lynch (Thrale) Piozzi's unpublished journals, owned by Professor James Clifford, have provided material for annotation. Standard reference works such as the Dictionary of National Biography, and Wheatley and Cunningham's London: Past and Present, are cited only when quoted

directly or used for extensive material. The Correspondence and Other Papers of James Boswell Relating to the Making of the Life of Johnson edited by Marshall Waingrow has been consulted as the basis for format in annotation although its format is not used in all cases. When the place of publication of a work is London, it is omitted. Works which appear under "Cue Titles" are cited in the notes only in the form of the cue title. Works with lengthy titles which do not appear in the cue titles are cited in their complete form in the first note in which they appear and by a short title in all further notes. Individuals who appear under "Abbreviation of Names" are cited in full the first time they appear in the text, and according to the abbreviations in all further notes. Maiden names are included in parentheses. Nicknames are included in quotation marks. The first word of every note is in upper case, including quotations which begin in lower case in the original.

Abbreviations of Names

A	Arthur Young, 1741-1820.
CB	Charles Burney, Mus.D., 1726-1814.
CBJr.	Charles Burney Jr., D.D., 1757-1817
CBt	Charlotte (Francis) Barrett, 1786-1870.
CBFB	Charlotte Ann Burney, 1761-1838; after 1786, Mrs. Francis; after 1798, Mrs. Broome.
CF	Clement Francis, 1792-1829.
FBA	Fanny Burney d'Arblay, 1752-1840; after 1793, Madame d'Arblay.
HBt	Henry Barrett, 1756-1843.
HLP	Hester Lynch (Salisbury) Thrale, 1741-1821; after 1784, Mrs. Piozzi.
MF	Marianne Francis, 1790-1832.
ST	Susan Thrale, 1770-1858.

Cue Titles

<u>Alum. Cant.</u>	J. and J.A. Venn, <u>Alumni Cantabrigienses</u> , 4 vols., 1922-47.
<u>Alum. Oxon.</u>	Joseph Foster, <u>Alumni Oxonienses</u> , 4 vols., 1887-88, 1891-92.

Anecdotes Hester Lynch Piozzi, Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D. The edition used is in Johnsoniana, ed. Robina Napier, 1884.

AR Annual Register, 1759-1826.

- Balderston Thraliana, The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (later Mrs. Piozzi) 1776-1809, ed. Katharine C. Balderston, 2 vols., Oxford, 1942.
- BM The British Museum, Barrett Collection of Burney Papers, 43 vols., Egerton MSS. 3690-3708.
- BMC British Museum Catalogue.
- Clifford James L. Clifford, Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale) Oxford, 2d edn. rev, 1952; rpt. 1969.
- C[okayne] G.E. C[okayne], Complete Peerage, Rev. Hon. Vicary Gibbs, H.A. Doubleday and others, 13 vols., 1910-59.
- DNB Dictionary of National Biography.
- Edin. Rev. The Edinburgh Review, 1802-1929.
- FB:JL The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame d'Arblay), ed. Joyce Hemlow, 4 vols. to date, Oxford, 1972-.
- Gent. Mag. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-1905.
- Grove Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Eric Blom, 5th edn., 9 vols., 1954.
- Hayward Abraham Hayward, Autobiography, Letters, and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale), 2d edn., 1861.
- Hemlow Joyce Hemlow, The History of Fanny Burney Oxford, 1948.
- JRL John Rylands Library, Manchester, England.
- Life Boswell's Life of Johnson, Together with Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales, ed. G.B. Hill, rev. L.F. Powell, 6 vols., 1934-50; vols. v. and vi., 2d edn., 1964.
- Lonsdale Roger Lonsdale, Dr. Charles Burney, Oxford, 1965.

- Malmes. James Harris, first Earl of Malmesbury, Diaries and Correspondence, ed. by his grandson, the third Earl, 4 vols., 1844.
- Napier W.F.P. Napier, History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814, 4th edn., 3 vols., 1839.
- NCMH C.W. Crawley, New Cambridge Modern History, vol. ix. Cambridge, 1965.
- NLW National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.
- NYPL New York Public Library, New York, Berg Collection of Burney Papers.
- OCD The Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. N.G.L. Hammond and H.L. Scullard, 2d edn., Oxford, 1970.
- Piozziana Piozziana; or, Recollections of the Late Mrs. Piozzi, with Remarks by a Friend, [Edward Mangin,] 1833.
- QR The Quarterly Review, 1809-1922.
- Queeney Letters The Queeney Letters, being Letters Addressed to Hester Maria Thrale by Dr. Johnson, Fanny Burney, and Mrs. Thrale Piozzi, ed. Marquess of Lansdowne, 1934.
- Times The Times (of London) 1788-1912.
- WW "Who's Who" file at the Burney Room, McGill University.

I

The Life of Marianne Francis

The literary world has recently been flooded with the lives and letters of obscure women. Attics have been ransacked for old portraits and for trunks filled with letters and commonplace books, deeds and diaries, any tangible trace of our self-effacing female ancestors. What accounts for our sudden sentimentality over the lives of obscure women? Virginia Woolf wrote in a passage on the "life of women": "I am talking of the common life which is the real life and not of the little separate lives which we live as individuals."¹

Fifty years later women have set out to study the "little separate lives" of obscure individuals for the sake of the common life. The communion of these lives involves their differences as well as similarities; we visit the portrait gallery of our ancestors not only to find the familiar family noses and chins, but also to find the unique crooked tooth in Aunt Mary, or the squint in Aunt Sarah, so surprising in a member of our family.

Once we've hung the favorite ancestor portrait above the mantle, we rummage through the trunk filled with old manuscripts. What is it we seek, and what do we find? If our search is for the facts, the external details of an individual's life, it will prove a simple task; a baptismal certificate, marriage record, some inherited jewelry and an old laundry list are all the data we are likely to accumulate. We will find no faded academic degrees, charters for land, or notes for sermons. When we come across traces of the external activity of women--whether that endeavor was learning Greek or riding a horse--we usually marvel with Dr. Johnson not that a thing was done well but that it was done at all. Though our research reveals an occasional Pope Joan masquerading in men's clothing in order to lead a church, a country, or an army, it also confirms our knowledge that most clergymen and members of parliament, bankers and academics, sailors and statesmen are what history declares them to be, men. Whatever the future may hold, in the past it is men who have lived the life of fact on a grand scale, men who have conducted external activity in the public sphere of society.

Most women have lived in the private sphere of houses, and husbands, and, with luck, some inherited money. Needlepoint and writing are the kinds of external activities which can be cultivated in the private sphere, and many a sampler and novel illustrates that women have been busy at home. An arbitrarily constricted factual existence has not always defeated the imagination. The English domestic novel testifies to women's heritage of a rich, imaginative, inner life of fancy and affections. Sarah Harriet Burney, daughter of the demanding Dr. Burney by his marriage to Elizabeth Allen, wrote a novel entitled The Romance of Private Life (3 vols., 1839); the title of her work might be a subtitle to a history of women's novels. The protection of the private sphere has allowed women to indulge romantic visions unencumbered by the realistic distractions of the public life; the demands of the private sphere have encouraged women to cultivate "feminine sensibility," to nurture the imaginative life of feelings and personal relations.

Given the chance to cultivate a broad factual life or a deep imaginative one, women may have been given the better part. However, the factual life and the imaginative life need each other. In Frank Brady's article, "Fact and Factuality in Literature," he writes: "The imaginative orders the factual; the factual sustains the imaginative. They are inextricably .. connected."²

Realistic and romantic, factual and imaginative forces need each other in life as well as literature. A surfeit of factual distractions in the public sphere endangers the imaginative life; a paucity of factual material in the private sphere also enervates the inner life of the imagination.

With no sound material to sustain the conversation by the hearth fire, it drifts toward idle gossip and ghost stories. The unfocused fears which surface in the gothic novel are part of the heritage of women's common life; it is small wonder a woman wrote Frankenstein. Though we are grateful for Frankenstein, we regret other imaginative visions lost or rendered absurd because they never meshed with the sustaining force of factuality. Jane Austen, of course, achieved a happy synthesis of the realistic and romantic within the private sphere; we are fascinated by her characters as the factual and imaginative forces in their lives temper, inspire, control and create them. Too often, however, a limited private sphere has denied women a substantive factual life, and thus has deprived their imaginative life of significant material. Among the manuscripts of the obscure, the letters of young women, sometimes schoolgirls, have enjoyed particular popularity, perhaps because these letters were written in the early years of the subject's life before the factual could constrict the imaginative life. Often, however, we read on through a correspondence in horror as we observe lively fancy drift into gothic terror or genuine affection

turn to cloying worship, all for the want of a full factual world to harness the imagination, a realistic context for the expression of feeling. Our correspondent could create the imaginative life, but she could not control the factual one. Like many a romantic heroine, she is at the mercy of her circumstances.

Our reasons for reading the letters of the obscure, then, are manifold. We read letters found in attics and old writing desks for the same reasons we read a friend's -- for instruction and amusement, for gossip and diversion, for unique insights as well as commonplace observations. We attempt to rescue the "little separate lives," or particular histories, from oblivion for the sake of the common life as well as the individual. As we reconstruct the "little separate lives," certainly we are curious about the facts, but quickly we learn they are scanty. Our interest turns toward our subject's imaginative life and her gallant struggle to sustain it.

Marianne Francis, the granddaughter of Dr. Burney and niece of Fanny Burney, lived one of the little separate lives which illustrates the nature of our curiosity about the lives of the obscure. It is the fact of her family -- she was a Burney -- that prompts us to climb the stairs to the attic, or in this case the John Rylands Library, to rummage through her letters. The factual relationship makes us inquisitive, and our initial interest focuses on her external life.

Even in the Burney family the "factual" life of Marianne Francis was, like the life of the poet Imlac and the lives of most English girls of her time, little diversified by extraordinary events. She was born in 1790, the third child of Charlotte, sister of Fanny Burney, and Clement Francis, a surgeon and medical officer of the East India Company. Her father died when she was two. Six years later Marianne's mother married Ralph Broome, author of Simkin's Letters and other political pamphlets. One son was born of this second marriage. Ralph Broome died in 1805, but before his death he became insane and was given to fits of rage. To treat his madness during his dying days his wife brought him to Bath. There Marianne Francis met Mrs. Piozzi in the spring of 1805. After Broome's death the family returned to London and Marianne began a lifelong correspondence with Mrs. Piozzi. Marianne's mother enjoyed a more limited income as the widow Broome than she had as the widow Francis, and the terms of their father's will dictated that the children would not receive their inheritance, a considerable sum, until they attained their majority at twenty-one. Under significant financial strain the family lived in a series of boarding houses in London and Richmond. Marianne Francis' sister Charlotte, later the editor of Fanny Burney's letters, married Henry Barrett in 1807, and the sisters began a regular correspondence. Her brother Clement went to sea

to pass the time until he was twenty-one, but a weak constitution forced him to return to land and he worked in a London banking firm until 1811, when his inheritance allowed him to attend Cambridge, where he distinguished himself as a scholar and studied to be a clergyman.³

Charlotte Broome wrote to her sister, Madame d'Arblay, in 1809 to boast of Marianne, her third child, and another bright and spirited Burney: "My other Dartar Marianne, is fat and robust, and looks pretty when she is Drest, but in general she does not seem to know what she has on. She is very merry, although very studious, for she has contrived to poke out, for her amusement, enough of Italian, German and Spanish to read any Book she wishes. She has a Genius for Music, and I have a Grand Piano on which she plays the most difficult music with much success, she who composes and plays a little extempore--she doats upon study, and has such a thirst after knowledge, that, had she been a Boy, she would have made a most capital fellow of a College" (18 May 1809).⁴ Marianne's musician grandfather testified to her ability to "dash away" like a Burney on the piano: "She may perhaps be styled a bravura player. But her courage and perseverance in attacking difficulties of every kind, is unparalleled, so that in spite of my civility to her countenance, I pronounce her to be a monster." He also set forth her other claims to attention: "She is in correspondence with Mrs. Piozzi, and a universal

linguist as far as French, Italian, German, Latin, a little Greek, etc." He insists she surpasses "all the parsons and other learned men at Bath" (10 May 1810).⁵ Madame d'Arblay wrote: "All agree she is a prodige, though some with praise, some with wonder" (10 Dec. 1812).⁶ Throughout her journal Mrs. Piozzi refers to Marianne Francis as "clever" and "curious." Friends and relations concur in their assessment of the studious, brilliant girl.

Marianne's mother noted most of the traits and interests which were to weave their way through Marianne's life. Marianne remained robust and was always given to long walks, but apparently she did not remain fat, as Marianne's friend, the agriculturalist Arthur Young, referred in later years to her "light and agile frame."⁷ Marianne's indifference to dress intensified, as did her wit and studiousness. Literature and music remained serious interests in her life. Only one theme in the life of Marianne is absent in her mother's early portrait; there is no hint of the piety and evangelical zeal that later absorbed all her physical energies in philanthropic work and sapped her spiritual strength in severe devotions. In years to come Marianne's mother would complain that not content to go to heaven herself, Marianne wished the family to go too. Her sister would be saddened that Marianne lent credence to the apostolic voices of Henry Irving's congregation. But all that was in the future.

At the time of her mother's letter Marianne was inclined neither to excessive credulity nor to painful piety. The letters she wrote in her early twenties are lively and observant and reveal a wit quick to mock all forms of pretension and extravagant behavior.

Marianne Francis was also intrigued by society and enjoyed a good story. Among her manuscripts is an undated novel fragment. It is worthwhile to include the preserved fragment, because, as it turns out, it reveals more about the author than her heroine, Louisa:

"What Building is that?" said Louisa to Miss Staines, as they rode through the Forest of _____, struck with the appearance of an old Castle in that romantic spot, almost hid by the thick foliage of the venerable trees which surrounded it. Few besides herself would have seen, and perhaps nobody else, observed, it. But possessed naturally of the most lively imagination and unextinguishable curiosity, from a constant habit of enquiring into every thing, it had become almost impossible for her to let the smallest circumstance pass unnoticed. Louisa's Mother was one of those good people who think knowledge for a woman, and eloquence for a dumb man almost equally necessary. Had she lived, this disposition of her daughter would have been probably checked, if not subdued: but she died before her ideal could have been understood or her Principles remembered. Mr. _____ exactly the reverse in his opinions, (as Husbands and Wives generally are,) was delighted to see in his child, the very disposition which he remembered, when young, in himself. Far

from repulsing, he gave it every encouragement, and constantly answered, with unwearied patience, the innumerable inquiries which were incessantly made. Louisa, at any rate, if she acquired a troublesome habit, attained information this way. There was, however, a peice which she had yet to learn; that all had not, as her father, the same willingness and capability to satisfy her. Educated at home under the care of a Governess, but the direction of her Parent, she had attained her 18th year without ever separating herself, for more than a week, from him. The time was however at last arrived when they were to be long parted. Called by his affairs abroad, Mr. _____ was obliged to leave his child in England, and during his absence to confide to the care of Lady Staines, whom he had long known, and could securely trust. This lady had seen much of the world - had tasted its vanities and its sorrows. She was one of those who did "marry in haste and repent at leisure." At one and twenty she came to London to see and be seen; while engaged in a vortex of dissipation, she gave her hand to Lord Staines; nor till his death nine years after, did she enjoy either comfort tranquility or peace. When that event took place, she retired with the wreck of an immense fortune, and an only daughter, into the country. Satiated with the splendour of a town life, and unable to engage in it if she had desired, with the same *éclat* as formerly, she devoted herself to the education of her child, who was a year older than Louisa and in this retirement, Mr. _____ had become acquainted with her. The acquisition of the society of Louisa was a pleasure to which she looked forward with real delight, as a companion for her daughter, and an amusement to herself. With a heavy heart Mr. _____ embraced his child, who till now had hardly known what sorrow was, and when she had got into the carriage which Lady Staines had sent with her daughter to fetch her, watched till he

could see it no longer, and listened to the sound of the wheels, with more earnestness, than to the finest music he had ever heard.⁸

The novel fragment of a girl in Regency London might have evolved into a far more sophisticated and entertaining exploration of women's role in society than Mary Wollstonecraft's polemical Vindication of the Rights of Women; it might have read like a feminist version of Evelina. The prose fragment also is tinged with a scepticism and sensationalism which might have offended the author of Evelina. Why did Marianne abort this project? Were the scepticism and sensationalism in her nature, which we will find confirmed in her correspondence, too strong to indulge in print? Would Louisa have discovered something that Evelina had overlooked, or would Louisa merely have ridden in the same carriage as the older heroine only to arrive at the same destination by the same route? The changes in society since Evelina had been abroad seem to have given Louisa less mobility, not more, so what new regions might Marianne and her heroine have explored? We wonder about Marianne's state of mind as she abandoned her project...but we are drifting away from our initial task. Our first obligation is to gather the data of the outer life. Our curiosity is drifting to the inner life, and we had intended to stick to the facts.

The decade of 1811 — 21 saw Marianne's entrance into the world; she came into her majority, her inheritance and a host of new friends. She had a number of suitors: Mr. Gillon, a wealthy neighbor; Frederic Doveton, a classical scholar; Charles Shepherd, Mrs. Piozzi's lawyer; John Garratt, a minister; Captain Pakenham, a friend of William Wilberforce, and a few about whom it is hard to be factual as they move flirtatiously but evasively through the manuscripts. Marianne never married. She met Arthur Young, the renowned agriculturalist and evangelical convert, at his home, Bradfield Hall, in 1810. Like Mrs. Piozzi, Arthur Young was fifty years older than Marianne and continued a correspondence with her until his death. Young was going blind, and Marianne served as his amanuensis and lived at Bradfield Hall at various intervals from this time on. All her life she maintained regular habits of study and exercise and meditation; Young's daughter described what came to be the ritual of Marianne's visits with Young:

When at Bradfield Hall she MF sleeps over the servant's hall with a packthread round her wrist, passed through the keyhole which he pulls at 4 or 5 times till he awakens her, when she gets up and accompanies him in a 2 hrs. walk on the turnpike road to some cottage or other, and they take milk at some farmhouse, and she distributes tracts (religious ones) and questions the people and catechizes them. They return at $\frac{1}{2}$

past 6, as that is the hour Mr. St. Croix (his secretary) gets up, who finds it quite enough to read about 2 hrs. before breakfast. After breakfast, they all three adjourn to the library till 1, when Mr. St. Croix takes his walk for an hr. She and my father read and write or walk till 3. She has a table and a chair filled with books in all languages, as she reads in every language every day to keep them up, Greek, Latin, Italian, Hebrew, Arabic, German, Spanish, French, etc. (1818).⁹

Marianne was twenty-two years old in 1812; that year she travelled to Ireland with her friend Anna (Blanquiere) Kirkwall, met her celebrated Aunt d'Arblay for the first time, and was introduced to William Wilberforce at Kensington Gore. Within a year Marianne was serving as secretary and translator for Wilberforce and classical tutor to his children. Through him she came to know most of the evangelicals, including Hannah More of Barlay Wood and the Thorntons of Battersea Rise. She became actively engaged in the work of the evangelicals, founded schools for children and adults, visited workhouses and prisons, and befriended the new rector of Richmond, the Reverend Samuel Whitlock Gandy. During this busy decade Marianne maintained her studies, corresponded with her brother Clem, now at Cambridge, and her sister Charlotte, now the mother of five children. Only one significant sorrow seems to have clouded this time--the

death of Marianne's step-brother "Dolph" in 1817--but Dolph's death foreshadowed more somber facts.

After Marianne obtained a home of her own at Kingston-upon-Thames in 1827, which she described as a "settled abode" full of books and musical instruments, she composed and sold original hymns. One of the most popular hymns, used in carved wooden music boxes, was entitled "Away with Melancholy." About this time Marianne wrote to her sister of playing the organ one night from ten in the evening until the candles had burned low in their sockets and daylight had come in at the windows (1832).¹⁰ Despite her passion for music this does not reflect the disciplined Marianne we have discovered to date. Her nocturnal concert, like her visits to Henry Irving's congregation where those inspired prophesied the Second Coming, has the air of distracted consolation.

Indeed, the time when Marianne Francis was in her thirties was a sad, almost desperate decade for her. Arthur Young had died in 1820; Mrs. Piozzi, in 1821. Marianne, who had always enjoyed abounding good health, began to be subject to bilious attacks and rheumatism. Her servant of many years became ill and had to return home. The Christian Guardian misprinted Marianne's proposal for her favorite charity, care for the gypsies. Marianne's schools and plans for incorporating poor

people into the Richmond congregation prospered, but progress was slow. Fund-raising for these projects taxed her energies, and her intense work in the schools left little time for her beloved music and literature. Marianne's brother-in-law, Henry Barrett, accumulated bills he could not pay and sent them along in a confused heap to her. She sorted them out and paid them. After years of prolonged illness Marianne's brother Clement died of tuberculosis in 1829. Her mother required care, intermittently forcing Marianne to leave her Richmond home and take up London lodgings. Her sister Charlotte travelled to Italy in a vain attempt to save her daughter Henrietta from death by tuberculosis. Before the travellers returned, Marianne died at Kingston in March, 1832. Her remains were interred in the main aisle of All Saints' Church at Kingston-upon-Thames on 5 April 1832. These were the arrangements in her will for her burial:

As soon as I am dead I wish to
 lie quietly on my Bed untouched
 no laying out for ten days: and then
 being wrapped wound in the sheets on
 which I die on the eleventh day
 after my death I wish to be put
 into a coffin the lid of which is not
 to be put on or fastened down till
 a fortnight after my death and not
 then till after two of the most
 respectable Medical Men in the place
 have sworn that corruption is too
 far advanced for life possibly to
 return (22 Jan. 1830).¹¹

Even allowing for the widespread fear in the eighteenth century of being buried alive, what accounts for the austerity of these arrangements? We can no longer restrain our curiosity about motives. The facts are simple and straightforward, but the details of the outer life lead inevitably to questions about the inner life. Ferreting out the facts, we have come across a number of comments which intensify our curiosity. During a visit to England Madame d'Arblay wrote to her husband in France: "And, yet, should Marianne become secure in a prosperous way for making a happy marriage, that, indeed, might prevail with me to retard my return, so sensible I am that the opportunity missed for these espousals, should it offer, might never return, she is difficult, and so critically situated. Could we read in her character, and in events, and judge what sort of establishment might make her happiest!" (8 July 1812).¹²

The same year Arthur Young, provoked by what he considered Marianne's excessive devotion to music, penned this remonstrance about her obstinate spirit: "When you give reins to your fancy, you can dilate into such temerity of imagination, that I know not what to compare it to, unless it be the streaming lights of northern electricity; they wave and flow in so many directions that the eye strives in vain to follow them" (11 Jan. 1812).

In her early diary entries of Marianne's letters Mrs. Piozzi invariably wrote in this vein: "A pretty letter from Clever M" (1810). The later entries refer to "curious" and "uncomfortable"

letters from "poor Marianne." Mrs. Piozzi recorded: "one letter from Marianne unhinged me a little" (22 Aug. 1815), and finally she wrote: "A Letter from Marianne Francis confirms my Terrors" (19 Aug. 1820).¹³

Why did Madame d'Arblay, surely a good judge of character, find her niece so "difficult"? Why was Arthur Young so eager to restrain Marianne's "fancy"? What frightened Mrs. Piozzi? We have some idea what Marianne looked like. We even know what she did all day long; now we want to know why. Now that we know the facts, we want to know the fictions. Questions about the imaginative life of the personality burst in spontaneous combustion from the facts of the outer life gathered from the crumbling manuscripts. What was Marianne Francis' conception of herself? Did her imaginative life create her factual life? Did the creation come to fruition or was it thwarted? What were the affections of her heart? What was the furniture of her mind? Why was Marianne so careless of her appearance? Why did she reject all her suitors? Why were her favourite correspondents fifty years her senior? What was her opinion of her famous family and her celebrated friends? Why did she fail to finish the novel? How did this literary, musical girl who lived in London become so enmeshed in the life of the Evangelicals? Why were her final years so solitary and severe? Facts may be brutal, but they are usually discreet; they rarely give even a glimpse of the inner life. We may find reasons for the austerity of Marianne's end in the facts of deaths and debts, ill health

and overwork, but there is more to the life of Marianne. We know what happened; we want to know what she thought of all this, how much she herself constructed and how much she resisted the facts. What we will learn is that the realistic and romantic forces in Marianne's life did not mesh properly; her bleak factual life failed to sustain her rich imaginative one.

II

The Letters of Marianne Francis

Marianne Francis has left us the details of her life in letters, and, if we were to believe the popular assumption that letters are a straightforward presentation of actions and motives, the work of investigating Marianne's imaginative life would be quite simple. However, one wonders whether the straightforward presentation of actions and motives determines, or is determined by, the recipient. Does the correspondent choose a recipient for his interest in the material, or does the recipient dictate the substance? How much of the intimate direct presentation is the creation of a persona to startle and seduce the receiver? The deliberate and delicate intermingling of the straightforward and the calculated in a personal correspondence makes the letter an intimate and highly manipulative literary form. The genre draws its vitality from the interplay of two writers defining themselves and their relationship in their substance and style. The presentation of actions and motivations in a private letter thrives on exclusiveness and distance. An audience of only the other writer creates intensity, and the distance of time between letters enforces the leisurely development of themes. The special character and terms of personal correspondence render suspicious the biographer or editor, the constant reader of other people's mail. Any third party to a private letter

reads, of course, from a distorted angle of vision. The very difficulty of reading anything with accuracy over someone's shoulder perhaps promotes the instinct to do so.

The discovery of the imaginative life in letters is not a simple task, but letters remain the best place to begin. Facts we can find in many places, but there are few repositories for the imaginative life. One of them is letters. Marianne Francis, hidden in the attic of the past under political pamphlets, religious tracts and an unfinished novel, left the fictions of her inner life in letters. Her motivations and reactions, her vision of herself and her relationships are all in her correspondence. Before considering the letters, we must reconsider our own position as biographers or editors or readers in search of the inner life. Despite our morbid curiosity which refuses to let the dead bury the dead, there is something to be said for our point of view. We may read from a distorted angle of vision, but we can still see the manuscripts. Also, we can see all of them in quick succession, and this rapid review of the letters which took a lifetime to unravel themselves may be in our favor. Unlike Marianne, we know the progress and end of her story from the moment we begin. Unlike Marianne's correspondents, we have seen other sides of her in other sets of letters. It is terribly tempting for us to interrupt the letters with interpretive footnotes, but in our asides we must keep to the facts. We must draw

as little attention to ourselves as possible, lest some specter arise and resent our intrusion. Our task is simply to uncover the manuscripts, to unlock the trunk which contains the record of the inner life, to observe Lytton Strachey's prescription "to illustrate rather than to explain."¹⁴ Panegyric is not in order. The aspirations and affections of the imaginative life, like the accomplishments and relations of the factual one, will speak for themselves.

We turn to the manuscripts and find our suspicions confirmed. The letters tell their own story; in the case of Marianne Francis they even provide editorial comment. Also, candor is not the first virtue of the letter writer. For example, throughout her letters Marianne praised Retrospection, Mrs. Piozzi's ponderous history of Western Civilization, but in her diary she recorded: "read 'Retrospection.' 2nd. vol.--I think it a strange confused work. I like neither the manner nor the matter" (27 July 1805).¹⁵ Years later we find similar dissembling. Writing to Mrs. Piozzi and Arthur Young, Marianne vehemently denied affection for any suitor, but to her sister she confided her serious disappointment over Captain John Pakenham (1790-1876), later Admiral Pakenham: I think it

right to tell you, my dearest, that all is entirely over between Capt. _____. and me -- yet I have not used him ill. But his going on distant, perilous destinations, and the constant anxiety attending this state of fluctuation and uncertainty would have destroyed my spirits and made me perfectly useless. I will talk to you on the subject when we meet. Meantime, let me entreat you never to discuss it or mention it to any human being" (Oct. 1814.)¹⁶ These examples are extreme, and Marianne was not always given to such prevarication, but the contradictions underscore the point that the author of a letter is involved in deliberate self-presentation, the creation of a persona. With the chameleon talent of the natural letter writer Marianne chose her material, her vocabulary, her images, her self in conscious response to her correspondent.

Marianne's major correspondences -- with her sister, with Mrs. Piozzi, and with Arthur Young -- all are written over the same years and encompass the same themes, but in each she creates a slightly different image of herself which alters according to her different interactions with the recipients. Her progression through various poses is like a charade of Austen heroines. At one time Marianne assumes

the brashness and bravado of Emma Woodhouse; this pose characterizes her early letters to Mrs. Piozzi. At another she is the serious moralist, like Fanny Price; this is the dominant motif of her later letters to Mrs. Piozzi and most of her letters to Arthur Young. In her later letters to her sister she is reminiscent of the resigned and responsible Anne Elliot, though Marianne's captain never returned.

The shifting fictions of Marianne Francis' imaginative life reflect the central fact of her factual life; she wanted a function in society and could find none. In this circumstance lies the explanation of her evolution toward the Evangelical life and her subsequent melancholy and anxiety. The social groups available to Marianne could not share her literary and intellectual ambitions, and she could not pursue her ambitions without the support of sympathetic companions. In her own time there was no structure which would allow her to become herself. Worn away by years of longing to reconcile the inner and external life, she at last met the members of the Clapham Sect. Though she might have been happier with the earlier world of Bluestockings or the later world of Bloomsbury, Marianne took her intellectual

community where she could find it, and under the influence of Arthur Young she became an Evangelical with a vengeance.

Marianne wove the fabric of her private life with the threads of work, women and worship. Vocation was her dominant passion; she wanted some stake in the work of the world. Because she was a woman, she felt she could not pursue her work as she desired. Frustrated in her attempts to find a community of learning, she indulged her secondary passion, worship. Generous by nature, given to frank admiration she advanced to rank adulation: first, of Mrs. Piozzi; next, of Arthur Young; finally, of God.

Remembering our rule of restraint, we must not dwell on the story of the inner life in explanation, but cite the letters themselves for illustrations and answers to our initial questions of how Marianne herself experienced the inner life. The present edition of Marianne's letters to Mrs. Piozzi encompasses the years 1808-10. Before observing the inner odyssey of Marianne's formative years in detail, we might scan all the letters to Mrs. Piozzi, which terminated with her death in 1821, and the material in Marianne's diaries and letters to other correspondents to see what became of Marianne. An overview of the manuscripts places her bright beginning in the perspective of her bleak conclusion. Marianne's desire for work, her dilemma in being a woman, and

her tendency to worship are immediately evident and appear more intensely in every letter. Like a dream drifting into nightmare, the story of Marianne's inner life emerges from the manuscripts with increasing vividness.

Marianne Francis met Mrs. Piozzi and was infatuated from the first. In her diary she recorded her chance introduction to Mrs. Piczzi in 1805. Marianne was fifteen; Mrs. Piozzi was sixty-four: "Went to Mrs. Barnewall's--Mrs. Piozzi there. Was introduced to her. She is quite a clever creature--talked very well, very kindly, and never played at cards.... Piozzi, my only comfort, slunk away before she had staid an hour" (18 Apr. 1805). Two days later Marianne wrote: "Went shopping and with Mrs. Barnewall to call on Mrs. Piozzi who is the dearest thing in the world--so lively, witty, goodnatured, clever, entertaining and affable. She received me in the most flattering manner" (20 Apr. 1805). In another three days she had enlisted in Mrs. Piozzi's ranks: "Read Boswell's Life of Johnson....I think Boswell takes Mrs. Piozzi to task with too much freedom" (23 Apr. 1805). Though the intensity of her devotion waned, Marianne sustained her affection until Mrs. Piozzi's death.

The themes of work and women, like flying buttresses, supported the weight of Marianne's worship of Mrs. Piozzi. For Marianne Mrs. Piozzi represented the literary woman; she

was a survivor from the era of Samuel Johnson's world, in which work and society were integrated. Marianne began her correspondence on a note of longing for the lost literary world of Samuel Johnson; in the course of the correspondence she found its replacement in the religious milieu of Arthur Young. The letters came to be divided into two casts of characters connected by the sad drama of Marianne's transition from one cast to the other. Marianne wrote in her diary the time she met Mrs. Piozzi: "Oh that I had lived in the last age" (27 July 1805). As a way of perpetuating the Johnsonian atmosphere, she often referred to her letters as "conversations" with Mrs. Piozzi. Amidst extreme flattery of Mrs. Piozzi she indulged the occasional observation that she shared the company of Mrs. Piozzi with Johnson and the Bluestockings of bygone days. The regular comparison of her own handwriting to Mrs. Piozzi's was Marianne's contorted code for emphasizing her intimate relationship with her correspondent.

Marianne found the lingering generation decidedly dramatic. She wrote to her sister of a confrontation between Mrs. Piozzi and Sarah Siddons over the proper reading of Milton: "Away went Mrs. Piozzi, sailed up to Siddons, told her not to look at her Book all the time, but throw her pretty eyes about..." (10 May 1808). With a calm detachment born of a vast age difference she wrote of Samuel Johnson's old friends, their

affections and accomplishments. Of the same assembly she added:

Lady Kirkwall was there, looking like a Lynx at us all,--and Judge B's squinting wife, famous for Gush;--Skeffington, the famous fop and fool, Mrs. P. calls him, --"My father a man of Family";-- Lady Cork, that bold heart that sold her Jewels to spend the money in dinners and suppers,--and Sir William Pepys, who fell in love with me, and poked his way to Chenies Street the next morning, and stayed two Hours talking to me (10 May 1810).

Marianne admired every attribute of her older friend: "Mrs. Piozzi is so kind to her Servants they all adore her" (18 May 1810). Also, in the privacy of a letter to her sister she mixed her ardent admiration with the slight and inevitable condescension of the youthful observer: "Mrs. Piozzi got Marmion and sat up all night to read him, and wrote lines in Praise of him by the first morning's dawn, and sent them me Post; and I'll shew them to you. How young of her! was it not?" (2 June 1808).¹⁷

Deprived of her own world of men and women of letters, Marianne asked Mrs. Piozzi to recreate the golden age in recollection. The letters include anecdotes and discussions about Dr. Burney, Fanny Burney, Christopher Smart, Elizabeth Carter, Edmund Burke, Lord Chesterfield, David Garrick, Sarah Siddons and

many others. Marianne tried to maintain the family tradition in her attitude toward each character and to please Mrs. Piozzi in her presentation. Writing of Lady Rothes' story of a dinner party she attempted to undermine the veracity of Boswell's version. More important than the maintenance of an old rivalry, though, was the reconciliation of former friends, Fanny (Burney) d'Arblay and Hester (Thrale) Piozzi. Throughout the letters Marianne worked toward this end. Occasionally she mentioned Madame d'Arblay's residence in France with her son Alexander, who was in danger of conscription into Napoleon's army. There is no evidence in the letters that Mrs. Piozzi was inclined to appease her estranged friend and no indication of repentance for the marriage which called down upon her the censure of London society and Samuel Johnson. Nevertheless, Marianne tried to rekindle the former friendship. She sent an announcement of Madame d'Arblay's return to England in 1812 with the assumption that it would interest Mrs. Piozzi. She affected a coolness in her feeling for her aunt in the delicate business of writing to Mrs. Piozzi of the anticipated arrival: "Curiosity is my predominant feeling, for to pretend affection for a person one never saw, is ridiculous; and I have not the most remote recollection of my celebrated Aunt" (1 Sept. 1812).¹⁸ Then her celebrated aunt asked Marianne to mediate in

earnest. Madame d'Arblay wrote: "Very willing myself to turn an unjust enemy into a recovered friend I commissioned Marianne Francis, her correspondent, to assure her of my constant wishes for her health, and my constant interest in her happiness" (May, 1813).¹⁹ Marianne, in turn, wrote of her aunt's serious suffering--she had recently undergone a mastectomy--and apparently received a rebuff as the next letter from Marianne to Mrs. Piozzi reads: "I did not read your mention of Aunt d'Arblay to her, because I thought it would make her fret. Do you know why the Physicians have solemnly told her she must keep her mind tranquil and easy? It makes me sick to tell it, but I must..." (14 Apr. 1813). There follows a detailed account of the operation. Mrs. Piozzi was pressured into the guilty role of the estranged friend at the time of illness. Marianne's method succeeded with awkward results. Mrs. Piozzi called on Madame d'Arblay one afternoon only to find the family abroad. She returned to Bath after her usual springtime visit to London to receive an embarrassed letter from Marianne: "We were all sadly unfortunate in being out that morning you were so very kind as to call. I was at my school and Aunt d'Arblay had unhappily crawled out for some air, and was inexplicably mortified and grieved, she desires me to say, at finding you had been during the only absence she had made from home for so long." Amidst this apology is also a veiled rebuke of Mrs. Piozzi for

her abrupt departure after the generous gesture: "Where this may find you, I know not.... But wherever you are it will testify to my unaffected sorrow at the manner in which you left town, which I own grieved me extremely: and my utter inability to account for the cause" (11 May 1813). Though the actual reunion of Mrs. Piozzi and Madame d'Arblay did not occur for another two years, when Madame d'Arblay finally called on Mrs. Piozzi in Bath, Marianne had secured the reconciliation; her work was at an end.

Marianne's theme of past society versus present solitude was reinforced by the exchange in the letters on the nature and circumstances of women. One fiction which never entered the letters was that of a young lady's entrance into the world. In Marianne's personal lexicon "lady" was a denigrating term which conjured up those diverted by frivolous conversations, silly charities and gothic romances. Marianne complained of the ladies at Bath and the ladies at Richmond. Though she enjoyed the affectation of careless dress as an affront to these ladies ("In vain, I should opine French grey to be its original color--an invidious world would still insist it had grown grey, poor dear, in my service" [29 Jan. 1810]),²⁰ she genuinely despised the company she kept ("Empty heads and unploughed brains --cards and conversation--....Is this a world worth leaving one's writing desk for?" [10 July 1809, MF to HLP]).

The turn of the century was a time when almost everyone

had a theory on the nature and education of women. Marianne was no exception, but her theory was more complex than most of her time. She was eager for equality of circumstances for men and women, but unlike Mary Wollstonecraft she believed in radical inherent differences between the sexes. Amidst the books on manners and vindications of rights, she represented a unique point of view. Marianne thought she had found a fellow feminist in Mrs. Piozzi, author of "An Address to the Females of Great Britain" (1789), which advocated women's education and broader participation in the political sphere. She prefaced her questions on education with the remark: "I think nothing so disgusting as an Amazonian imitation of the opposite sex"; then she continued:

if women had a fair attention paid to their education--if, instead of being taught a little music and drawing, five words of French, and six of Italian--and then sent out as accomplished creatures into the world, to try what effects with this miserable smattering tuition they can produce on any heart that is but rich--If instead of this usual unjust method, they had an equal share of attention paid to their minds as is commonly allowed to men--and were not confined to the outside but encouraged to adorn the inside of their heads--do you think the difference between the two sexes would continue to be so great as hardly to allow the wisest women to equal the silliest man? That there certainly is a difference of powers and intellect, I believe. But that there should be this great superiority if women were

allowed fair play, I can hardly believe. I am rather inclined to think they would be nearly on a par (24 Aug. 1808).

Over a century before the franchise for women, speculating on Napoleon's designs to invade England, Marianne suggested a reason for women's indifference to politics as well as ignorance of literature: "This is a sad melancholy thought, even for Females. I say even, because I believe women are never Patriots in reality, except now and then a lusus naturae, nor even sorrow or rejoice, politically, in the right place, except where their lovers or brothers are concerned. This is very natural. They have no vote in public affairs, and where there is no influence there can be but little interest" (23 Oct. 1812). Marianne did not personally envy men the political realm, but she did envy their ability to attend Oxford and Cambridge. She hardly knew what to do with her own learning. Society for cultivating an intellectual life was wanting, so she learned yet another language and wrote: "I believe no man ever yet tolerated a dead language in a live female however much he might pretend to candour, etc. The cloven foot of jealousy always peeps through every contrivance of policy to conceal it--And the good old reign of puddings and tapestry is often inwardly regretted, I suspect" (9 Mar. 1810). She also envied men's freedom to travel. Her mother objected to her travelling by stagecoach unescorted, and her brother-in-law placed similar restrictions on his wife's

travel: "Barrett is very particular about Ladies not travelling alone, I believe he thinks none but actresses should till they are 100 years old" (9 Jan. 1816).²¹ At best Marianne found these strictures inconvenient; at worst she found them infuriating.

Marianne was wary of marriage as the institutionalization of inequities between the sexes. Though deeply attracted to a domestic life, she could not reconcile herself to its demands. Mrs. Piozzi noted the conflicting desires in Marianne; in a peevish response to Marianne's expressed love of domesticity in a discussion of some stanzas by a Mr. Spencer called "Wife, Children and Friends," she recorded: "What (as I said) is all her hard Study for? Wife, Children and Friends would like her better without them" (1810).²² Marianne made only one reference in a letter to Mrs. Piozzi to a time when she considered marriage: "three years ago, when I was near turning Upper-Servant myself, as you call it...though I was wise enough to change my mind about my Corydon" (9 Nov. 1810). The identity of her Corydon remains a mystery. In her letters Marianne continued to equate the status of wife and "upper servant." With the painful exception of Captain Pakenham she dismissed her various suitors with a series of asides in her diaries and letters; of Mr. Gillon she wrote, "my ci-devant intended, Mr. Gillon, is dead, poor fellow! Clem is always reproaching me for not having married him. --that I might be a gay young widow with 4000 a year" (1808); of Frederic

Doveton, "We dine with the Doves tomorrow. They are very kind, but dull as kind, poor dears" (5 Mar. 1808); of Charles Shephard, "A fine tall fellow, 6 feet high, and merry as a grig-- and 5 and twenty. --But, Heaven help me, I'd as leave marry a mastiff!--Such a fierce chap!" (29 Jan. 1810). She was disinclined to marry even the favorites of Arthur Young or Mrs. Piozzi; of Shephard she wrote in her diary: "Mrs. Piozzi intends me to marry him, but I don't intend it" (11 Dec. 1809). In answer to Young's request that she abandon her piano and take on a suitor she wrote: "As to the music I am of H. More's mind and yours that it is a waste--but--I could sooner for all that, tear out my heart with my own hands and present it to some young fool of an Irishman, as you propose, than give up my Piano" (Jan. 1812). Madame d'Arblay wrote of Marianne's "vigorous inflexibility to all suitors" (15 May 1815). Apparently Marianne knew her own mind. She not only shunned the duties of a wife, but also was convinced of the precariousness of the position. Of an abandoned wife she wrote to Mrs. Piozzi: "if ever I were foolish enough to make myself 'upper-Servant' to any man, I should stick, as you say, like a blister" (17 Oct. 1810).

Despite her desire for change in the situation of women Marianne did not want a simple exchange of the public for the private sphere. She envied her brother's lot no more than her sister's. She bemoaned the middle-class mandate to earn money which forced

Clem to substitute "Merchants for Muses" as much as she wished Charlotte's children "in the moon they cry for" (7 Nov. 1809). Still, Clement, the reluctant merchant waiting to enter Cambridge, and Charlotte, the dutiful wife of the difficult Henry, had found places in the world. Marianne had not. She was acutely conscious that she lacked access to a function appropriate to her own temperament. "You talk of the splendour and gaiety of Richmond," she wrote to Young, "and seem surprised that I find it solitary....I stay away, of course, from their balls and routs. But, at the same time, to have no society is not pleasant either" (7 Mar. 1818). Distracted by domestic cares and frustrated by a world without scope, she turned to Mrs. Piozzi for a vision of broader horizons, but where could Mrs. Piozzi guide her in a world in which she herself had learned to be content with "balls and routs"? Marianne's letters took on a nagging tone: "'Books and all that stuff' Why Bath is the most impudent place in the world to make you talk so; and how all the silly Souls in it can agree with you, puzzles me" (26 Feb. 1810). Her observations on literature and history grew random and uneven; her questions on languages, pedantic. She needed a focus in the panorama of her learning, and Mrs. Piozzi had failed to provide it. In Marianne's first letter to Mrs. Piozzi she had written of her garden at Exmouth: "From being long unused to any thing like a Garden, I go, groping about, not daring to transplant the Flowers, for fear they should be Weeds, nor to root

out the weeds for fear they should be flowers" (9 June 1805). The same uncertainty began to characterize Marianne's learning. She could no longer tell the flowers from the weeds. She needed instruction, perspective and a system for her learning, none of which was available without sympathetic society.

Marianne grew discontent with the company of ghosts from the golden age. In this restless state she met Arthur Young. The tide of allegiance turned toward new acquaintances, and, as it turned, her basic attraction to literature and music was overwhelmed by the religious and philanthropic concerns of her new friends. Marianne wrote to Mrs. Piozzi of "my friend Arthur Young" and added: "The Wilberforces are his friends and he introduced me to them. Mr. Wilberforce is one of the most charming characters I ever knew. So very cheerful and animated --and a kindness in his manner as superior to common urbanity, as gold to tinsel" (16 Dec. 1812). Once Marianne had written of Mrs. Piozzi's "shining talents." Now she knew gold from tinsel. She rejected what seemed the superficial plane of Mrs. Piozzi's life. Under the influence of Arthur Young and William Wilberforce she grew antagonistic to the London literary world of theater, opera, novels. She never mentioned her own early attempt to write the novel about Louisa and Lady Staines; in the plot of her correspondence, however, Mrs. Piozzi came to be cast as a

decadent figure from a rival world. Marianne wrote provokingly to her: "People never yet were laughed into virtue....I am afraid you will be angry at this, but as you told me not to hinder people from going, I must speak my mind; and I own I should have some curiosity how you yourself, with all your wit, wisdom and ingenuity can find one solid argument in favor of a Theatre" (June 1813). Mrs. Piozzi was alarmed to find yet another Burney among her detractors and maintained a defensive stance. With the coming of age of another Burney generation there was a changing of the guard over Mrs. Piozzi. Madame d'Arblay returned; Marianne Francis retreated.

Marianne was immersed in evangelical waters. She wrote to Young: "Mr. Wilberforce has sent me a great deal of employment for him, of a nature to engross almost all my time" (7 Oct. 1817). Young grew jealous of her company: "here I have been for nearly a month, and you within ten miles, and you have never come near me; but the W's [Wilberforces] being at Kensington will turn ten miles into ten yards" (25 Feb. 1815). Nevertheless, Marianne was deeply attracted by the rooted quality of Young's existence. She bitterly resented his domestic difficulties, and, writing to Mrs. Piozzi, applied a Biblical comparison to the blind author: "How is it, that good men, from the days of Job, to those of Arthur Young are plagued by their wives" (10 Aug. 1813). Young eventually encouraged Marianne to be an

author, but by then she lacked the ambition: "Do not call me, as you do, my dear Sir, an Author. This is quite a mistake. I am only translating some passages...to serve as memoranda for Mr. Wilberforce" (7 Mar. 1818). Her happiness was to anticipate her summer visits to Bradfield Hall, "When," she wrote, "I hope again to renew my accustomed visits amongst your poor neighbors, and, afterwards, to occupy my quiet corner in your study" (19 May 1817). Marianne's objections to the role of "upper servant" seem ironic when we remember Young's daughter's descriptions of the bizarre communication by packthread at Bradfield Hall.

At Kensington Gore Marianne met Hannah More. As if in contrast to her noisy, bustling, willful correspondent, Marianne described the sober, productive, humble woman to Mrs.

Piozzi:

I have at last seen Hannah More!
 I was delighted with her. Her eyes so
 brilliant and penetrating still: so much
 humility in her manner so sweet
 and affectionate: much as I expected
 from Hannah More, I was not at all
 disappointed....I had a long tête a tête
 with her....She inquired after Grandpapa
 and Aunt D'Arblay: said Sir William
 Pepys called on her and said that
 but four of the old stock remained:
 You, and my Aunt, Hannah More, and
 though last but not least in his
 dear love, like the siecle de Louis
 quatorze to Voltaire--himself. She
 recommended me books--old divines
 she said answered the best to work

at....I quite agreed, and told her that the only two modern Divines worth reading were, herself and Mr. Wilberforce. She laughed.. I followed her about like a little dog, too happy to be in the same room with her--and not knowing any other sensible way of showing my joy, covered her with roses; for she is very fond of flowers (3 July 1813).

Marianne had found her intellectuals. The continuity of "Grand-papa's" generation, the vitality of Mrs. Piozzi's nature and the intellectual exchange long sought all converged in the world of Young, Wilberforce and More. For the remainder of her correspondence with Mrs. Piozzi Marianne celebrated the evangelical world and consciousness. She met Madame de Staël and Sarah Siddons, but both women were presented in terms of their relation to Wilberforce. Marianne was at home in the burgeoning religious and philanthropic community. She wrote from Young's estate: "It would be impossible not to profit from the society either of Mr. Wilberforce, or of Mr. Arthur Young; and there is now the additional pleasure of our being all together. For my Mother and Dolph are both on a visit with me at Bradfield Hall, and Charlotte Barrett and four little ones inhabit a house not far off. We ride, and row, and swing, for Dolph's health; there are plenty of poor people who are happy to be visited, read to, etc., and a very good library of readable books within doors. So we are very happy here" (17 Aug. 1815). As Marianne moved from the indoor world of the Bluestockings' drawing rooms

to the outdoor world of the Evangelicals' Sunday schools, work-houses and prisons, her concerns become practical, political and philanthropic. Catholic emancipation, charity schools and the anti-slavery movement were the topics introduced into her letters. In letters to Mrs. Piozzi she tried to promote Evangelical salvation and social consciousness, neither of which interested her long-suffering correspondent. Increasingly she practiced penance and meditation, but eventually she despaired of converting Mrs. Piozzi to her new way of life. Still, even in matters of theology, she undercut her proclamations with wit. She wrote to Mrs. Piozzi of teaching the Bible: "'in which a wayfaring man, though a fool, shall not err.' This last part you say is particularly happy considering the proportion of fools to wise" (1813). Marianne's allegiance altered, but her expressions and affections remained desperately literary; thus Marianne to Arthur Young: "I sometimes steal into the Independent meeting, tho' in a homely manner; the truth is preached there; whereas our Church ministers say, we may all go to Heaven, 'but we must be sure, my brethren to deserve it!' The theology of Shakespeare is sounder than this. 'Use any man after his desert,' says Hamlet, 'and who will scape whipping?'" (6 Jan. 1817).

Ultimately Marianne failed to integrate the literary and the religious, the drawing room and the districts of the poor;

the evangelical world, which had been so welcome an outlet for her energies and intelligence, proved a personal disaster. She collapsed under the burden of religious self-analysis. Her capacity for ironic wit gave way to austere detachment. In her youth she had longed for the pleasures of both solitude and society. In her maturity she could sustain the pressures of neither; she wrote to Young: "I don't know why but I don't have quite the same spirit for walking about alone that I used to have, and yet, there are few companions whose conversation suits me, either" (3 July 1817). The cost of Marianne's conversion from the world of Mrs. Piozzi to that of Arthur Young appeared vividly in her correspondence. This new breed of intellectual she adored and served lacked the balance and the common sense of Mrs. Piozzi and her friends. The severity and distortion of the new order emerged against the gaiety and wisdom of the old one, and Marianne's course from "clever" to "curious," Mrs. Piozzi's favorite adjectives for her, was painfully evident. Tentatively at first Marianne indulged in reports to Mrs. Piozzi of her dreams of hell and the day of judgment as experienced by members of Wilberforce's congregation: "The spectre raised his haggard eyes, and suddenly opening his cloak, pointed to a fire which was burning at his heart. 'There,' said he, in a tone of voice which I shall never forget, 'here is the worm that never dies, and the fire that is never quenched.'"

Another dream was of sinners covered with spots: "While I was waiting, in trembling expectation, and endeavoring to join the company of the righteous one of the Angels suddenly approached me, and seizing hold of my arm, tore away my hand, and discovered the spot at my heart" (11 Mar. 1816). Marianne distanced herself from these reports; she called them "singular" and "curious." Still, they cluttered her letters and captured her imagination. She wrote accounts of edifying deathbed scenes of believing Christians in the predictable prose of hagiography; she noted prophetic signs of the apocalypse. In the morass of dreams and deaths, Marianne sank into a Methodist melancholy.

Marianne's mentors died within a year of each other: Arthur Young in London on 12 August 1820; Mrs. Piozzi at Clifton on 2 May 1821. Marianne had served Arthur Young assiduously; she was faithful to an unflinching affection for Mrs. Piozzi. She lived another ten years and wrote few letters. With Arthur Young and Mrs. Piozzi dead, God became the sole object of Marianne's worship. Having abandoned hope for a renewed golden age of literary society, Marianne found her only solace in faith in an afterlife according to the Evangelicals.

Unfortunately we can only guess at Mrs. Piozzi's reaction to Marianne's story and what became of her side of the correspondence. As requested in Marianne's will, her private papers were entrusted to the pastor of All Saints' Church, the Reverend Samuel Whitlock Gandy. Marianne's mother wrote to Madame d'Arblay:

Mr. Gandy has not sent us one of our Letters back--He said that as poor dear Marianne left him all of her Letters, as they must have been included in her M.S.S.--he supposes that she had some particular reason for so doing, and therefore, it is his duty not to give them up, I think she never thought of her Letters when she made her will--or she would sooner have left them to our dear Charlotte, or myself, or Julia. --Mr. Gandy says he revolts at the thought of reading any of them himself--but, how he can be so wrong headed, as to have not any Sample to give her Mother, Sister, Neice, and friends, the Miss Mortons, the very letters they wrote themselves, is wonderful. --He says he has placed them in safe and honorable hands, but they must be in the hands of Strangers--and subject to Fall in to the hands of disagreeable Stangers, after his death²⁵and, as he says, "we may all die" (Apr. 1834).

Mrs. Piozzi's letters were probably among those protected by the Rev. Mr. Gandy. For once someone has prevented Mrs. Piozzi from speaking her piece. With the exception of a few letters in the Berg Collection Mrs. Piozzi's side of the correspondence has not been traced, but one may easily construct the general tenor of it from Mrs. Piozzi's diaries and Marianne's correspondence; thus Mrs. Piozzi in a diary entry for 1 November 1819: "charming letter was mine to dear Marianne: I liked it. Serious and comical and spiteful and kind."²⁶ Doctor Burney wrote to Madame d'Arblay of Mrs. Piozzi in 1808: "she still says good things, and writes admirable notes and letters, I am told, to my granddaughters C. and M. of whom she is very fond."²⁷ As we have only Marianne's side of the correspondence, we must read Mrs. Piozzi's character by half-

light, but we still see her from an angle from which she probably never expected to be observed.

If Marianne's tone and topics are any indication, Mrs. Piozzi loved flattery and was not averse to gossip. She thrived on the latest London news and took a lively interest in her young friend's endeavors. She was practical and adaptable--dispensing advice on teething children or Hebrew dictionaries. She was more interested in Marianne's living friends than her own dead ones, and was quick to "reprehend" Marianne's "antiquated regard" (28 Mar. 1810, MF to HLP). One gathers from Marianne's proselytizing that Mrs. Piozzi tried to stem the tide of religiosity. Madame d'Arblay's note of a visit to Mrs. Piozzi around the time Marianne began to work with Wilberforce lends support to that guess: "My sister Broome, affronted, would not call upon her; but Marianne as usual, or perhaps not quite as usual, for I am told there is much more coolness in the air than there has been" (May, 1813).²⁸ Marianne's letters also indicate that Mrs. Piozzi enjoyed an audience as much in later years as she had when she imitated Gabriel Piozzi with her drawing-room antics. Patricia Spacks has suggested of Mrs. Piozzi: "Her sense of herself, all her writing testifies, was less compelling than her sense of other people's responses to her; only in terms of the responsiveness of others could she imagine possibilities for herself."²⁹ Marianne provided a variety of possible personas for Mrs. Piozzi:

a link to a literary past; the much-abused friend and mother; the mentor. Mrs. Piozzi would live up to each of these projections for a while, and then abandon the role for a new one. Initially, however, the reticent Marianne was attracted by the energy and extraordinary force of Mrs. Piozzi's personality. In this she was never disappointed. Whatever her character or graces, Mrs. Piozzi was a survivor and Marianne was fascinated by her stamina. She wrote of Mrs. Piozzi opening the first dance and dancing till dawn at the famous Bath ball to celebrate her eightieth birthday. In startling contrast to this spectacle of sociability, the eighteen-year-old Marianne wrote to her sister: "I have no passion for dancing, except with a skip rope in cold weather " (25 Jan. 1808).³⁰

Virginia Woolf wrote of the relationship of Mrs. Piozzi and Marianne Francis: "As the long process of her $\sqrt{\text{Mrs.}}$ Piozzi's⁷ years files slowly past we become, like Fanny Burney's niece, fascinated by the vitality of the old woman: she was impulsive and impressionable, but she was also obtuse and tactless....Yet the spin of the whirligig has its fascination. Her appetite for life was prodigious." Virginia Woolf also mentioned the quality in Mrs. Piozzi which came to distress Marianne: "there was a coarseness in her fibre and a commonness in her vision that explains why, as an observer, she was so greatly inferiour to Boswell."³¹ Or, as Charlotte Barrett

phrased it on Mrs. Piozzi's death: "Her judgement was not equal to her talents" (Jul. 1821).³² Though Marianne maintained unflinching affection for Mrs. Piozzi, she was disappointed in her intellectual ambiguity and social diffuseness. Mrs. Piozzi eventually was discouraged and frightened by Marianne's single-minded pursuit of the new life of the Evangelicals, so remote from the pleasures of the old life of the Bluestockings to which Marianne had once aspired.

R. Brimley Johnson characterizes the English Bluestockings in his Introduction to Bluestocking Letters, a collection of the letters of Marianne's heroines, Elizabeth Carter, Hester Chapone, Hannah More, Elizabeth Montagu, among others. He notes the Bluestockings' disdain for frivolous activity, such as card parties, their name, derived from the affectation of careless dress as a sign of intellectual preoccupations; their feminism, their practical endeavors, such as schools and charities. He comments on their condemnation of marriage by barter as well as their intolerance of sentimental romance, their roots in the emerging middle class, their study of the classics, and, of course, their love of conversation. He describes the evolution of their breakfast and tea gatherings as distinguished from the more systematized French salons. Johnson concludes his commentary with the observation: "There was no second generation of Bluestockings, nor any deliberate endeavor to carry

on their work."³³ Marianne's early letters reveal the same taste and inclinations as the Bluestockings and a conscious fascination with them, but one girl could not constitute a generation. The most Marianne could hope for was a fleeting glimpse of these fading figures. As the surviving Bluestockings appear in Marianne's letters, they manifest the good sense and charm which was the habit of a lifetime and the legacy of their world. Finally Marianne realized that she could not join this circle; her function was simply to record the last gasp of their self-possessed society. Eventually she was forced to fashion her own life in a world with neither the sense of Dr. Johnson's nor the charm of Dr. Burney's drawing rooms.

Marianne's letters to Mrs. Piozzi in the present edition, written from 1808-10, contain the facts and imaginative responses of the time when Marianne had just discovered the Bluestockings. These were the formative years for Marianne, the time when she expressed the hopes of her imaginative life with a youthful candor, clarity and intensity. The letters are replete with the literary allusions of a student and the details of the daily life of an intelligent young woman. They express the nostalgia for the past of one who suspects that she was born a generation or so too late but is still confident that the world will accommodate her. The only hints in them of gloomy fascination with the Second Coming are the repeated identifications of Napoleon with the beast of the Apocalypse, but these dark hints are

more an intellectual indulgence than religious conviction. At the time of these letters Marianne was still free to express and create herself with vigorous spirit. Her life was almost all imaginative possibility with little factual rebuke. Her future had not yet turned into her present.³⁴

1 Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own (New York, 1929), p.198.

2 Frank Brady, "Fact and Factuality in Literature," Directions in Literary Criticism, ed. Stanley Weintraub and Philip Young (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973).

3 The facts of Marianne Francis' life were amassed from the collections of Burney, Young and Piozzi manuscripts in the New York Public Library, the British Museum and the John Rylands Library. The provisions of Clement Francis' (c. 1744-92) will were such that his son Clement during his minority, was to receive one hundred pounds per annum. Since the will was drawn 1 Mar. 1792, some six months before his birth, Clement was not designated by name. Equal bequests were made to the daughters, Charlotte and Marianne, as well as to his wife, Charlotte. The bulk of the estate--rather considerable--was to be invested in public stocks and securities on behalf of the children. Upon attaining his majority, Clement inherited ten thousand pounds and Marianne and Charlotte five thousand each. The Public Record Office file number of the will (proved on 22 Dec. 1792) is PROB/11/1226/F. 607.

4 BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3693.

5 CB to FBA, Osborn Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

6 NYPL, Berg Collection, Burney papers, FBA to Monsieur d'Arblay.

7 NYPL, Berg Collection, Burney papers, AY to MF, 11 Oct. 1814. All the letters from Arthur Young to Marianne Francis are in the Berg Collection. Further references to these letters are cited by date in the text.

8 The fragment of MF's novel is in the Barrett Collection of the British Museum catalogued under Add. MSS., Eger. 3707.

9 For the letter from Mary Young to Arthur Young, Jr., see Arthur Young, Autobiography, ed. M.B. Edwards (1898), p. 472.

10 BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3704A.

11 NYPL, Berg, Burney papers. MF wrote her will in 1830.

- 12 NYPL, Berg, Burney papers.
- 13 HLP's 1810 journal, NLW, Brynbella MS. 616;
HLP's 1815 and 1820 journals owned by James Clifford.
- 14 Lytton Strachey, "Preface," Eminent Victorians (1918), p. i.
- 15 MF's diaries, Sept. 1803-June, 1821 are in the NYPL, Berg Collection, Burney papers. All further references to MF's diaries are cited by date in the text.
- 16 NYPL, Berg Collection, Burney papers.
- 17 BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3704A.
- 18 JRL, Piozzi MS. 582, MF to HLP. All the letters from MF to HLP are in the JRL, catalogued under Piozzi MSS. 582-84. All further references to the letters are cited by date in the text.
- 19 Queeney Letters, ed. Marquess of Lansdowne (1934), p. 115, FBA to CFBF.
- 20 BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3704A, MF to CBt.
- 21 BM, Add. MSS , Eger. 3704B, MF to AY. All the letters from MF to AY are in the BM. All further references to the letters are cited by date in the text.
- 22 Harvard Library, MS. Eng. 1280, HLP's journal for 1810.
- 23 BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3704A, MF to CBt.
- 24 NYPL, Berg Collection, FBA to CFBF.
- 25 BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3693, CFBF to FBA.
- 26 JRL, Piozzi MS. 647.
- 27 Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale), ed. A. Hayward (Boston, 1861), p. 142.
- 28 Queeney Letters, p. 117.

29 Patricia Meyer Spacks, "Scrapbook of a Self: Mrs. Piozzi's Late Journals," Harvard Library Bulletin (July 1970), xviii. 221-47.

30 BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3704A.

31 Virginia Woolf's review for the New Stateman (Feb. 1941) of James Clifford's Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale) (1941) was reprinted as the article "Mrs. Thrale," in The Moment and Other Essays, ed. Leonard Woolf (New York, 1948), pp. 52-55.

32 BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3706E, Cbt to CFBF.

33 Bluestocking Letters, Selected with an Introduction by R. Brimley Johnson, 1926, p. 18.

34 Frank Brady wrote in his Introduction to Boswell in Search of a Wife, 1766-1769 (New York, 1956): "The onset of maturity is marked by one definite sign: a moment of sudden realization that the future has turned into the present" (p. ix).

Monday 4 July 1808

MS. JRL (582.20).¹

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.²

If not there, to be Forwarded.

POSTMARK: B JY 4 808.³

Monday, July 4. London. 54 Dorset St.⁴

Whether this will ever reach dearest Mrs. Piozzi, I know not. But it must take its chance. I have been dying so long to thank her for the beautiful, spirited, enthusiastic lines she sent me, I can wait no more to ascertain the certainty of her receiving my acknowledgements. How delighted I am that Marmion is liked at Brynbella⁵--and how much I regret that I don't know Walter Scott to tell him who sat up all night reading him, and who wrote such dear, beautiful, verses in his praise.⁶ He ought to know it, Mama says,⁷ and so I'm sure do I. And he would agree with me that Dr. Johnson was right enough in his Prophecy that a certain Friend of his would be "always young."⁸

Dearest Mrs. Piozzi, do you see the Edinburgh Review? If not, you would be pleased, I think, to read their discriminating account of Marmion, which is written with their usual wit, and unusual impartiality.⁹ O, and the reward for poor Canada-travelling Herriot, for being sublime, would amuse you. They give a specimen of his most towering description--of his

waves, which 'curl their resplendent tops,' 'Drive along with irresistable fury'--And "do several other things of the same sort." Fancy the poor Man reading this climax to his most sublime passage! And tell me, my own dear Mrs. Piozzi, if you are not amused by these Reviewers, impertinent though to poor Herriot they be.¹⁰

I heard a report the other day, and if it be true, I shall touch the highest point of all my happiness: if not, I shall fall like Lucifer. For I always lift myself by every opportunity of anticipation to the pinnacle of delight and mount as merrily as if I were certain disappointment would not throw me down the instant I arrived: and this breath of fame¹¹ is so very precious to me, that I am resolved to cherish it, at any rate till I can get a confirmation, or a sad contradiction from Brynbella. It was then, my dear Madam, nothing more nor less than a report that next winter Yourself and Mr. Piozzi intended to leave your rude rocks and Salvator Rosa Views¹² for the gayer scenes of the Metropolis: in short, that you would be in Town. Do tell me I may believe this--or else say nothing about it--for an irrevocable black and white resolve that you will not come, I could not bear to see.¹³ We remain here till the 14th of this month: then dearest Mrs. Piozzi will direct to me at Langley Cottage, Langley, near Colnebrooke, Bucks; whither we shall go for a short time, to pay a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Barrett, who are there for the Summer;¹⁴ and afterwards, we

go, perhaps to Richmond.¹⁵ But I shall hope to hear before we leave Town from Brynbella to congratulate me on my emancipation.¹⁶ I have some idea I may be a fortnight with Grandpapa¹⁷ to take care of him, while Clarentine (in vulgar Language, my Aunt Sarah) his wonted Nurse, runs to the Country to recruit.¹⁸ But I think nothing is certain about me, except that I always adore my dear Mrs. Piozzi, and with the same enthusiasm--and that I leave London really, "heart-whole"--in love with nobody but herself yet, and when I am, I think I will let her know.

I met a Mr. Nichols, a Friend of Gray--our exquisite Poet, who told me he had the honour of being acquainted with Mrs. Piozzi, and charged me with his best respects, and remembrance--at a party, the other day.¹⁹ And I met D'Israeli, Author of Flim-flams, who talks very well, and imitates Coleridge, they say, very successfully.²⁰ But that's all: for Coleridge is a much cleverer man, and makes People sit up all night to talk with him, or rather hear him talk: and nobody but Dr. Johnson, I hear, talks better.

I wish you could hear this new Singer, Mrs. Ô Moran, who is really very great, and has a voice as loud as a trumpet: yet Catalani completely overpowers her: and I was vastly amused the other night in a high-sounding contention between them, in which, after a loud struggle, Mrs. Ô Moran was worsted.²¹ Catalani is a most exquisite Singer, and a bewitchingly beautiful Woman:

and I rejoice to hear she is engaged for 13 Seasons, at 15 hundred Pounds Each.²²

The other day we went to the Cosmorama. The ingenious Abbé Vinson who constructed it, is a great Friend of mine, and was, once, my French Master. I was delighted with it. The Concave so well managed, you might really fancy yourself looking at the Stars. And when the man who attended to explain was giving us an account of the lunar discoveries; and that the Mountain Tycho-Brahe had been measured, 10 miles high--I only longed for some little child to say, in an innocent way;--"and pray Sir, what is the height of the Man in the Moon?"²³

We saw GrandPapa at Chelsea, a few days ago--younger than ever. He has had none of the "Three Warnings" yet:²⁴ and he told me, that a week before Mrs. Carter, (Epictetus) died, he went to see her, and found her transcribing Hebrew.²⁵ --Another thing too, surprised me more. Robassome, (I am afraid almost to venture his name again--for I think you will be quite tired of it) told me that he had made another wonderful discovery--a head of our King George Th<ird> a [stone as] resembling as the likeness of the unfortunate Louis XVI . I in <XXX>ted--and he promised to shew it me: but I fear he <re> pents of his promise, for I have not seen him since. What are we to think of the Count?

Mr. Piozzi will be pleased to hear that Salomon had a good benefit the other night, and played a Concerto on the Violin with as much spirit, and feeling, and execution as if he had been twenty six, instead of sixty six.²⁷ Woelfl, too, the Gigantic, German Genius, is still in Town²⁸--and went to try some Instruments at Tomkinsons,²⁹ and broke, in playing one lesson, half a dozen strings. When he had finished the man came up to him, "5 shillings Mr. Woelfl, if you please, for the broken strings." "By all means Sir," he returned taking the silver out of his pocket. "But first, 3 Guineas, if you please, for my Concerto--and I will give you the change for the strings." This was sharp enough: but Charles Wesley's speech, when he was a little Boy, was prettier. His Mother took him to Vauxhall, where somebody played the Organ. The little fellow was very attentive to the Sounds, and turning round--"Where are you taking me? --Are we going to Heaven, Mama?"³⁰--The Baby is very sublime occasionally, and makes droll speeches enough. When he's told of his faults, he turns the subject, by invariably calling out, "You fatigue me! --You fatigue me!"³¹ Clement is come home, for the holidays,³² and has been construing Greek Plays with his Uncle, very hard.³³ He told me to give his "Best Love" to Mrs. Piozzi, though I had some scruples about delivering such an impertinent message.

I must rectify a stupid mistake I made in my last Letter. Lewis the 14th said to Piron, "Si les Puces etoient Philosophes, de quelle secte seroient Elles? D'Epicure." Piron replied, "Si des Poux etoient....Ils? D'Epictète." ³⁴ You have doubtless heard the good news of the rise of the Patriots--and People are already prognosticating the fall of Buonaparte. If that mean King of Portugal had staid like a Soldier with his Subjects, instead of sneaking off like a Coward, he would have famed his account in it. ³⁵ But I must finish--Entreating dearest Mrs. Piozzi to write me a Line soon to say how the Journey to Chester answered--and how her Invalid finds himself ³⁶--and that all is right at Brynbella--and that she sometimes thinks, and still believes in the gratitude and affection, of her own

Marianne Francis

Mrs. Paradise is gone, they say, to be a second Columbus, and make a conquest of America. ³⁷

1 Letters 1-19 from Marianne Francis [MF] to Hester Lynch Piozzi [HLP] in the JRL, Piozzi MSS., date from 9 June 1807 to 10 June 1808. This selection of letters begins with Letter 20 and the numbering of the JRL is maintained throughout; for the selection of letters, see ante pp. lxiv-lxv. All further letters from MF to HLP are cited by date.

2 Brynbella was HLP's home in Wales from Sept. 1795-Nov. 1814, when Mrs. Piozzi gave her Welsh property to John Salusbury Piozzi upon his marriage (Clifford, p. 434). Salusbury (1793-1858) was the nephew of Gabriel Piozzi, Mrs. Piozzi's second husband, and later, Mrs. Piozzi's adopted son and heir. Brynbella was built in the winter of 1793, according to Gabriel Piozzi's plans. "Of great importance to Mrs. Piozzi was the proper choice of a name for her new home. No ordinary one would do, and soon the first suggestion of 'Belvedere' gave way to a more sentimental, hybrid form 'Brynbella'. Since 'bryn' is Welsh for hill or eminence, the resulting Cambro-Italian form might be translated as 'Beautiful hill' " (Clifford, p. 377).

3 For a study of contemporary postmarks, see "Postmarks and the Dating of MSS.," Shelley and His Circle, 1773-1822, ed. Kenneth Neill Cameron (2 vols., 1961), ii. 914-30.

4 Dorest Street, Manchester Square. MF recorded in her diary, 18 Feb. 1808: "Moved from Nottingham Street to 54 Street" (NYPL, Burney papers).

5 Walter Scott's Marmion, A Tale of Flodden Field, was published 23 Feb. 1808 (Edgar Johnson, Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown, 2 vols., 1970, i. 278).

6 For HLP's verses in praise of Walter Scott occasioned by the publication of Marmion, see Balderston, pp. 1095-96.

7 Charlotte Ann (Burney) Francis Broome [CBFB] (1761-1838), daughter of Charles Burney [CB] (1726-1814), and Esther Sleepe, (1723-62), mother of Clement Francis [CF] and MF, also mother of Ralph (Dolph) Broome, married (1) 11 Feb. 1786 Clement Francis (c. 1744-92) of Aylsham, Norfolk, a surgeon and one of the medical officers of the East India Company (1778-85); (2) 28 Feb. 1798 Ralph Broome (1742-1805), Captain in the Bengal Army, stockjobber, political satirist, and author of Simkin's Letters (1789) (WW). All further references to "Mama" are to CBFB.

8 Quotation untraced.

9 For Francis Jeffrey's review of Marmion, see Edin. Rev. (Apr. 1808), xii. 1-35. Jeffrey's unfavorable review of Marmion caused Scott to cancel his subscription. See A. M. Buchan, "Jeffrey, Marmion, and Scott," Studies in Memory of Frank Martindale Webster, Washington University Studies, St. Louis (1951), xx. 150-55.

10 George Herriot, Deputy Postmaster General of British North America. For the unfavorable review of Herriot's Travels through the Canadas (1807), see Edin. Rev. (Apr. 1808), xii. 212-23. The quotation from Herriot describes the rapids of the Cedars near Montreal. The excerpt reads: "The waves 'curl their resplendent tops;' ... they 'drive along with irresistible fury;' and do several other things of the same sort" (p. 213); the underlining is MF's.

11 Fama: the personification of rumor in the Aeneid iv.229.

12 Salvator Rosa (1615-73), Italian painter, musician, and poet, known as a landscape and seascape artist, thought especially wild, romantic, picturesque.

13 The Piozzis spent the entire year of 1808 in Wales, except for a journey to Chester in June for medical consultation on Gabriel Piozzi's gout (Clifford, pp. 421-22).

14 Charlotte Francis Barrett [CBt] (1787-1870), daughter of CFBF and Clement Francis, sister of MF, married 19 June 1807 Henry Barrett [HBt] (1756-1843) (WW). All further references to "Charlotte" or "my sister" are to CBt. References to "Mr. Barrett" are to HBt.

15 After the death of Ralph Broome in 1805, CFBF found a series of lodgings in boarding houses in London and surrounding suburbs. The Francis family moved to Dorset Street, London on 18 Feb. 1808; to Richmond in Aug. 1808; to 38 Keppel Street, London, in Nov. 1809; to No. 10 Chenies Street, 13 Dec. 1809; and again to Richmond in May, 1810 (NYPL, Burney papers, MF diaries, and JRL, Piozzi MS. 582, MF to HLP, 1808-10).

16 MF's "emancipation" refers to her birthday. A passage from MF's diary on 11 May 1808 reads: "My Birthday. Query: were it not better I had never come into the World?--Or does the transient emanation of happiness compensate for the general texture of sorrow in this mingled year of good and ill, of which our life is made and where evil so predominates? Eighteen years old" (NYPL, Burney papers).

17 Charles Burney [CB] (1726-1814), Mus. Doc. Oxon. (1769), fellow of the Royal Society (1773), appointed organist at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, 18 Dec. 1783 (WW). All further references to "Grandpapa" are to CB.

18 Sarah Harriet Burney (1772-1844), daughter of CB and Elizabeth Allen, author of six novels; her first novel was Clarentine (1796); she lived with her father at Chelsea after June 1807 (Lonsdale, pp. 461-62).

19 Norton Nicholls (?1742-1809), of Blundeston near Lowestoft, a lifelong friend of HLP's and a friend and protégé of the poet Thomas Gray (1716-71).

20 Isaac D'Israeli (1766-1848), the author of Curiosities of Literature (1791), issued anonymously and repeatedly revised and reprinted during D'Israeli's lifetime. D'Israeli's attempt at a "romance," Flim-Flams, or The Life of My Uncle (1797), published anonymously, included discussions on contemporary topics, was condemned by some as Voltairian, and was popular among literary men.

21 MF wrote to HLP on 10 June 1808: "The singing world has been diverted a little from Catalani by the appearance of another musical Novelty: Mrs. Ô Moràn, who married an extravagant Irish officer (she was French herself) and is now singing away, very respectably to redeem an estate she has in France, very much encumbered with debts. Charlotte knows her--and at Bath she was very much patronized by Lady Clerke--neither young nor pretty, Mrs. Ô Moràn is allowed to have a wonderful voice, and to be only inf(erior) in this kingdom, to Catalani." Mrs. Ô Moràn untraced further.

22 Angelica Catalani (1780-1849), Italian soprano. In Dec. 1806 Catalani appeared for the first time at the King's Theatre. "She had been engaged at a large salary, and her engagements entailed on the theatre an expense surpassing anything before experienced.... It appears that the total amount received by her from the theatre in 1807, including benefits, was 5000£.... She remained seven years in England, where she finally succeeded in becoming the only singer of eminence.... She left the King's Theatre at the end of the season of 1813" (Grove).

23 Pierre Vinson (1762-1820), emigrated to London (c.1791), author of political pamphlets, astronomer, teacher of French in London.

MF wrote to HLP on 12 Mar. 1808: "I am going to see a very ingenious new exhibition at the Pantheon--a Cosmorama, by L'Abbé Vinsen, my old French Master, and a very clever man."

24 HLP's poem The Three Warnings was included in Johnson's edition of Anna Williams' Miscellanies (1766). "Mrs. Thrale's contribution, the 'Three Warnings', when later printed in other collections of verse, achieved some popularity. It is her best-known poem....The plot, a variation of a well-known folk motif, was not original, being, as she admitted, the favorite anecdote of old Sir Charles Wager, retold in easy octosyllabics. Death had promised Farmer Dobson three warnings before his final visit, and when the time arrived, Dobson demanded his warnings" (Clifford, pp. 61-62). Two lines from the poem read: "If you are lame, and deaf, and blind,/You've had your three sufficient warnings." The poem is printed in Hayward, ii.165-69.

25 Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806), noted bluestocking, published her translation of Epictetus in 1758.

26 MF refers to Count Robassomé and his "Labrador Stone" several times in the course of her correspondence with HLP. Count Robassomé was a friend of a Count Zenobia; apparently both men were known to HLP who had written of Robassomé many years prior to his London appearance: "There was a Count Robassomé who, about fifteen years ago, showed a Labrador Stone, with the 'gouts of blood' visible round the neck. He sold facsimiles of it for one guinea each; I bought one, and set it in a seal for Lady Williams. The original was much admired, till somebody said it was helped out, and then the whole story faded away" (Piozziana, p. 195). When MF met Count Robassomé in 1808 she described him to HLP as follows: "O! and another Count, that perhaps dear Mrs. Piozzi knows: a man of very elegant manners, and witty conversation; and as old--as Grandpapa. Count Robassomé, a fine Italian; but, from the misery he has experienced from the world, almost a Timon. He was General in the Russian Service, received an affront from some invidious Duke, which he was forced to be Whitlocked, or to resent: For an explanation of "Whitlocked," see post 4 Oct. 1808, n. 7 he fought, and the Duke fell. This event had such an effect on the unfortunate Count that for 5 years he shut himself up, and saw and spoke to nobody. Still he shuns society, tho' not so inflexibly" (28 Mar. 1808). MF wrote to HLP of Count Robassomé's version of the Labrador Stone story on 19 May 1808: "He says then, when he was in Russia, he bought of a Jew, a large lump of Labrador, which he took to shew to a Friend: Baron Monkhausen, Baron Munchausen ? I think, or some such name, who kept it for some time, and at last entreated the Count to sell it to him. This he refused, but told him he should be welcome to it as a present if he liked. Well, said the Baron, as you are so kind, I'll confess to you, I have broken the Stone. "Nevermind," said Robassomé: give me the peices, and we shall be quits." These

were returned, and taken to a Jeweller to be polished. The Count assisted at the work, and discovering an extraordinary appearance one day in the broken peice, polished it himself, and purified it --and there he says was the extraordinary head. I never heard such a story in my life. The King sent him word he never so keenly felt the limits of his Finances--and Monsieur wanted sadly 1000 Guineas, for he said the face was most "etonnement ressemblante"--but he could not raise them: he did not possess them: the Count will not bait a farthing as the Fishwomen say: so the curiosity still remains in his own hands. This is all I could get from him, dear Mrs. Piozzi. Is the story right? If not, may I ask for yours?"

Apparently, Robassomé attempted the same scheme with a stone which was supposed to resemble King George. MF wrote to CBt on 2 June 1808: "he /Count Robassomé/...talked about his stone, and a new one he has par hasard discovered, of our King George, on another piece of Labrador, which I suspect to be humbug" (BM, Eger. MS. 3704A).

27 Johann Peter Salomon (b. Bonn 1745-d. London, 1815), German violinist and composer. He first appeared at Covent Garden Theatre in 1781 and gave frequent concerts in London thereafter. Salomon was Haydn's impresario (Grove).

28 Joseph Woelfl (1717-1816), composer. He arrived in London c. May 1805. Two ballets and a new concerto of his were performed in London. He was a teacher and a success in London society (Grove).

29 Thomas Tomkinsons, Piano-forte maker, 55, Dean-Street, Soho (The Post Office Annual Directory for 1813, ed. Critchett and Woods, 14th edn., 1813).

30 Charles Wesley (1757-1834), son of the Rev. Charles Wesley, and nephew of the Rev. John Wesley, performer on organ and harpsicord and composer. His musical instinct displayed itself in early infancy. Among other positions, he held an appointment at Chelsea Hospital as organist after 1794 (Grove).

31 "The Baby" is Ralph (Dolph) Broome (1801-17), son of CFBF and Ralph Broome (WW). All further references to "Dolph" in the letters are to Ralph Broome.

32 Clement Robert Francis [CF] (1792-1829), son of CFBF and Clement Francis, brother of MF, at Cambridge, Scholar and Prize-man; B.A. (8th Wrangler) 1817, M.A. 1820, Travelling Bachelor, 1817; ordained deacon (1820), priest (1821); Fellow of Caius College 1820-29, Dean 1821-22, Bursar, 1827-28 (Alum. Cant.).

33 Charles Burney Jr. [CB Jr.] (1757-1817), son of Charles Burney and Esther Sleepe, uncle of CF and MF, schoolmaster, classical scholar, and divine; M.A. (Aberdeen) 1781; LL.D. (Glasgow and Aberdeen) 1792; F.R.S. (1802) M.A. (Cambridge) 1808, ordained priest 1808; D.D. (Lambeth) 1812; Rector of Little Hinton, Wiltshire (1811), Vicar of St. Paul's, Deptford (1811-17), of Herne Hill (1811-15), of Cliffe at Hoo (1815-17), Prebend of Lincoln (1817), Chaplain to George III (1810). CB Jr. kept a school at Hammersmith (1786-93) and later at Greenwich (1793-1813) (WW). All further references to "Uncle Charles" or MF's "Greek Uncle" are to CB Jr.

34 Alexis Piron (1689-1773), author of light verse, epigrams, and satires, famous for his gift of repartee; author of the comedy *La Métromanie* (1738). A profound antipathy is supposed to have existed between Piron and Voltaire. MF's letter to HLP of 10 June 1808 includes the postscript: "Si les Pucès étoient Philosophes, de quelle Secte Serioent Elles?...D'Épictète." The exchange between Louis XIV and Piron seems to involve a commentary on gender and the Epicurean philosophy. "Pucès" is the feminine plural meaning fleas (so the "elles") and the feminine fleas have the Epicurean sense of culture of mind and practice of virtue, whereas "Poux" is the masculine plural of louse (hence the "ils"). Piron's reply suggests his Stoic philosophy.

35 After the Peace of Tilsit (1807) which divided Europe between Russia and France, Napoleon attempted a continental blockade to exclude British trade by sealing the entire coastline to Britain. When Napoleon forced Charles IV and his son Ferdinand to abdicate and declared his brother Joseph King of Spain, the Spanish people resisted and the British aided them. When Napoleon demanded that Portugal break with Britain, the Portuguese government refused, a French military force under General Junot invaded Portugal (NCMH, pp. 269, 612). On Nov. 29, the day before the French reached Lisbon, the Prince Regent (later King John VI) embarked with his family and fled to Brazil (J. Christopher Herold, The Age of Napoleon, New York, 1963, 189).

Fame: to render famous by some quality or deed, etc. Also said of the quality or deed (OED).

Many of MF's commentaries on contemporary international events are in response to the "Interesting Intelligence from the London Gazettes" and the "Abstract of Foreign Occurrences" in Gent. Mag. Here she refers to the account of Napoleon's "transit of his troops through Spain for the Usurpation of Portugal, and having succeeded to a certain degree in his designs upon that

Country, manifested his intention of seizing Spain herself ...his subsequent success--his kidnapping and conveyance of the whole Royal Family into France--and the subsequent dissatisfaction, and almost general rising, of the Spanish People, to resist..." (Gent. Mag., Nov. 1808, lxxviii. 642-45).

36 HLP referred to her husband as the "Invalid" during the years when he was afflicted with the gout. For a detailed account of Gabriel Piozzi's illness and death, see Clifford, pp. 420-25.

37 Maria Theresa von Paradies (1759-1824), an Austrian pianist, singer and composer. In 1784 she went to London (Grove). MF wrote to HLP on 19 May 1808: "Do you remember Mrs. Paradise?...She is gone to America....People say <Paradise> Lost, is still better than Paradise Regained."

Saturday 9 July 1808

MS. JRL (582.21).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: C JY 9 808.

Dorset St. London. Saturday: July 9th

Can you forgive me, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, for persecuting you with such unreasonable perseverance? --The experience I have already had of your sweetness and forbearance inclines me to hope that you will--and the encreasing shortness (to make an English bull) of our stay here, compels me to commit myself to the waves of uncertainty, and run the risk that you may. At any rate, I must congratulate you and rejoice with myself on recovery from an illness that I cannot reflect on without shuddering--and must hasten to remind my beloved Mrs. Piozzi that as the danger of privation always doubly endears our blessings to us, every account that tells me of her sufferings serves only to make me reflect afresh on her value and be doubly thankful for her preservation--and more grateful to her-self for diminishing the rigour of the distance that separates me from her by the charm of her epistolary alleviations which can never be more felt, or more admired than by me.²

Yesterday your Friend (and mine already) Mr. Gillon came;³ and sadly overthrew all my towering hopes by the melancholy account of the Chester excursion: which I had determined should do Mr. Piozzi good. But I do not yet despair. According to the

testimony of every age the violence of any feelings preclude the fear of their duration. And⁴ even supposing (what is too bad to suppose) poor dear Mr. Piozzi should prove one melancholy exception--the fine Summer weather we are entitled to expect must do him good; and dearest Mrs. Piozzi will see the sickness that was stubborn at Chester yield to the air of Brynbella, which will have an encreased influence from the temporary absence of its poor Invalid. Let her not suffer her fine spirits to be shaken by despair: "Non, si male nunc, et olim sic erit," Says a wiser observer than I.⁵ But I must not forget to thank my own Friend for introducing us to Mr. Gillon. I like him vastly. First, because he has a proper enthusiasm where he ought: and next on his own account. He agreed with me that the name of the fair inhabitant of Brynbella was music to both our ears, and its repetition one of the greatest pleasures we could enjoy. Mama was of the same opinion: and poor Count Robassomè was almost forgotten--and our conversation agreeably filled up with variations of the sound that pleased us all best.

On Friday we leave Town. Mr. Gillon has promised to see us before we go: and Mama has written his direction carefully down, that we may not forget where to send to him when we return to Town.

My meditated visit to Grandpapa is given up. --To-morrow we dine with him: and on Wednesday he goes to Bulstrode, where every Summer sees him, and I hope many a Summer will.⁶

We go to Langley on Friday, the 15th of this Month; there for a fortnight to remain: from thence I shall write again to Brynbella, to tell our direction at Richmond, which will be the next receptacle of our Errantries: and at Langley I shall hope--before I must not--to hear from my dear Mrs. Piozzi, a better account of herself--and to receive an absolution for my impertunity--this being (I hope I blush to say it) the third Letter I have written within this last month. But Mama says our Letters are like Friends that meet, and don't know each other: for they always cross on the road.

There is a fine accession of busts and Statues to the British Museum, which we went yesterday to called the Hamilton and Townly Collections: and I <was> mightily pleased with a head of Chaucer on a Stone, that was found by chance,⁷ and that put me so in mind of a Certain Count, whose name I am actually ashamed to tautalogize anymore.

Congratulate--or rather condole with me, dearest Mrs. Piozzi on having read a beautiful Book, whose length I could wish even prolonged--I mean Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. His own, poor Man, has happened long since. And I could almost shed tears of regret as I go along, that the noble mind, and superior acquirements of such a man should be poisoned and disgraced by the bane of infidelity.

You interest yourself I saw by the admirable remarks

to Mr. Gillon, about the Spanish Patriots. Tales of Wonder are told of them already:⁸ and an Emigrant French Countess whom I know, tells me very gravely, that she expects by these latent Heroes (who were long enough, methinks, discovering the necessity of exertion) to be soon restored to safety, and her ancient possessions in Her Native Country.⁹

Mr. Gillon charged me with his best respects, which it would be ungrateful to omit. --Mama sends best Compts. and better wishes. The impertinent Clem is in the Country: and so will soon be dearest Mrs. Piozzi's ever obliged, and more than ever affectionate.

Marianne Francis

1 Bull: "A self-contradictory proposition....Now often with epithet Irish; but the word had been long in use before it came to be associated with Irishmen" (OED). Richard Lovell Edgeworth and Maria Edgeworth published An Essay on Irish Bulls in 1802.

2 The nature of HLP's illness is unknown.

3 John Gillon (1748-1809), "a wealthy Dominican sugar planter, who in his youth had been befriended by Mr. Thrale and considered himself ever after under obligation for that kindness, as he wrote to Mrs. Piozzi on January 30, 1808" (Balderston, p. 1014 n.2, citing Ry. Eng. Ms. 579). John Gillon acted as Mrs. Piozzi's business advisor in transactions concerning her property and publications (Balderston, p. 1015 n. 3).

4 MS. "And And"

5 "If things are bad now, they will be better in time to come" (Horace, Carmina II.x.17).

6 Bulstrode Park, near Beaconsfield, Bucks, the seat of William Bentinck, third Duke of Portland. CB used to visit Bulstrode during the summer at the invitation of the Duke. During the summer of 1807, he made two separate visits there (Lonsdale, p. 469).

7 The Hamilton Collection of jewelry, vases, lamps, figurines, etc., was acquired by the British Museum in 1772; the Charles Townley collection of Greek and Roman statues, busts and other sculptured marbles was acquired in 1805. In 1806 the collections were on display in the Hamilton Room, room 12 of the British Museum. The collections included a "terminal head of Homer," but no head of Chaucer. Visitors were admitted to the museum Monday through Thursday, 10-4, in eight companies of fifteen each. They walked through various corridors to the rooms housing the collections, and it is possible that the head of Chaucer to which MF refers was on view in this part of the museum (Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum, 1808, p. xxxi).

8 The Spanish Patriots' attack on General Dupont, Napoleon's commander at Bailen, Cordova, and Andalusia, was reported in the Times, 7 July 1808. Gent. Mag. reported: "Dupont...has been obliged to quit Cordova....In the meantime, the patriotic General Castanos and the force of the Southern Spanish Insurrection, have advanced upon and succeeded in hemming him in on every quarter" (July 1808, lxxviii. 643). Dupont surrendered to Castanos on 19 July 1808. For an account of the Spanish Patriots' attack, see Owen Connelly, Napoleon's Satellite Kingdoms (New York, 1965), pp. 225-26.

9 Among the French émigrés friendly with the Burney family was Marie-Jeanne-Geneviève de Losse de Bayac (post 1750-1812) who had married in 1771 René-Henri-Louis-Jérôme d'Arsac dit le comte de Ternay (1730-96) (FB:JL, iii. 309 n. 7). Possibly MF refers to Madame de Ternay.

Saturday 23 July 1808

MS. JRL (582.22).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: C JU 26 1808. 26.

Langley Cottage, Langley, Near Colnebrooke Bucks.

Saturday Morning, July 23: 1808.

Here we are, dearest Mrs. Piozzi!--at last, got out of that hated London. Imagine the streets of a fevered City, with the Thermometer at ninety four, in the shade--or, (as Dr. Gretton, a man of observation and veracity, here, roundly asserts it has been,)¹ at Ninety Six!--a perfect Oven--ruin to the Bakers, for we might have baked pies in our Drawing-rooms soon.²

But your Letter came so happily; at a time when I could do nothing but read; and that only something interesting enough to repay me for the exertion. I shall tell Mr. Nichols, the first time I meet him, what you say: he will be so happy. --Mr. Gillon we have not seen since. But He, and every body is full of the Spaniards, who are getting on so gloriously, and have forced, or are on the point of forcing the French troops to an unconditional surrender. I will leave off disgracing the memory of the poor Portugal King with the accusation of cowardice: (one must not speak ill of the absent.)³ Besides as you defend, I have no right to attack him. But I can't help hoping a great deal for the Spaniards, who have at last been

goaded into resistance and activity--and instead of being dispirited by a first slight defeat, have been spurred on to greater exertions.⁴ I hear Buonaparte has published an account of the succession, who is to reign after him, etc. etc. But I am in hopes that will be disturbed now--or that the Tyrant's fears (that his Kingdom like that of Alexander will be torn to pieces by factions at his death) may not prove unfounded.⁵

(Who was it, said Buonaparte was like a miser's hoard. --And why? --Because he never sleeps two nights in the same place.)⁶

Poor Mr. Piozzi! How I mourn for him! And for you, who have to witness such sufferings, and to feel them yourself--and then to have your old Servant, (whom I do not remember) dying at your feet.⁷ --Grandpapa, (whom we saw, 10 days ago) says he regrets that his recollection of you, (otherwise so pleasing to him,) is always saddened by the reflection of what you endure: and told me, with his best respects, to tell you so. He is gone, for the Summer, to Bulstrode: and an Aunt of mine, who lives with him, Sarah Burney--perhaps you remember her--has just published Geraldine, a Novel, in 3 vols.⁸ This is all the Literary News I know. For in the Country I am so happy to walk about, and gather flowers, and sit in a tree, and eat fruit, and rise early, and take long walks--that I forget everything else,--except my ever dear Mrs. Piozzi. --But it is fit I tell her how we came here.

Mr. and Mrs. Barrett have a very pretty Cottage for the Season, 3 miles from Windsor, and the King--with a Lawn, and a Garden, and Orchards, and fruit, without: and plenty of room, and a dear little hospitable way of making every body happy and comfortable, within. They asked us very much to come and spend a week with them, which has every symptom of being prolonged into a fortnight, or more. So here we are. To night we go to the Terrace at Windsor, where the King shews himself, with a great deal of urbanity, every evening: and the Castle and the Forest are always beautiful--and we are, (except Charlotte) within a walk. She tires soon.⁹ But I am so happy, to run my nose into a bush, and lie down on the grass and read! --I have finished Gibbon, and have been reading Marcus Flaminius, Miss Knight's Book, which I dare say you like.¹⁰ Here we have no great choice of Books--and I thought myself very happy to get Masillon's Sermons, (which I delight in)¹¹ and old Guillim's Heraldry, which amuses me from the quaintness of th⟨e s⟩tyle, and the humour of the Quotations:¹² a⟨nd⟩ these, with some old German stuff, have been all⟨we⟩ have been able to get at lately.

You read more in your Welsh Mountains than we do here, I'm afraid. I wish I could say any thing about Joanna Baillie. When I return to Town, I will enquire. At present, I know nothing of her but her plays, which I like (De Montfort, especially) very much: and am happy to find dear Mrs. Piozzi approves.¹³

A Mr. Lamb has been publishing a "Specimens of old Dramatic Poets, who lived about the Time of Shakespeare" in one 8 vo. vol. Some of them very clever, I think. There is a mad King who orders a Painter to draw a picture, with the "Moon out, the clouds extinct: the bells tolling, the winds howling, the beasts bellowing, the toads croaking--the minutes jarring--and the clock striking twelve!" This is in a "Spanish Tragedy, by one Thomas Kyd."¹⁴

Is dear Mrs. Piozzi fond of old English Writers? --If so, perhaps she will rejoice to hear there is a new corrected edition of Massinger published¹⁵ --and if she has time to tell me so--our direction is here for 10 days more--then we go to Richmond, and I will write again. At any rate, the Letters (how unpleasantly they have lately crossed on the road--) would always be forwarded from hence.

Mama, my Sister, Mr. Barrett--(and Clem must not be forgotten) send respects and loves,--every thing to Brynbella. Dearest Mrs. Piozzi will believe how cordially they are joined by her every obliged and affectionate

Marianne Francis

Talking of the Spaniards puts me in mind of a Country Song, a Lady from Cheshire gave me the other day. May I venture to insert it? --At any rate, if you dont like it, you may have it.

A Cheshire man set sail for Spain,
To deal in Merchandise.
No sooner he arrived there--
Than a Spaniard he espies:--
Who cries, "You English Dog, look here,
Rich fruits, and spices fine
Our land produces twice a year,
You've no such fruits in thine!"
The Cheshire Man ran to his hole
And brought out a Cheshire cheese.
And cries, "You Spanish Dog, look here,
You've no such fruits as these.
"Your land produces twice a year
Rich fruits and spice they say,
But such as now my hands do hold,
Our land gives twice a day!"
Lallalalla lallala, etc.¹⁶

Best wishes--To Mr. Piozzi. "Tis all we have."¹⁷

of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, 1800-01.

2 According to Gent. Mag., the highest temperature for five summers was 91 degrees on 21 July 1808 (lxxviii. index).

3 The accusation of cowardice may refer to the secret convention arranged at Fountainebleau on 27 Oct. 1807 for the invasion and partition of Portugal. "The Regent of Portugal had consented under pressure to close his ports to English commerce" (Herbert Fisher, Napoleon, New York, 1914, p. 191). When the Regent refused to sequester British merchandise, Napoleon invaded Portugal.

4 "These local successes [of the Spanish Patriots] were set off, however, by a smashing French victory at Medina de Rioseco, in the province of Valladolid. There a Spanish army, 22,000 strong...was crushed on July 14 by a force of 14,000 led by Marshall Bessières, one of Napoleon's most trusted lieutenants.... Joseph Bonaparte entered Madrid a few days later, on July 20" (Gabriel H. Lovett, Napoleon and the Birth of Modern Spain, 2 vols., New York, 1965, i. 287).

5 For the supposed purpose of disarming assassins a new constitution which provided for hereditary rule was promulgated by Senate decree on 18 May 1804. The main problem was to define the rules for succession, because Bonaparte had no male issue. "Finally, it was decided that failing a natural or an adopted heir the succession would fall to Joseph, and after him, Louis. Lucien, having refused to divorce his wife [Madame Joubert], the widow of a bankrupt speculator/, was excluded and left for Italy" (George Lefebore, Napoleon: 1799-1807, tr. Henry F. Stockhold, 1969, p. 183).

6 Reference untraced.

7 Gabriel Piozzi recorded in his pocket diary, 4 July 1808: "Rich. the footman died this morning" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11019A).

8 "Sarah Harriet seemed to have no money at all except what she could earn by her novels ('I must scribble, or I cannot live'). In 1808 she had published Geraldine Fauconberg" (Hemlow, p. 321).

9 CFBt was pregnant with Julia Barrett (1808-64), who married (1) Aug. 1836 James Thomas (d. 6 Jan. 1840) and (2) 5 Nov. 1842 Charles Maitland (1815-66). She had two children by the first marriage and one by the second (WW). Further references to "Julia," "the baby" or to MF's "Niece" are to Julia Barrett.

10 Ellis Cornelia Knight (1757-1837), author of Flaminus, a View of the Military, Social and Political Life of the Romans (1792; 2d edn., 1808), a didactic romance in the form of letters. She was a friend of HLP's and is mentioned as the correspondent of HLP in the introduction to The French Journals of Mrs. Thrale and Doctor Johnson, ed. Moses Tyson and Henry Guppy (Manchester, 1932), p. 37.

11 Jean-Baptiste Massillon (1663-1742), court preacher under Louis XIV. Many editions of Massillon's collected sermons were published in Paris and London. One familiar to MF might have been A Translation of the Charges of P. Massillon; Addressed to His Clergy: with Two Essays; One on the Art of Preaching translated from the French of M. Reybaz: and the Other on the Composition of a Sermon as Adapted to the Church of England, by T. St. John, 1805.

12 John Guillim (1565-1621), A Display of Heraldrie, 1610. Guillim's quotations give examples of terms for hawking and hunting.

13 Joanna Baillie (1762-1851), dramatist and poet, author of Plays on the Passions (1798, 1802) entitled A Series of Plays: in which It Is Attempted to Delineate The Stronger Passions of The Mind, etc. (1798). De Monfort is a tragedy on hatred and Jane de Monfort was supposed to be a portrait of Sarah Siddons. In 1804 Joanna Baillie's Miscellaneous Plays (1804) contained two plays: Rayner and Constantine Paleologus, and one comedy, Country Inn. For Joanna Baillie, see Margaret S. Carhart, The Life and Work of Joanna Baillie: 1762-1851, New Haven, 1922.

14 Charles Lamb (1775-1834), Specimens of English Dramatic Poets Who Lived about the Time of Shakespeare, 1808. The speech by Hieronimo to the painter in Thomas Kyd's Spanish Tragedy reads: "Let the clouds scoul, make the moon dark, the stars extinct, the winds blowing, the bells tolling, the owls shrieking, the toads croaking, the minutes jarring, and the clock striking twelve" (Specimens, 2 vols., a duplicate of the first edn. with a new title page, 1835, ii. 13). The exact date of publication of Lamb's Specimens is unknown. Lamb's editor, E.V. Lucas, writes: "As the Monthly Review, however, did not notice the Specimens until April, 1809, it is likely that publication had been delayed until 1808" (The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb, ed. E.V. Lucas, 4 vols., iv. 600).

15 Philip Massinger (1583-1640), Plays, ed. William Gifford, 4 vols., 1805.

16. This Country Song is included in Minced Meat for Pyes (HLP's commonplace book, begun about 1796), published by Percival Merritt in Piozzi Marginalia, 1925, pp. 121-22.

17 MF alludes to Thomas Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" l. 123: "He gave to Misery all he had, a tear." MF means, of course, that tears are all they can give to Mr. Piozzi.

Saturday 13 August 1808

MS. JRL (582.23).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: B 13 808. Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green, Richmond: Saturday, August 13. 1808

My dearest Mrs. Piozzi will forgive an intruding letter I hope, when She hears the good excuse I have for writing it: even to give our direction--tho' primarily to inquire if "all is right in Denmark:"¹ for I have not heard so long, a whole herd of fears and fancies are annoying me, and I begin to be afraid you are ill--or Poor Mr. Piozzi is worse: ah do, if you can, put me out of suspense, and say that all is well.

Charlotte persuaded us so heartily and so irresistibly to lengthen our very pleasant visit at Langley, that four days were imperceptibly protracted into four weeks: and we left her only last Wednesday for this place. Does dear Mrs. Piozzi know Richmond? And does she like it?² We have a comfortable house here, for some Months: there is good society, and a tolerable library: fine views (when not compared with Devonshire--dear Devonshire!)³ and healthy beautiful walks. --Our oldest and best Friends here are the Cambridges. Old Mr. Cambridge, who wrote

"the World"-- you knew him, did you not? is dead. His Son is Archdeacon of Ely, and lives with his Wife and Sister at Twickenham.⁴ Woelfl is here: and Miss Franks, the famous Piano-forte Player,⁵ and half a dozen Dukes, and Mrs. Jordan,⁶ and poor, queer, Lord FitzWilliam.⁷ I like Richmond on the whole: it's very healthy. The Barretts stay at Langley till October-- then, over the hills and far away,⁸ tho' I know not where: perhaps to Devonshire, perhaps to Bath. One thing I must not forget, tho': Grand Papa, (who has been for some time on a visit at Bulstrode,) came from thence to see Charlotte, and spent five days with us all at Langley--a great feat, for him. He was as young and gay as ever--reading and writing without spectacles, (which he has never used yet,) and cheerful and entertaining, and sprightly, and kind, as if he had been 23 instead of eighty three. He asked much after you, and charged me with every message that regard and admiration could dictate, and wants to know if you remember the Letter Smart, the Poet, wrote to somebody who wanted to know where he was.

Sir.

After being six times arrested: nine times in a spunging house: and three times in the Fleet-Prison, I am at last happily arrived at the King's Bench.

Kitt. Smart.

Grandpapa knew him well,⁹ and set my wishes on fire to read his Poems, (wh are out of Print, he says,)¹⁰ and went to see his Wife, who keeps a small, unthriving Bookseller's shop at Reading.¹¹

During that cruel hot weather at Langley, we laid down on the grass all day, under the trees, and read: what else could be done?

I read Miss Knight's Marcus Flaminius, which I liked vastly: and Machiavelli's History of the Florentines, or rather the Factions¹² of the Florentines, in his own beautiful Language. What a noble work it is! in imitation of Livy, they say--and what beautiful speeches his Heroes make: --or rather, I suppose, he, for them.¹³

I read Locke's Conduct of the Understanding: (not his Essays) which alone would have entitled him, I think, to the recollection and gratitude of ages yet to come. I like his saying "that, which in any discourse signifies 'I know not what' should be considered, 'I know not when.'"¹⁴ --And Soame Jenyns' internal evidence of christianity, is the plainest argumentative book I ever saw.¹⁵ He brings "proofs, clear as founts in July"¹⁶ for every thing he advances: only I dont like his dwelling on the Truth of our religion with the same appearance of unconcern as if he were merely asserting that Herodotus wrote, or that Homer sang. --Another book I

read, I know you will like: The Abbé Girard's "Synonymes François,"¹⁷ which delighted me, and I thought of the British Synonymy.¹⁸ How beautifully the gradations are painted--so much nicety, and delicacy! I was enchanted. --One more, and I have done--but I must mention a work not so much known, I think, as it deserves: I mean Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons: a shaded period of History which this Author has much enlightened, by his quotations and researches from other Historians. There are too many moral Essays I thought, in the 3 first volumes, which might be fairly made into one and $\frac{1}{2}$ --provided Turner would condescend to shorten his words a little, and put majestic, for majestical, etc., etc. He imitates Gibbon, outrageously, and unsuccessfully. --I was quite in a passion with his verbosity sometimes. He would not for the world, say chronology. --Oh No: that would be much too common. He says, chronography! Talks of chorographical Polemics, and--but I must stop. The 4th vol. is an account of the manners, Literature, etc., of the Saxons, which is amusing enough, and the style less provokingly inflated.¹⁹

Dearest Mrs. Piozzi, can you forgive me for all this impertinent jargon? But I thought your kindness would forgive me for telling you what I have been reading, and perhaps lead you to indulge me with your own opinion and observ<atio>ns on some of the books, which would be as entertaining and

improving to me as the Books themselves. I think, sometimes, after reading or studying a good deal, of Solomon's remark: of making many Books there is no end, and much study is a weariness to the flesh.²⁰

What do you think of the Patriots now? Not that they will be fooled at last, I hope, who am so much interested for them, and so in earnest about my admiration of their exertions. --Did they not act gallantly in the late advantage they gained over the French Troops?²¹ Faber's ingenious exposition of the Prophecies, proves, that Buonaparte, "The Infidel power," will finally be destroyed.²² Who knows if the time, when all the nations will unite for his destruction, may not be arrived? --Do you like Faber?

I shall hope for a few lines, at any rate, soon--may I not? Pray remember us all to Mr. Piozzi: everything affectionate, and kind from our little circle to yourself, sweetest Mrs. Piozzi, with the unchangeable admiration and love, of Your ever obliged

Marianne Francis

1 See Hamlet I.iv.90.

2 On 26 July 1773 HLP went on a day's outing to Richmond with her husband Henry Thrale and her daughter, "Queeney" (Clifford, p. 105). No other reference to HLP's visiting Richmond has been traced.

3 When MF began her correspondence with HLP, she was living with her mother, Clem and Dolph in Exmouth, where the family had gone to live after the death of Ralph Broome, MF's step-father, on 24 Feb. 1805 in Bath, where the family had gone for his health. About six months later the family returned to London; MF wrote to HLP on 1 Feb. 1808: "With many regrets we bid adieu to Exmouth."

4 Richard Owen Cambridge (1717-1802) was a poet and member of Lincoln's Inn; he resided at Twickenham, where he acted as host for contemporary notables, and was author of twenty-one papers in Edward Moore's periodical The World, 1753-56. He married Mary Trenchard (c. 1717-1806). Their children were Richard Owen (1741-75), Charlotte (1746-1823), Charles Owen (1754-84), George Owen (1756-1841), and Mary (post 1750-post 1802). George Owen Cambridge married Cornelia Nierop (1795) (WW). For the relationship of the Cambridge family to Fanny Burney, see Hemlow, pp. 187-92. All further references to the "Archdeacon" are to George Owen Cambridge. HLP knew both Richard Owen Cambridge and his son George in London. Of the father's attentions to Fanny Burney at the time of the publication of Cecilia (1782), she wrote: "I have no Patience with that odd man" (NYPL, Burney papers, HLP to FBA, 1782).

5 Miss Franks untraced.

6 Dorothea Jordan (1762-1816), a popular actress engaged at Drury Lane through 1785-1809, was the mistress of the Duke of Clarence (later William IV).

7 William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, second Earl Fitzwilliam (1748-1833), statesman. The reference may be to Wentworth's brief term as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for eighty days (Dec. 1794-Mar. 1795), or it may be to his sometimes retiring and eccentric manner. C/Ookayne's/ notes on him read: "He was deprived of his Lord

Lieutenancy on account of his condemnation of the Peterloo massacre and his advocacy of reform....Lady Charlotte Bury writes, 1814 'Lord Fitzwilliam has delightful manners, so gentle, so polite. There is a divine expression in his countenance. He is shy and rather reserved on first acquaintance, but not to such a degree to make him disagreeable.' 'Mrs. Delany, on the other hand, calls him a 'peevish, and splenetic man, and provoking in his temper.'"

8 The Beggar's Opera I.xiii.air 15.

9 For a discussion of the relationship between CB and Christopher Smart, see Lonsdale, pp. 25-28, 33-34, 66-70, 363, 482. Recipient of Smart's letter untraced.

10 Christopher Smart (1722-71), Poems, 2 vols., Reading, 1791.

11 Anna Maria (Carnan) Smart (1732-1809), daughter of Mrs. John Newbery, wife of Smart's publisher, by her first marriage. John Newbery (d. 1769) bequeathed in his will "the newspaper and his business in Reading to John Carnan [his stepson]; the other moiety, the will reads, 'I will give to my said son ffrancis Newberry upon Trust and to and for the sole use and Benefit of my said Daughter in Law Anna Maria Smart'" (Arthur Sherbo, Christopher Smart: Scholar of the University, Michigan, 1967, p. 243). The business was left in trust so that Smart, estranged from his wife, would have no access to the patrimony. Dr. Burney visited Smart's widow at Reading in Oct. 1796. For the text of his account of the visit in letters to FBA, CB Jr., and CF, see Lonsdale, p. 363.

12 Faction: "'Party' in the abstract; self-interested or turbulent party strife or intrigue; factious spirit or action; dissention" (OED).

13 Niccolò Machiavelli, Istorie Fiorentine, Florence, 1531. Machiavelli's Istorie Fiorentine is a history of Florence from the decline of the Roman Empire to the year 1434. Machiavelli employs Livy's method of attributing speeches to his historical characters in which they reveal the motives for their actions and the secrets of their failure or success.

14 John Locke (1632-1704), author of An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690) and Conduct of the Understanding, an unfinished work published posthumously in 1706.

"That which in any discourse signifies, I know not what, should be considered I know not when" (John Locke, Conduct of the Understanding, 4th edn., ed. Thomas Fowler, Oxford, 1892, sec. xxix on "Words," p. 65).

15 Soame Jenyns (1704-87), author of A Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil (1757) and a View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion (1776).

16 Henry VIII I.i.154.

17 Gabriel Girard (1677-1748), Synonymes François, Paris, 1741.

18 As instruction for Gabriel Piozzi and in imitation of Girard's Synonymes, HLP wrote British Synonymy: or an Attempt at Regulating the Choice of Words in Familiar Conversation, 2 vols., 1794.

19 Sharon Turner (1768-1847) was the first to explore for historical purposes the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the Cottonian Library. In 1799 the first installment of his History of England from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest appeared. The fourth volume was published in 1805.

20 See Ecclesiastes xii.12.

21 General Dupont's French army of twenty thousand men was defeated by the Spanish patriots and surrendered to the Junta of Seville on 21 July 1808 (Gent. Mag., Aug. 1808, lxxviii. 738).

22 George Stanley Faber (1773-1854), controversialist, author of A General and Connected View of the Prophecies Relative to the Conversion of Judah and Israel, the Overthrow of the Confederacy in Palestine, and the Diffusion of Christianity, 2 vols., 1808. Faber's interpretation of the prophecies predicted the circumstances of the millenarian Church in which Napoleon was popularly associated with the beast of the Apocalypse: "This period, we are taught to expect, will be introduced by the most dreadful political convulsions that the world ever witnessed....The empire of the great Roman beast, in his last form and under his last head, must be dissolved. In the midst of the expiring struggles of God's enemies, the Jews must be restored and converted" (i. 6).

Wednesday 24 August 1808

MS. JRL (582.24).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: B AU 25 808. 12 o'Clock AU 25 1808. Nn. 808.

Richmond Green. Wednesday: Aug. 24, 1808

Dont be frightened, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, at my coming to you for once in this unreasonable shape.¹ I shall not have the courage to do it again, I hope, nor the presumption ever to exact it from you. But Adieu to my two Friends Excuse and Apology. --a long, a last Farewell! --And as I have a great deal to talk about, I shall only remind my indulgent Friend of what Garth said for the long Preface he wrote--that he should not think of excusing or curtailing it: because, if any man found it too long, it was in his power to make it as short as he liked.² So much for that. --now for my own complaints. --I am in a proper passion with the Post for losing me a letter of yours. I had rather have lost my heart almost--not quite, tho': for there the loss might have been irretrievable, and the consequences more fatal. But I encourage my "fury frantic indignation"³ with the Poor Postman as much as I can, in order if possible to forget that it was in great measure my own fault for not being more correct with our varied directions. But we are such "Wanderers and Vagabonds on the face of the Earth"⁴

I wonder the misfortune does not happen oftener. But I must not forget to thank my best Mrs. Piozzi for the charming Letter I did receive two days ago, which made me laugh and cry and blush in turns. O if you had but seen my disconsolate face when I read about your hen, and my mistake!--my stupid, vulgar, ignorant unpardonable mistake! You would have laughed, and pitied me too, I think. Well! I am very grateful for the remark--in proportion, I hope, to its necessity; which is saying everything; and I do sincerely thank my kind Instructress --and lay under the trees yesterday, on purpose to be able to tell her so. I was vastly amused with the origin of 'old Nic,' which I had never heard before, and am glad you like him in spite of his name--(I mean the younger Brother.)⁵ I do think the speeches are so beautifully eloquent--particularly one of Lorenzo de' Medici--do you remember it? --Your "old Nick" put me in mind of Grandpapa's Origin of Bumper. He says that formerly good Catholics used to drink "à la Santé de notre Bon pere"--corrupted into Bumper, at last.⁶ Is that fair do you think? And is it new? --Do tell me what Scottish Ballad you quote so aptly, and where. I admire it vastly. As to Soame Jenyns, I shall never mention him with patience again. I was ignorant that he had disgraced himself for ever, as he has done with me, and must, with every body who knows or who does not know, my beloved Mrs. Piozzi. No Peace to his Shade!⁷

As to Gibbon, I like what you say of him, and acknowledge its truth: a mournful one, though, that "he would have lost by being Orthodox." I have been reading Whitaker's Review of him since.⁸ Tell me your opinion of him. Very fair, I thought: and has put me quite out of conceit with Mr. Gibbon's veracity, at any rate. What shameful misquotations he proves upon him! Such want⁹ of correctness and arrangement--and sense too--if want of decency be want of sense. I think Whitaker says well enough of this Author, that he had the wing of an eagle, excursive and strong: --but not the eye of the Eagle, to direct his flight. That's a curious fact that the speech of Claudian on the engraved Plates found at Lyons, should be so different from the same speech in Tacitus. --But I must remember your Scottish Ballad. Only if it be true, that these plates were open to public inspection, do you think that an argument of indolence and carelessness in Tacitus, (I suppose this is almost treason,) or do you believe in this one instance he imagined himself licensed--to make the Orations in his work, himself?¹⁰

I read lately, Gisborne's "Enquiry into the duties of Women": a clever book I think, and shews a great acquaintance with our Sex, considering it was written by one of the other --only that In my opinion he makes Women come into the world too much for the simple purpose of encreasing it:¹¹ a duty

they were certainly destined to perform, but still, not quite the only thing of which they are capable. Do tell me, my dear Mrs. Piozzi, (and I shall pay great deference to your opinion in this respect, because surely you, if anybody, have a right to decide) if women had a fair attention paid to their education--if, instead of being taught a little music and drawing, five words of French, and six of Italian--and then sent out as accomplished creatures into the world, to try what effects with this miserably smattering tuition they can produce on any heart that is but rich--If instead of this usual unjust method, they had an equal share of attention paid to the improvement of their minds as is commonly allowed to men--and were not confined to the outside, but encouraged to adorn the inside of their heads--do you think the difference between the two sexes would continue to be so great as hardly to allow the wisest women to equal the silliest man? That there certainly is a difference of powers and intellect, I believe. But that there should be this great superiority, if women were allowed fair play, I can hardly believe. I am rather inclined to think they would be nearly on a par.

Like the thick, base strings of a musical instrument, which give a deep, grand sound--while the tones of the upper are soft and melodious--yet full as pleasing to the ear as the more powerful sounds of their louder associates. 'Bad enough, this' I think I hear you say. So it is: but if it explains my

meaning enough to get dear Mrs. Piozzi's opinion, that will do. I think nothing so disgusting as an Amazonian imitation of the other sex. But as to the prejudice of letting the minds of women run to waste, because their bodies are not so strong--I cannot, in secret, respect it. Dearest Mrs. Piozzi, write to me, and say that you forgive my impertinent preachment: but I want to be dislodged, or confirmed in my opinions. The f{irst}, Heaven knows is most likely to happen to me. O! and an {other} thing. Was it of Kit Smart, (for so I have heard) that Dr. Johnson said, or did he say it at all? "His mind has ceased to struggle with the disease, and he grows fat upon it."¹² O, if your letter had but come one day sooner, I might have got Grandpapa to repeat the Audivere Lyce, for me.¹³ He has been with us at Richmond, for five days--young and well as ever; and very anxious about you (he heard you had been unwell) and Mr. Piozzi--and sent kindest remembrances and best wishes. He repeated to me

'Hail eldest of the monthly train,

Dread Sire of Winter drear'

which I love dearly: and promised to lend me the rest of Smart's Poems, now, out of print--and is it not strange that they should be?¹⁴ Poor dear Grandpapa is now gone to Dr. Herschel for 3 days.¹⁵ Thence to Bulstrode, and then he will return to Chelsea, and keep his bed till the spring, to defend himself from the East Wind, and his fellows, the damps and the rain, in this "Patria Nimborum"¹⁶--or only rise, to sit with

his book, in his Robe de chambre, by his own fire-side. He gave me a shade¹⁷ of Mrs. Carter, who is my perfect admiration --very like, he says. Do tell me something about her, my dear Madam--you who know almost every body, and every thing. It is well that love is stronger than admiration--if it were not, I should be reverenced into too much respect and wonder, ever to presume to write to you, or to say how much I love and think of you. But I know you are a little bit of Shakespeare's mind, that

"never any thing can come amiss,

When simpleness and duty tender it."¹⁸

Have you read 'Fragments of the Family of Mr. Smith of Pearcefield' by Mrs. H. Bowdler?¹⁹ Grandpapa says his daughter out-Heroded Mrs. Carter?²⁰

Clement returned yesterday to his Uncle--to study Euripides hard. By the bye, I have got an Oxford Scholar--a good, sound, though a heavy one, to help me a little with books and instruction--and am studying Greek very sturdily.²¹ Mrs. Carter says "every sort of knowledge tends to the improvement of the heart"²²--to the enlargement of the mind, at any rate. Does it not? --Dolph goes to school every day, here. The Barretts are well: we expect them in September. And you, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, continue, I fear, where you are? --Do pray say, always, when you write, how you are, and your Invalid

--Nor imagine I merely ask for the humour of it--But because I really am so anxious and interested to know, that I never think a letter satisfactory in which such intelligence is omitted. Mama's warmest, best remembrances. May dear Mrs. Piozzi ever continue her kindness, and her counsel to her unalterably affectionate and obliged

Marianne Francis

If I relapse into unintelligibility, tell me, pray.

1 MF's letter of 24 Aug. 1808 was written on four single sheets of paper, rather than her usual two single sheets and one double. For a description of the manuscripts, see ante p. xi.

2 Samuel Garth (1661-1719), physician and poet. In 1717 he edited, with Preface, Ovid's Metamorphoses: "I have done with the original, and shall make no Excuse for the length of the Preface, because it is in the power of the Reader to make it as short as he pleases" (Preface, p. xix).

3 John Dryden, "A Song for Saint Cecilia's Day, 1687" l. 39.

4 "And I shall be a fugitive and vagabond in the face of the Earth" (Genesis iv.14).

5 Nick: "The devil. Usually old Nick" (OED). The "younger brother" of the Devil may refer to Niccolo Machiavelli who was popularly compared to Napoleon Buonaparte. For a review of The Prince: Translated from the Original Italian of Niccolo Machiavelli. To which is Prefixed an Introduction, Showing the Close Analogy between the Principles of Machiavelli and The Actions of Buonaparte, J. Scott Byerly, 1810, see Gent. Mag. (Sept. 1810), lxxx. 243. The comparison of Napoleon to the devil and consideration of the apocalypse are themes throughout MF's letters to HLP. HLP herself compared Napoleon to the devil and invoked apocalyptic rhetoric on the times in 1800. She wrote: "Had not all the sound Expositors made out the Imposter Mohamet to be Apollyon one shd. really be attributing the Character to Buonaparte, who wears his Name, and who alone of all recorded Conquerors, ever did wear it" (Balderston, p. 1006, n.2). Here MF refers to Lorenzo de Medici's speech to the Florentines on the Medici family and their enemies; see Niccolò Machievelli, Florentine History, trans. W.K. Marriott, (1909), pp. 326-28.

6 Bumper: "perh. from Bump sb. 'or v': with notion of a 'bumping', i.e. large, thumping glass. A cup or glass of wine, etc., filled to the brim, esp. when drunk as a toast" (OED).

7 Quotation untraced. The publication of HLP's Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D. (1786) occasioned much public commentary on the rival biographers, Boswell and Mrs. Piozzi. Soame Jenyns ended an unfavorable epitaph of Johnson with the lines: "Boswell and Thrale, retailers of his wit,/Will tell you how he wrote, and talked, and coughed, and spit" (Clifford, p. 273).

8 John Whitaker (1735-1808), Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Reviewed by the Rev. John Whitaker, 1791. Whitaker notes "Mr. Gibbon's forgetfulness of facts and indistinctness of recollection" (p. 193) and adds: "But what are these faults, to the wickedness that pervades the whole?" (p. 256).

9 MS. "what"

10 Whitaker writes in chapter I of his review of Gibbon's History: "I have lately met with an evidence that shows him Tacitus to us in a new light, as an historian careless and unfaithful in his representations. This evidence has never yet been given to the world, but it is a very decisive one. In 1528 were found within the earth at Lyon in France, two brass plates, that had a speech of the Emperor Claudius engraven upon them, and are now set up against the wall in the vestibule of the Hotel de Ville of Lyon. These form a very singular object of curiosity for the antiquary. But they are still more curious to the historian. For this very speech is pretended to be given by Tacitus; yet the speech in the history is very different from that upon the plates" (p. 5). Whitaker gives the inscription on the brass plates and the version in Tacitus, and discusses the discrepancies between them.

11 Thomas Gisborne, the elder (1758-1846), was an intimate friend of Wilberforce and knew most of the Evangelicals. Gisborne's Inquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex was published in 1797.

12 "BURNEY. 'How does poor Smart do, Sir; is he likely to recover?' JOHNSON. 'It seems as if his mind has ceased to struggle with the disease; for he grows fat upon it'" (Life i. 397).

13 Fanny Burney's notes on her father's friendship with Christopher Smart "state that Smart had given her father a number of his poems in manuscript. . . which she intended to print from 'a MS Copy in the Author's own hand'. Like Burney and his daughter, Smart's editors have not realized that his translation of Horace's 'Audivere, Lyce' (Odes iv.13) had in fact been printed in the London Magazine in Sept. 1750. Although Smart's manuscript has not appeared among Burney's papers, another text of the poem can be found in Thraliana, which was probably communicated by Burney to Mrs. Thrale" (Lonsdale, p. 27).

14 Smart's poem "On the Fifth of December" (1750) reads:
 "Hail, eldest daughter of the monthly train,/Sire of the winter
 drear,/December, in whose iron reign/Expires the chequer'd year"
 (The Collected Poems of Christopher Smart, ed. Norman Callan,
 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1967, i. 203).

15 Sir William Herschel (1738-1822), celebrated astronomer
 who met with Dr. Burney regularly at the Royal Society. For
 an account of Dr. Burney's earlier visits to Herschel at Slough
 in 1801, see Lonsdale, pp. 397-400.

16 "The fatherland of the winds" (Aeneid i.51).

17 Silhouette.

18 "Can be amiss" (A Midsummer Night's Dream V.ii.82-83).

19 Harriet Maria Bowdler (1754-1830), religious author.
 Elizabeth Smith (1776-1806), daughter of a banker of Pierce-
 field Park, Monmouthshire. Fragments in Prose and Verse by
the late Miss Elizabeth Smith with Some Account of Her Life
 by H.M. Bowdler was published in 1808; it contains transla-
 tions of Jonah ii, Habbakkuk vii, and the Book of Job.

20 "It out-herods Herod: pray you, avoid it" (Hamlet III.
 ii.18). CB's reference is to the fact that both Elizabeth
 Carter and Elizabeth Smith were known for their translations.

21 Frederick Doveton (b. 1788). B.A. Oxon. 1809, M.A.
 1813, Rector of South Normanton, 1819 (Alum. Oxon.). MF
 refers to Frederick Doveton as "the learned Fred" (NYPL,
 Burney papers, MF to CBt, 1810).

22 Quotation untraced.

Wednesday 14 September 1808

MS. JRL(582.25).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: SE 14 808. 1 o'Clock SE 14 1808. TwoPyPoA

Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green. September. 14th--1808

My dearest Mrs. Piozzi's last charming letter delighted and satisfied, me so!--tho' in a melancholy manner too. I am quite angry that Mr. Piozzi will have those nasty spasms--out upon them!--and as for yourself--help me to break my heart, if your fine spirits sink: and you don't take [care] of yourself one little additional bit for my sake and every body that has the happiness of knowing you--as well as for your poor Invalid. You must not be 'a weary of the World,'¹ till the world is weary of you--and then I may safely give you leave. --I like the conjecture on the Greek writers--and their strange omission of rural praise, vastly. O! and the harangue of Marshal Turenne, (which I never heard before,) I am in raptures with--so short and so expressive. I was never more delighted with any speech or harangue in my life.²

I have not read Charles Fox's History yet: but I soon shall--and tell you all about it too, as the children say.³ Since you wrote I have been reading through Pennington's quarto life of Mrs. Carter--(for who, now, thinks of living

less than a quarto life?)--And you describe her better in six words, than her elaborate Nephew in six thousand pages. Pennington, I take to be a proper Fool--the merest Bookmaker--then as changeable as a child--Says he can't publish the letters of his beloved Aunt, because she had such a particular hatred of writing even for a third person. Before you've had proper time to admire his piety, his pocket gets the better of it: and out come 2 or 3 quartos more of these very letters his conscience would not suffer him to publish! Then He's so envious of talents that he cannot reach--and so impertinent--Nasty Fellow! I'll say no more of him:⁴ only ask my dear Mrs. Piozzi how she likes Mrs. Carter's Poems? Whether she did not like the "contest between body and mind," and "Verses addressed to a rejected Lover," as one finds out--and what she says of the Odes to Wisdom and Melancholy?⁵

With regard to Women, and Scholars, and so forth--I declare, I think you make them out, poor dears, better off than they are. "Who can hinder them from being Scholars?" Nobody, perhaps. But who is willing to help them? And does not such a task require some assistance? And how many men will there be in ten, willing to assist a woman? And how many in 20, that won't laugh at her for desiring it? And what can't Ridicule do? --Why keep many women in the dark--and make many more pretend to be so--'And so he plays his part.'⁶ --I like the Boys and their 'bleak, blue noses'⁷--and

as to my Uncle's teaching them, they won't be taught. One Boy, (not Clement) went to sea from his School. As soon as he got on board a Ship, he threw all his Grammars into the Ocean green --declaring, 'they had plagued him so, he never would see their faces again.' What I chiefly complain of for the poor girls, is the miserably smattering education they get. --Is not that true? And is it not hard? --The story of "the Verbs in mi" is an excellent one, at any time: and came particularly apropos now, to me: because, I am working at them myself.⁸ There's a droll story enough of a Cousin of mine⁹ --perhaps you know it: "How many Pronouns are there, Richard?" --"15." "What is their use?" "Use? --Why they're of no use at all!"

I wish Grandpapa would come to Richmond, if it were only to read your Story of Kit Smart: which I dont believe he knows, and which I'm sure would delight him. The best story I ever heard, I do think. But I'm not sure of that, either-- because you tell every thing so incomparably, it always sounds the better for it. "Nihil tetegit quod non ornavit," did not Dr. Johnson say of Goldsmith?¹⁰ And I know of whom it might be said besides.

I think the phrase--"There are many such Scholars up and down in black Gowns" is delightful. At least it caught my fancy particularly. I've been repeating it ever since. Then, shall I tell you a little trick I play your letters? --Why I read every night, the last News from Brynbella, which lasts me

till I get some fresh: and so I get them by heart almost--only I sometimes blush to think my dearest Mrs. Piozzi has so much better an opinion of me than I deserve.--and then I blush again when I wonder how she contrives with her beautiful hand, (there is a magic in that hand) to get as much and more (Heaven knows with regard to the matter, at any rate) into one square sheet, than I can into a whole fool's cap.

I have been reading "Memoirs of Mrs. Chapone," which, besides other merits, have that great one of not being quartoized, like all the lives one sees. Do tell me something about her, too. I think I could love Mrs. Chapone. Her letters to Mrs. Carter are very lively and pleasant--"I picked that sentence out of t{he di}rt--I mean out of Swift"--she says. And the lett{er}s to Mr. Richardson are clever too. Tell me if I ought to {read} his. I am growing so old that I shan't long have {the} excu{se} of being young, for not having read what I ou{ght}.

Richmond is a sad idle place. People go about pretty much like the Man in Hamlet--(wasn't it in Hamlet?)--who asked, "say, what abridgement have we for this evening?"¹²--I should ask the question vice versa--for the days are never long enough for me --and never will be, to tell my dear Mrs. Piozzi how much I love her--and how grateful I feel for her kindness to me. Poor Grandpapa! He went home so well and so proud of his Summer exploits--¹³ intending to go back to Bulstrode, and then return to Richmond again. A nasty cold cought hold of him and [he]

imperiously ordered James's Powders.¹⁴ So he has been going through all that instead of returning to Richmond to hear stories of Kit Smart.

My Greek Uncle Charles every body arranges into a Bishop. He was here the other day. Has been publishing an Edition of His favorite Bentley to make presents of to his learned Friends. He would hate me, if he thought I could like to read him too.¹⁵ His greatness is aripening now,¹⁶ good easy man--for his chief Friend the Bishop of Rochester is promoted.¹⁷ So soon, I suppose, we shall see him bear his sable honours thick upon him. I dont know the Epigram--Pray let me have it. And will you tell me, my dear Madam--(I was asked the question but could not answer it) "What rule there is for the pronounciation of French and Italian dissyllabic and polysyllabic words?"--as to the measure and quantity, I fancy. --Clement is still fagging hard at his Greek--and Dolph goes to School, and says over his Latin lessons to me every day.--and I say to myself every day, how happy I should be if I could but see for 5 minutes my dearest Mrs. Piozzi--and tell her in viva voce how beloved she is by her ever grateful and attached

Marianne Francis

Mama sends every thing that's kind and sympathizing to Brynbella.

1 Julius Caesar IV.iii.95).

2 Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicounte de Turenne (1611-75), Maréchal de France. For a reference to Turenne's "Moralizing," see Balderston, p. 430.

3 Charles James Fox (1749-1806), History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second, 1808.

4 Montagu Pennington (1762-1849), biographer and editor, was the literary executor for his aunt, Elizabeth Carter, who left him all her papers. He prepared for press her translation of Epictetus (4th edn., 2 vols., 1807); Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, with a New Edition of Her Poems, Miscellaneous Essays in Prose (1807,; 2d edn., 2 vols., 1808); A Series of Letters between Elizabeth Carter and Catherine Talbot, 1741-70, with Letters from Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Vesey (2 vols., 1808; 2d edn., 4 vols., 1809). Pennington's statement on publishing the letters untraced.

5 These poems by Elizabeth Carter appear in Pennington's Memoirs (2d edn., 2 vols., 1808). The "contest" is a poem called "A Dialogue," beginning "Says Body to Mind" (ii.39-42); the "Ode to Wisdom" and "Ode to Melancholy" appear in ii. 64-68 and 32-35. "Verses Addressed to a Rejected Lover" may be the verses entitled "To the Memory of _____" (ii.46-47). The last poem is marked with an asterisk in Pennington's Memoirs to indicate that it had never before been published. For Mrs. Piozzi's "rating" of Elizabeth Carter in 1778, see Balderston, p. 331.

6 As You Like It II.vii.157.

7 MF may be quoting HLP's letter, as she does below.

8 "Verbs in mi" refers to a conjugation of Greek verbs.

9 Richard Burney (1790-1845), eldest son of Richard Thomas Burney, FBA's half-brother, and Jane Ross (WW).

10 "Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit" ("He touched nothing that he did not adorn" is from Johnson's epitaph in Westminster Abbey on Goldsmith). Life i. 412.

11 Hester (Mulso) Chapone (1727-1801), Posthumous Works: Containing Her Correspondence with Mr. Richardson, A Series of Letters to Miss Elizabeth Carter, and Some Fugitive Pieces. Together with an Account of Her Life and Character, 2 vols., octavo, 1807. For the reference to Swift, see Works (1809 edn.), i. 78. The letters to Richardson (1750-51) include those "On Filial Obedience" and "A Matrimonial Creed."

12 "Say, what abridgement have you for this evening" (Midsummer Night's Dream V.i.39).

13 Dr. Burney wrote his last published work, Memoirs and Character of the late Mrs. Ord, one of the original blue-stockings, in June 1808. He called on the Duke of Portland at Burlington House and was invited to Bulstrode, in July 1808. For Dr. Burney's final years, see Lonsdale ch. 12.

14 James's Powders were the invention of Robert James, M.D. (1705-76), author of A Treatise on the Gout and Rheumatism (1745) and A Dissertation on Fevers (1748). The powders, perscribed for many ailments, contained phosphate of lime and oxide of antimony.

15 Richard Bentley, D.D. (1662-1742), the great classical scholar, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Richard Bentleii et Doctorum Virorum Epistolae, Partim Mutae, ed. Charles Burney, D.D., 1807.

16 King Henry VIII III.i.320.

17 Walker King (1756-1827), Bishop of Rochester (1809-27).

18 "Tomorrow blossoms, and bears his blushing honours thick upon him" (Henry VIII III.ii.354).

Tuesday 4 October 1808

MS. JRL (582.26).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: OC 4 808. 1808. TwoPyPoA Unpaid Richmond.

26 Richmond Green. Tuesday: October 4. 1808.

Give me joy--dearest Mrs. Piozzi, or rather wish it me--but you can do both. I have been sighing, (the air and I only, know how long) to hear Woelfl--the German giant--who plays so finely--and I have at last succeeded. At a Friend's House, three nights ago, I heard him the whole evening--surpass even my sanguine expectations--for sanguine on every subject they are, and will be--spite of all my expostulations with them--who on every score, but yourself, sweetest Mrs. Piozzi, and Woelfl, (in his way,) get constantly disappointed, on account of my unreasonable hopes. --Woelfl has all the good humour and simplicity of a child--and is as superiour to affectation, as he is to almost every musical genius in the World--then He will play.

Ye Gods how he will play!¹

And did play for me, the whole evening--and spluttered German too--and next Friday he is coming to try my instrument. --Music is meat and drink to me: so think how happy I must be!²

Well! but now I come to what is still dearer even than music, to me--dear Mrs. Piozzi and her letter. I am very

proud that it is written in better spirits; though you can counterfeit so well, nobody but yourself feels the loss of your spirits. --I think the Epigram very clever--and really written by a Boy of 14? Why he must have been *rara avis*,³ then for few Boys of 14 could do so well. --Do tell me the Boy's name. The verses on Mrs. Carter, I love dearly. The answer to the question, "And is there no leaf left of dusk-iest green, etc." None: where contend, etc., etc. is so clever and unexpected--any body else would have said "Yes:--and so have gone on with a fine rigmarole, not half so true, nor so impressive."⁴ --But what makes me the maddest of all, is the story of the Man in the Mirror.⁵--I declare to you, as I hope to be believed--I found myself laughing à mourir, with nobody but the joke and me in the room. --and whenever I read it, I laugh again--so true, too. For what with my nasty dull books, and your goodnature in indulging me with talking on them, (more to my satisfaction often, than the books themselves,) we certainly dont get on at all with the news. But you seem to know as much, if not more than I do, about it, after all. Though the report that Sir Arthur Wellesley was returned, is proved to be unfounded⁶--and as to The Convention, why People are so indignant, they won't talk of it at all--or, if they do, only cry out vengeance on those who sent out such an unpractised ninny as Gen.

Dalrymple--and declare he will be tried by a Court-Martial when he returns: and be Whitelocked, poor man, at least--for turning our proud Ships into packet-boats, to ferry our Enemies about--just when we were getting on so nobly too with them.⁷ That's what the People say, at finding the "Victory turned into mourning"⁸--and I don't find they have been doing any thing since--except having the Plays acted in the Opera-House⁹ --and poor Covent-Garden I hear is to be rebuilt and enlarged at the expence of the unhappy Proprietor who will be ruined by it¹⁰--like the poor man at Richmond here, who built the handsomest Inn that ever was seen--just held out to see it finished, and then hurried away to the King's Bench¹¹ --and that's the case, more or less, with us all.

How fond the Poets are of Richmond. But poor Pope's house has been pulled to peices, by some tasteless pair--only his famous Grotto remains.¹² Then Thomson almost lived and died here--and there's an Epitaph on him in the Church-yard--besides the beautiful Elegy Collins wrote on him.¹³ Do tell me you like that--and Collins was fond of Richmond too. --The best modern Poet, almost, I think, is Crabbe. Have you seen his Poems. The Village published some 20 years ago--and approved by Dr. Johnson and Burke--and now lately, he has written "The Parish Register"--in 3 Books--an account of the

Births, Deaths and Marriages of his own little flock--and some smaller Poems of a great deal of melancholy merit¹⁴--for after all, Crabbe's is a sour and sable Muse--except in one instance where he talks of the Fairies--"all in the merry moonshine tippling dew"--"in acorn cups filled to the brink," I suppose.¹⁵ The 1st line, whether his own or not, I like vastly. Ah, but there's one Man I must talk about--tho' he be among the sheeted dead¹⁶--dont be very angry with me dear {Mrs.} Piozzi when I say Charles Fox. I have been reading his {History,} very incomplete and unfinished. 1st comes a spirited {Preface} by Lord Holland: then an introductory chapter by Mr. Fox--a sort of Retrospect from Henry VII, to Charles II--not a speech all the way through, there: though the Author says he fears his Introduction is more like a speech than any thing else. Then comes ch. 2d., and account of James--that leaves you in doubt whether most to hate or despise a King who cried for joy at the Receipt of a supply of money from another King, (Lewis 14th) and then sent him word--"que son coeur est François," in order to get some more--"and so he plays his part." --Then comes an highly interesting and beautifully finished account of the death of the Duke of Argyle--and then the misfortunes and cruel end of the unfortunate Monmouth: and there the book ends.¹⁷ Mr. Fox's Language as far as I can find, is simple enough, in general:

one instance excepted, where he says, "Wise men diffide in their own judgment; and defer to that of others":¹⁸ is not that a queer sentence? --About poor Charles I, he is moderate, I think: and even wishes his life, consistently with the safety of the nation, cd have been granted him--but the deposition of a King with whom his People were forced to defend their Liberties in arms, he thinks was highly necessary. "If the People be the Sovereign and the King the Delegate, it is better to change the Bailiff than to injure the Farm: but if the King be the Proprietor, it is better the Farm shd be impaired, nay, part of it destroyed, than that the whole should pass over to an Usurper"--so says Mr. Fox: and do tell me if what he says is not very fair--or else tell me the reason why --and that I am cruelly wrong, for I cant help thinking with him--tho' I dont know what you'll say to me if I turn Foxite after all. --As to Speeches, nobody but the Hero James II, makes any--and his are only arbitrary orders, sometimes servile, sometimes tyrannical to his noble Parliament! --As to the Duke of Monmouth, fond as Mr. Fox is of him, I've no patience with his writing such a mean Letter to the King. If he thought his cause bad, why engage in it? If not, why condescend to retract?¹⁹ --But you'll be just as angry with me for sending such a queer letter to you--only you told me to talk of Mr. Fox. --But my dear Madam, let me have the

Epigram on the Tea chest²⁰--you know I was promised that: well
 --and Mrs. Chapone's Story:²¹ and another that has something
 to do with my Pronouns: and dont be angry with me for asking
 who Demosthenes Taylor was²²--nor for telling a Story I heard
 yesterday--in hopes you may not have heard it. --A lawyer
 died, the other day without effects--strange enough! "Not at
 all"-- said a wit: "he had no causes."--Say if that is new
 to you--and tell me if you know the Story of Mr. Cambridge
 and the World:²³ and if you know the Cambridges at all:²⁴
 and be sure and keep up your spirits, sweetest Mrs. Piozzi,
 and write me word soon that yr Invalid continues to mend:
 and scold me well, if I dont write to yr liking--but at any
 rate dont forget how much I am yr more than ever obliged and
 attached

Marianne Francis

Charlotte and Barrett are here--and go to London soon. --They
 beg you wont forget them. Mama and the Baby and all are well
 --send kindest remembrances to Brynbella. Clement was 15 3
 days ago.

- 1 Nathaniel Lee (1653-92), The Rival Queens (1677) III.30.
- 2 For Woelfl, see ante 4 July 1808, n. 28.
- 3 "A rare bird"(Juvenal, Satires ii.165).
- 4 HLP's lines on Mrs. Carter are:

Must Carter's Form fade from this changeful Scene
 Unnotic'd by the busy Clouds below?
 And is there no Leaf left of dusky Green
 To bind round ancient Learning's wither'd Brow?
 None:--where contend the rich the Bold the Young,
 Wisdom's pale votarist unheeded dies;
 But memory's Daughters will repair such wrong
 Tow'rd her who cald them from their native Skies.

(Balderston, p. 1071 n. 7).

- 5 Story untraced.

6 Sir Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852), Duke of Wellington (1814), in command of forces to assist the Spanish and Portuguese, which defeated Junot's army at Vimeiro on 21 Aug. 1808. Reference to his return untraced.

7 "The Convention of Cintra, signed 30 Aug. 1808, was brought forward by Lord H. Petty (afterwards Lord Lansdowne) in the House of Commons. He moved resolutions condemnatory of Ministers, and was beaten by a majority of 50" (Malmes., iv. 411). Sir Hew Whitefoord Dalrymple (1750-1830), general, assumed command of the British army in Portugal in 22 Aug. 1808 immediately after Sir Arthur Wellesley's victory at Vimeiro. Wellesley was superseded by Sir Harry Burrard, who checked the pursuit of the French army by Wellesley's troops. Terms for settlement were proposed by Junot. The terms, which included the evacuation of Portugal and the surrender of Lisbon, were accepted and became known as the Convention of Cintra. A Court of Inquiry was held over the Convention. Dalrymple was censured for not following up Wellesley's victory. For details of the convention and roles of those in command, see Napier, i. 132-46. For MF's first use of the term "Whitlock" to mean "resent", see ante 4 July 1808, n.26. The term may derive from a reference to John Whitelock (1757-1833), a lieutenant general who proved incompetent in an unsuccessful attempt to capture Buenos Ayres in Sept. 1807. "Success to grey hairs, but bad luck to white locks" became a toast among the soldiers and traders who desired access to the city surrendered to the Spanish (DNB).

8 Possibly an allusion to "victorious in thy mourning weeds!" (Titus Andronicus I.i.70). Also, "and mourn the Victor" was a phrase in a verse added to Rule Britannia after Nelson's death at Trafalgar.

9 Gent. Mag. recorded under "Domestic Occurrences": "Tuesday, September 20, This morning about four, Covent Garden Theatre was discovered to be in flames....Within less than three hours the whole of the interior was destroyed....The King's Theatre, was, with much liberality, offered by Mr. Taylor to Mr. Harris; and the Covent Garden Company have already performed there.--The plan of a new Theatre to be completely insulated, it is said, has also been submitted to the Proprietors, and accepted" (Sept. 1808, lxxviii.847).

10 For the opening of the new Covent Garden Theatre under manager John Kemble, see post 11 Oct. 1809, n. 24.

11 Reference untraced.

12 For Richmond as the home of poets, see "The Literary Suburb of the Eighteenth Century," Fraser's Magazine (1860), lxi. 553. "Pope's house remained a shrine until its demolition in 1807 by Baroness Howe, who purchased it in that year, and is said to have it on the ground that she was 'tired of these intrusions on her privacy'" (Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City, Toronto, 1969, p. 17).

13 See William Collins, Ode on the Death of Mr. Thomson, 1749. The introduction to the ode states: "The scene of the following stanzas is supposed to lie on the Thames near Richmond." For a description of the epitaph in Richmond churchyard, see Samuel Johnson, Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (3 vols., Oxford, 1905), iii. 294 and n.5.

14 Crabbe's Poems was published in Sept. 1807; it contained reprints of "The Village," "The Library," and "The Newspaper." In addition, it contained "The Parish Register" in three books entitled "Baptisms" "Marriages" and "Burials." The "smaller poems" included in the volume were "The Birth of Flattery," "Sir Eustace Grey," "The Hall of Justice" and "Woman." Crabbe's Preface to the poems includes an account of Burke's favors and Johnson's letter on "The Village" (pp. x-xvi).

15 "No more the midnight Fairy Tribe I view;/All in the merry Moonshine tippling Dew" ("The Library," Poems, p. 159); second half of the quotation untraced.

16 Hamlet I.i.112.

17 The Preface to Fox's History (1808) addressed "To the Reader" by Baron Holland appears on pp. i-li; the Introductory Chapter by Fox appears on pp. 5-67. Lord Holland quotes Fox in the Preface: "I have at last finished my Introduction, which after all is more like a speech than it should be" (p.x1). In ch. 2, pp.73-157, the account of James II's receipt of money from Louis XIV reads: "The account which Barillon gives, of the manner in which this sum was received, is altogether ridiculous: The King's eyes were full of tears, and three of his ministers, Rochester, Sunderland, and Godolphin, came severally to the French ambassador, to express the sense their master had of the obligation, in terms most lavish" (pp. 83-84); the letter from Barillon to Louis XIV which expresses James II's plea for money appears in the Appendix, p. xxix. The account of the execution of the Earl of Argyle appears on pp. 209-13.

18 Diffide: "distrust," quoting Fox's History, p. 32 (OED).

19 Fox's discussion of execution vs. deposition appears on pp. 13-17. The quotation on the role of sovereignty in a consideration of James II appears on pp. 38-39. The story of the Duke of Monmouth appears on pp. 225-73. Monmouth's letter to James II, which was written when Monmouth was taken captive for rebelling against the King, appears on pp. 251-52.

20 HLP wrote in her diary, 1 May 1808: "Lady Kirkwall has given me a Tea Chest made of Pope's Weeping Willow, the Willow he planted at Twickenham-Tis a Great Curiosity" (Balderston, p. 1090). For HLP's "Lines on a Tea Chest Made from Pope's Willow" originally included in her manuscript book Minc'd Meat for Pyes, see Balderston, pp. 1090-91 n. 2.

21 A story told by Mrs. Chapone is included in Balderston, pp. 236-37.

22 John Taylor (1704-76), classical scholar, translator of Demosthenes.

23 For the story of Richard Cambridge and "the World," see post 24 Oct. 1808, n. 14.

24 For HLP and the Cambridges, see ante 13 Aug. 1808, n. 4.

Monday 24 October 1808

MS. (582.27).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: OC. OC 24 N. 808. TwoPyPoA Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond: Oct. 24--1808.

Wish me joy again! dearest Mrs. Piozzi--last Friday night, at 12 o'clock, 21st of October, Charlotte gave birth to a little Girl.¹ --You will be surprised at this, I think, because you did not know that it was expected. The Barretts only left Richmond 10 days ago, after spending a fortnight with us--and hired a house at Brompton, for the purpose of being near Mrs. Raper, my pretty Cousin Fanny Phillips, that was; who has been married, and had all sorts of little girls herself, since you saw her--and has lived at Brompton ever since--and is nursing Charlotte at this minute² --Mama went unfortunately to Town, on Friday; and returning late at night, found a letter on the table, to say that her presence at Brompton was desired. So she sent for a brisk Post-chaise, directly--and travelling fast, reached Brompton about two hours--after all was over--the Postillion bringing me word, when he returned in the morning, that "at 12 o'clock the Lady tumbled to peices of a little girl." I have heard no tidings since. Mama is still absent, and I am yet to learn how dear Charlotte is herself. --But I am sure you will congratulate us that the worst is over. --and imagine how

proud I am, at being a respectable old Aunt already--and how anxious to be introduced to my little Neice.

Dearest Mrs. Piozzi, I think your letters more charming every time: or else I am better able to prize them. Tell me, who is your Friend "Anna-Maria"? Not Anna-Maria Williams: I mean Miss Williams of Park Street Bath--with whom we were acquainted--and what is become of her now? ³ --And who is Dr. Thackery? ⁴ I never heard of him--though I love him d'avance for giving a favourable account of Mr. Piozzi, and for making your "heart less heavy." ⁵

But now for the Epigram. What a good thing (I must say here,) that all Ladies are not Scholars--for instance: if your Friend Lady Kirkwall, ⁶ had understood Latin, she would have been no Friend of mine, as she is now, for causing that charming translation, which I like full as well as the Epigram itself ⁷ --clever as it is: and Clement is delighted with it. --and it is quite new and a great treat to us both. --O! And the account of Demosthenes Taylor--that ought to be printed, I declare. How glad I am, I asked after him--and the young Surgeon, too. --As you have read Crabbe do tell me what you like best in him. Whether "The Hall of Justice," and "Sir Eustace Grey," are favourites. Uncle Charles says "the merit of the first of these consists in what is left out."⁸ --I am more than ever enraptured with Woelfl, who has promised to play a Duett with me, which I suppose is the reason. Miss

Stephenson⁹ I remember hearing at a Concert at your house in Pultney St.,¹⁰ 3 years ago, I think. She played Dussek,¹¹ and I thought her very clever. That was a time when I neither knew nor loved My dear Mrs. Piozzi as I do now, though I might admire her as much. As to news, there is none, every body says --and one of my Uncles, when he was enquired of, hid his face, and turned away to blush for his country, and talked of something else.¹² --Buonaparte puts me in mind of--who is it?--in the Merry Wives of Windsor, that calls out:

"The world's mine oyster

Which I with sword will open."¹³

And does he not do so?

Old Mr. Cambridge has been dead 3 years. His Son George published an Edition of his Father's works--a quarto vol. with 80 Pages of Memoirs of his life at the Beginning. The story of "the world" is this. The Proprietor of the Publication of that name, wrote to Mr. Cambridge, requesting a paper for it. The note arrived on Sunday morning: and seeing him rather inattentive at Church, his Wife asked him what he was thinking of-- "thinking of the next World, my dear." Let me have the pleasure of hearing if this is news to you. There are several good Stories in the Memoirs--and old Mr. C. seems to have had a great deal of happy wit. The works are, Epigrams--The Scribleriad, have you read that? The Elegy, you mention--The Fakeer, Borough-

Hunters--and several other fugitive peices: indeed I believe every thing he ever wrote. This Book they lately lent us to read: so now I am fresh on the Subject. His Son George is Archdeacon of Middlesex: a very unaffected, pleasant, clever man--at least as far as good Scholar-ship, good com〈pany,〉 extensive reading, and a natural stock of dry-humour 〈and〉 love of a joke can make him. They are our chief and 〈oldest〉 Friends here: Mama was a particular favou 〈rite〉 with old Mr. Cambridge.¹⁴

--Of Lady Di. Beauclerc, I only know that she was extremely enfeebled, before she died: more, however, I will learn, and let you know.¹⁵ --The Story of the Pronouns is one of the best I ever heard: excellent!¹⁶ all your stories delight me.

--Southey has been publishing "Chronicle of the Cid," a long Story translated from the Spanish--as old as Methusalem, and in his style.¹⁷ In the style of the Bible, I mean. --and will take, now, if ever. --Have you seen some very clever verses by Mr. Spencer, (Author of the Year of Sorrow) "Wife Children and Friends" The Burthen: unpublished.¹⁸

Joy again! Mama is this minute arrived, with tidings that Charlotte and the little Girl are both very finely, and I am to teach my little Neice the Piano-forte, as soon as she can stir. --Dear Mrs. Piozzi, forgive this scrambling scrawl. I hardly know what I write. But let me hear from you soon: and my next letter shall be more steady--and direct to me at Miss Morton's,

Brixton Villa, near Stockwell, Surry.--a Friend, with whom I am to remain for a fortnight, while Mama is nursing Charlotte; because she thinks it looks unprotected to leave me at 18, in the House by myself.¹⁹ I will enquire about the London Institute, and write word.²⁰ Poor Clement has been ill of a fever: just recovered, and came home for change of air--how unlucky!²¹

Adieu my darling sweet, condescending Mrs. Piozzi. Let me have the happiness of hearing soon--and believe I am never too hurried to say that I am your more than ever obliged and affectionate

Marianne Francis

1 Julia Charlotte Barrett, born 21 Oct. 1808 (WW). For Julia Barrett, later Maitland, see ante 23 July 1808, n. 8.

2 Frances (Phillips) Raper (1782-1860), married (1807) Charles Chamier Raper, had one daughter, Catherine Minette (1808-82) (WW).

3 HLP's friend may be Anna Maria (Blaquiere) Kirkwall; see post, n. 6. HLP refers to a "Lady Williams" and "Miss Williams" in her letters to ST, 1810 (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A); see post 13 Dec. 1809, n. 17. "Lady Williams" may have been Margaret (d. 1835), who had married (1791) John Williams of Bodelwyddan, first Baronet (1798), and had two daughters (d. unmarried; untraced further).

4 Dr. W. M. Thackeray (great-uncle of the novelist) was Gabriel Piozzi's doctor in Denbigh when Piozzi was afflicted with the gout (Clifford, p. 378).

5 Quotation untraced.

6 Anna Maria (Blaquiere) Kirkwall, 1780-1843), wife of Viscount Kirkwall, eldest daughter of Lord John de Blaquiere. MF travelled to Ireland with Lady Kirkwall in 1812; see ante p. xxx.

7 The epigram and the translation untraced.

8 In 1819 HLP wrote: "Crabbe's Poems please me better than any of the modern Productions" (Clifford, p. 439). Crabbe's Poems (1807) contained "Sir Eustace Gray," an account by a patient in a madhouse of his decline from happiness and prosperity, and "The Hall of Justice," the story of a gipsy convict. CB Jr's remark may be in reference to the length of "The Parish Register" (pp.31-34) in contrast to "The Hall of Justice"(pp. 237-52).

9 Miss Stephenson may be Mary (Strickland) Stephenson, daughter of Cecelia (Townley) Strickland, friend of HLP. Mrs. Strickland's last letter to HLP mentions a visit by Mary Stephenson to HLP at Streatham Park in 1797 and anticipates future visits at Brynbella. For the reference to Mary Stephenson's visit, see The French Journals, p. 64.

10 Great Pulteney Street, completed in 1793, was HLP's residence in Bath until 1814, when she moved to 17 New King Street (Clifford, p. 435).

11 Johann Ludwig Dussek (1761-1812), a Bohemian composer and pianist who had come to London in 1789 (Groves).

12 MF's "uncle" may be James Burney (1750-1821), son of Richard Thomas, FBA's half brother, Captain (18 June 1782), Rear-Admiral (19 July 1821) (WW). James Burney wrote a Plan of Defense against Invasion in 1797. Possibly MF refers to Great Britain's refusal to negotiate a peace in Spain with Napoleon without the participation of the Spanish insurgents. "This British demand, an expression of British determination to rid Europe of Napoleon but also of loyal support for the Spanish national cause, dashed all hopes for a negotiated peace" (Lovett, Napoleon and the Birth of Modern Spain, i. 305).

13 Pistol speaks the lines to Falstaff (Merry Wives of Windsor II.ii.2-3).

14 George Owen Cambridge, The Works of Richard Owen Cambridge, with an Account of his Life and Character, 1803. The "Memoirs" appear pp. i-lxxvii, and the anecdote about The World on p. xliii n. George Owen Cambridge wrote in the "Memoirs": "From the time when my father settled at Twickenham, his name became known in the literary world as an author, for in the course of that year he published his Scribleriad. This work, which is a mock Heroic Poem, designed to ridicule and expose false taste and false science, could not be expected to attract the same share of public attention, as if the subject had been of a more popular nature, and the humour suited to readers of every description....Several of his smaller pieces were published soon after, which, being of a livelier craft and adapted to the subjects of the day, were more generally read, and brought their author into notice and estimation; of these the most celebrated were, The Elegy written in an Empty Assembly Room, the Fakeer, and the Borough Hunters. But what most contributed to establish his reputation for humour, and a just insight into character, united with an extensive acquaintance with living manners, were his Essays published in The World; a periodical paper begun in the year 1752, and kept up with great spirit for four years. To an acquaintance with Mr. Moore, the conductor of the work, he was introduced by Lord Lyttleton" (Works, p. xliii). The Works include "Miscellaneous Verses" (pp. 9-64); "The Scribleriad: A Mock Heroic Poem, in Six Books" (pp. 71-239); "The Fakeer: a Tale" (pp. 283-88); "An Elegy written in an Empty Assembly-Room" (pp. 289-97); "Epigrams" (pp.349-57); "The Fable of Jotham to the Borough Hunters" (pp. 279-83).

15 Lady Diana Beauclerk (1734-1808), daughter of Charles Spencer (1706-58), third Duke of Marlborough, amateur artist, married (1757) Frederick St. John, second Viscount Bolingbroke, nephew and heir of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, the statesman. She was divorced by act of parliament in 1768 and two days later she married Topham Beauclerk (1739-80). For a discussion at Mrs. Thrale's on Lady Di's divorce, see Life ii. 246.

16 Story untraced.

17 Robert Southey (1774-1843), later Poet Laureate (1813). His translation, Chronicle of The Cid, appeared in 1808.

18 William Robert Spencer (1769-1834), poet and wit with a reputation as a writer of society verses, author of The Year of Sorrow (1804). His poem "Wife, Children and Friends" is appended to post 21 Nov. 1808; it appeared in his later volume of Poems (1811).

19 Harriet Morton (1777-1848), governess to MF c.1798 (WW). Stockwell, Surrey, is a district of Lamberton.

20 The London Institution, a private library founded in 1806, was located in Finsbury Circus.

21 CF attended CB Jr's school at Greenwich. After several attempts to serve at sea, CF was forced by ill health to return home and pass the time in study until he attained his inheritance at twenty-one; see ante p. xxiv. MF wrote to HLP of CF's return to school on 24 Apr. 1808. She wrote of his studies on 10 June 1808: "Clement studies Greek plays very hard at Greenwich."

Monday 31 October 1808

MS. (582.28).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: 0 31 808. 7 o'Clock. TwoPyPoA Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green Oct. 31. 1808.

Now I'm going to have a good long chat, with my own dear Mrs. Piozzi--about Lady Di. Beauclerc, and a hundred People. I have an excuse for writing out of my turn, to tell you, that the plan of operations here, has been altered, by your Friend Clement's coming home. He chaprone¹ me, now, and staying till Mama's return, I don't go to the Friend to whom I was engaged, and perhaps this may arrive in time to say so, before you write. If not, I am quite easy, because I know your letter will be forwarded to me--only I wished to prevent a day's delay.

Poor Lady Di, they tell me, caught cold by dining in a grotto, (at the Duke of Buccleugh's,² I think) one day in the hot weather. She had been weak for some time, and the cold she caught in this enfeebled state, brought on a palsy of the heart, which took her off, after only 2 days illness. --She was not very rich, by all accounts, but much visited here latterly. I don't make out how many Daughters she had: for one married a Mr. Jennison, they say; a private Gentleman, and his child lived with Lady Di, and is provided for, by her. Another daughter caused her a great deal of unhappiness, by

going abroad, nobody knows wherefore, with her Brother, nobody knows where--and they have not been heard of since. This is all I have been able to learn of Lady Di Beauclerk;³ and I shall be very happy if these particulars are at all satisfactory to you.

Meantime I must talk of what's very agreeable to me--my little Neice, of whom I'm very proud, though I have not seen her yet. I mean to stretch a point, and make her something, if I can. Charlotte continues very finely: nurses her little baby herself; and She and Barrett are both just as happy as possible. Mama is still nursing the little Mama, and Clement takes care of me; and makes me write Latin Verses every day: and we study Greek together: for poor Clem is a very good Scholar, I must do him the justice to say. We talk of you together: and wish so for the Winter we all spent at Bath; or just such another, provided dear Mr. Piozzi were better. Where shall you be this winter?⁴ Still wasting your sweetness on the desert air?⁵ And suffering yourself to be seen only by your Welsh Mountains and Cataracts? Do tell me, dearest Mrs. Piozzi--for I shan't be easy till I know there's no chance of seeing you. Clem and I went to see Pepe's poor grotto, and the stump of his willow, and your tea-chest. We brought away a chip of the wood, and a peice of the spar. But that shameful Baroness Howe, has pulled down his House,

and cut down his trees, and sold his Green-Houses, and done all she could to shew, that She considers his Premises, not as sacred, but profane ground. Isn't that a shame? And are you not angry with her? Pope's willow puts me in mind of Lady Kirkwall, your Friend. I saw a collection of Poems, a fine hot-pressed⁶ 4to, by a Miss Dorothea Brown, I think: brought out by the advice, and under the Patronage of Lady Kirkwall: with an immense list of Subscribers, and written when the Authoress was eight, ten, 13 years old.⁷ Have you heard any thing of such productions? Or will you not hear any thing of them. Miss Hamilton (Modern Philosophers Miss Hamilton) has lately published a very nice little Book: "The Cottagers of Glenburnie"--a Tale for the Farmer's Ingle-nook. In the Preface, She criticizes the Critics, whom she need hardly have feared for her Tale, though that was going the wrong way to work, I think, to procure their suffrage. She writes in the Scottish dialect, a good deal, to teach her dirty countrymen, if possible, the benefit of fresh air, and order and cleanliness.⁸ A laudable plan, very well executed, I th<ink> an<d> <I> hope she will rejoice in the result; as Mi<ss> Sewa<r>d says: who, in her life of Dr. Darwin, talks of<Mr.> Day sitting for his picture, "with the lightning p<lay-i>ng in his hair, and a strong likeness was the result." Did you know Miss Seward? And did you like her?⁹ Politicians

seem to be a little pacified now, that the Spaniards of taken Bilboa. But there must be some very good news to wipe off that shocking conventional blot, of scandalous memory. Pray have you read Mrs. Bowdler's account of that wonderful Miss Smith? O yes: I think you said you had. But what do you say to her translating the Book of Job from the Hebrew? And it was shewn, you know, to a learned Doctor, who thought it written by a man, and praised it highly, and talked of the merits of "the learned Author"--and did not find out it was the work of a Lady, till too late to retract. I enjoyed vastly--and the poor Doctor's disappointment, which I know he must have endured. ¹¹

You wrote me a charming, beautiful letter, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, last time--and when you've leisure, you have two of my unhappy ones to answer, now: and good news, I hope, of Mr. Piozzi. Did you ever see that Dialogue between Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Knowles, on Quakerism, which I saw, printed, the other day: and which concludes, by the Dr.'s saying, (when Mrs. Knowles told him she hoped he would meet the Lady he was so angry with for turning Quaker in Heaven) "Madam, I never wish to meet Fools, anywhere!" ¹² And is that true? You will be quite tired of this question and answer work, (which your sweet pity and condescension have led you into) soon I fear. So it is lucky dear, kind, charming Mrs. Piozzi, that you can't be

teized any more to day, by your ever obliged and faithfully
attached

Marianne Francis

1 Chaprons: "obs. form of chaperon." Chaperon: "to escort" (OED). "Chaprons" was a new verb. The OED cites a passage from Jane Austen's Sense and Sensibility (1796) for its first reference.

2 Henry Scott (1746-1812), fourth Duke of Buccleuch.

3 By her marriage to Frederick, second Viscount Bolingbroke, Lady Diana (Spencer) Beauclerk had two sons: (1) George Richard (1761-1824), who married first (1783) Charlotte Collins (d. 1803) and second (1804) Isabella Charlotte Sophia Hompesch; (2) Frederick (1765-?), who married first (1788) Mary Kerr and second (1793) Arabella, daughter of the sixth Baron Craven. By Topham Beauclerk, Lady Diana (Spencer) Beauclerk had three children: (1) Mary (Beauclerk) Jenison, who married (1787) Francis, Count Jenison zu Walworth (1794-1824), diplomat; (2) Elizabeth (Beauclerk) Herbert (d. 1793?), who married (1787) George Augustus Herbert (1759-1827), eleventh Earl of Pembroke, her first cousin, who later married (25 Jan. 1808), Catherine, daughter of third Count Woronzow; (3) Charles George Beauclerk (1774-1846), married (1832) Emily Charlotte, fourth daughter of William Ogilvie (C/okayne/). For a further reference by MF, see post 13 Dec. 1808; in the post reference, MF corrects her first reference. A reference to the story of Mary (Beauclerk) Jenison appears in the Farington Diary, 31 July 1794: "He /Topham Beauclerk/ had one son and two daughters by Lady Di. --One married Lord Herbert, the second went abroad with her brother, Lord Bolingbroke" (Joseph Farington, The Farington Diary, 8 vols., ed. James Grieg, 3d edn., 1923, i. 66). For another reference to the story, see Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Countess of Upper Ossory, ed. W.S. Lewis, 1965, iii. 56 n.).

4 The winter they all spent at Bath was the winter of 1805. Ralph Broome, one-time Captain in the Bengal Army and second husband of CBFB died at Bath on 24 Feb. 1805 (Hemlow, p. 281). The Piozzis spent the winter of 1808-09 at Bath.

5 An allusion to the lines, "Full many a flower is born to blush unseen, / And waste its sweetness on the desert air" (Elegy in a Country Churchyard ll. 55-56).

6 Hot-press: "A countrivance for pressing paper or cloth between glazed boards and hot metal plates, to make the surface smooth and glossy" (OED).

7 Felicia Dorothea Brown, later Hemans (1793-1835), daughter of George Brown, a merchant of Liverpool, married (1812) Captain Alfred Hemans. "She began to write verses at an early age, and when she was fourteen years old her parents were unwise enough to publish her 'Poems' in a quarto volume (Liverpool, 1808).... The volume met with harsh criticism" (DNB).

8 Elizabeth Hamilton, author of Memoirs of Modern Philosophers (1800) and The Cottagers of Glenburnie: a Tale (1808). The Edinburgh Review compared the novel to Maria Edgeworth's Castle Rackrent and thought it conducive to the reformation of the manners of the Scottish peasantry (July 1808, xii. 401-10). Elizabeth Hamilton wrote: "Of the mode of criticism now in vogue": "We do not consider it as originating in the pride, or spleen, or malignity of the persons by whom it has been most freely exercised, but in a mistaken notion of the species of vigour and energy attached to the censorial character, and essential to the dignity of the critic's office" (Preface, The Cottagers of Glenburnie, Edinburgh, 1822, pp. iv-v).

9 Thomas Day (1748-89), author of Sandford and Merton (1783-89). Anna Seward (1742-1809), author of Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Darwin (1804) described Mr. Day: "In the course of the year 1770, Mr. Day stood for a full-length picture to Mr. Wright of Derby. A strong likeness and dignified portrait is the result....Mr. Day looks upwards, as enthusiastically meditating on the contents of a book, held in his dropped right hand.... A flash of lightning plays in Mr. Day's hair, and illuminates the contents of the volume" (pp. 14-15). Anna Seward began a correspondence with HLP in 1787 and helped her collect Johnson's letters (Balderston, p. 689 n. 1).

10 The "Abstract of Foreign Occurrences" in Gent. Mag. for Oct. contained "the unpleasant tidings that a division... succeeded in retaking Bilboa from the Patriots" (1808, lxxviii. 933). For the "conventional blot," see ante 4 Oct. 1808, n. 7.

11 For Harriet Bowdler and the account of Miss Smith, see ante 24 Aug. 1808, n. 19. The DNB version of the anecdote of the "learned doctor" who mistook Bowdler's work for a man's applies the story to the author's Sermons on the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity (n. d.) which appeared anonymously; it reads: "Beilby Porteus, bishop of London, believed them to be from the pen of a clergyman, and is said to have offered their author, through the publishers, a living in his diocese."

12 James Boswell rejected this account of Mrs. Mary Knowles (1733-1807). See Life iii. 299 n. 2. For an account of versions of this incident, see The Correspondence and Other Papers of James Boswell Relating to the Making of the Life of Johnson, ed. Marshall Waingrow, (New York n. d.) p. 55 n. 5.

Monday 21 November 1808

MS: JRL(582.29).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: A O 21 808. 7 o'Clock. NO. TwoPyPoA Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green. Monday. Nov. 21. 1808.

Here are Spencer's Verses, dearest Mrs. Piozzi. I hope you will be able to write me word you like them, because they are great favourites of mine, especially the Willow Stanza;¹ and I never admire any thing in comfort till I know that you like it too. --Old Cambridge's Poetries Can you forgive such a word? I like all the better for this reason: and you ought to have them soon, because I went, more than a week ago, to Nornaville and Fell,² and ordered them to be sent for you to York Place--³ and they promised, and I hope have performed; but my dear Mrs. Piozzi will let me know. The Book you will have, is the only one where all Mr. Cambridge's poetical works are preserved. I shall be glad to hear how you like his Scribleriad, among the rest. His Son George told me several jokes of his Father's--and when I ventured to ask why they were not printed with the rest, to enliven the Publication, he seemed afraid his book would have looked too like Joe Miller.⁴ Colonel Dalziel, though, might have got in, I think. I hope you don't remember that; I'll run the risk for once. --The poor Col.

among other modes of enriching himself, kept all his Men so very short of clothes, that they were forced, at last, to go to Law with him, for a coat to their backs--and the Col. was cast.⁵ "How could that be?" said Mr. Cambridge, "for he certainly non-suited the Regiment."⁶--Oh, that I could tell you all this de vive voix! --Naughty North Wales!--for keeping you so long to his own rocks and Mountains, such a sad way off--and no prospect either but them--at least none of his setting you free. Poor dear Mr. Piozzi! I shudder to think how ill he must be as your letter sadly intimated. But it is to be hoped sickness itself will be tired of tormenting him at last--and then he will get well, and you will both come away. Don't say no: for I am determined to think so--and if I did not suffer myself to be a little sanguine in this instance, I should be miserable.--and I wont be disappointed, either, as I was about Streatham-Park, which I should have been so happy to see--and which in the summer, I hope I shall.--and it will look less sombre then, than now, when one hears nothing but the dry sticks knocking their crazy old heads together.⁷ --But I should have liked too, to have seen your picture, which I never did, any where but in Retrospection.⁸--and now you understand me, I know. --Poor Clement has had the scarlet fever, that put him in a rage, because he could not prosecute his studies: so he wrote me in a fit of despair, a melancholy letter, to say,

that as Prometheus moistened the first clay that ever was formed, not with water, but with tears; so Man is born to suffer and to weep. Poor Clem! don't you like his quoting old Aesop so sagely, the first trouble he has had to do with?⁹ He studies hard, now; and I shouldn't wonder if he were to take your advice, and go to College and lead a Clergyman's quiet life, after all. So My Uncle Charles advises him. Ten days ago Mama and I went to Town, to Cromwell Cottage,¹⁰ which they say really took its name from the Protectors living there--and there my little Neice was christened: Charlotte Julia.¹¹ Mama and Mr. Barrett's Sister, the Godmothers, and Count de Salis, a rich Friend of his, (His Father a Swiss Nobleman living in England, and lately dead) God Father.¹² The ceremony was performed very gracefully, and with a great deal of dignity, by Uncle Charles; who came to Town on purpose, and professes himself ready to marry us, christen us, bury us;--in short, any thing he can for us, in the way, at any time. People have already settled that he is to be a Bishop: and when I questioned him on his intentions, he pleaded the profoundest ignorance of his destiny; but that to please me, he would try to be a Bishop as fast as he could.¹³ Encouraged by this disinterested promise, I ventured to talk to him about Mr. Shee's book; (which I blush to say I have not yet been able to get, but soon shall:) he delights in it--and speaks very highly of the Authour, whom he knows and admires.¹⁴ --Oh how I like

your Criticism on Miss F.D. Brown's Poems--that ought to be printed with them, that People might have something to smile at, besides the immense long list of Subscribers, that takes up half the 4to--and that even exceeds in number that the Patrons to poor Clery's Journal, about the King of France, which I have been reading lately, and which you have read, because I saw your name on the list of Subscribers. Dear Mrs. Piozzi, do talk to me about that Book, and that sad event--and tell if Clery made you cry at his simple tale, as he did me, most heartily, and at the recollection ever since, of the suffering Louis' dignified composure, and the vile conduct of his diabolical murderers.¹⁵

All accounts confirm the justness of your quotation on your voracious Friend, which seems made on purpose. Pray, was it not Sr. W. W. Pepys, who wrote certain lines that every body knows, on that very "Old Set," you mention?¹⁶ And that every body likes? I am delighted and amazed, at your account of Miss Seward.--and half regret mentioning poor Mr. Day's hair--except that it brought out that memorable remark of Dr. Johnson's and your excellent application of it.¹⁷

Crabbe's Parish Poor House, I only admire at a distance--knowing, as you conjecture, just enough to make me believe it may be true, and hope it may not.¹⁸ --So I shall leave Crabbe, to go to a more youthful Poet--little Dolph, who must not be

called the Baby, now. He came up to me the other day, "Sister, I've made a rhyme." --"What is it?"

"The day was fine

I mused in rhyme."

Which, (such as it is,) is better than my Uncle Charles could make at his age. He came up to his eldest Brother--"Brother, I've made some Verses." "Well! what are they?"

"What is the Play to Night?

It is the Jealous Wife!"¹⁹

After these rather unhappy puerile efforts, I am almost ashamed to thank you for the Epigram of Ausonius, which was new to me: as well as the imitation, which is the best riddle I ever heard. Poor Lady Di's mysterious History hardly any body seems to understand:²⁰ and I have learned nothing more about her, yet.--though I have learned not to be surprised, though much amused, by your anecdote of Miss Baillie and Mr. Parsons, on a subject on which "men have lost their reason";²¹ and you will think I have lost mine, if I do not hasten to assure you, my own dear Mrs. Piozzi, how very happy I am made, by yr kind condescension in writing to me; and how much I am yr ever grateful, and affectionately attached

Marianne Francis

Pray remember us Mama and me who are again alone {together}, now, to Mr. Piozzi--and <say> how much we feel for him. And <how> much we both feel, dearest Mrs. {Pioz}zi, for you.

One day when to Jove the black list was presented,
 The list of what Fate for each Mortal intends,
 At the long string of ills a kind Goddess relented,
 And slipt in three blessings--Wife, Children and Friends.

In vain surly Pluto declar'd he was cheated,
 And justice divine could not compass its ends;
 The Scheme of Man's penance he swore was defeated,
 For Earth becomes Heav'n, with Wife, Children and Friends.

If the stock of our bliss is in Stranger hands vested,
 The fund, ill secur'd oft in bankruptcy ends;
 But the heart issues bills that are never protested,
 When drawn on the firm of Wife, Children and Friends.

Tho' Valour still glows in his life's waning embers,
 The death-wounded Tar, who his colours defends,
 Drops a tear of regret, as he dying remembers
 How blest was his home, with Wife, Children and Friends.

The Soldier, whose deeds live immortal in Story,
 Whom duty to far distant latitudes sends,
 With transport would barter whole ages of glory
 For one happy day with Wife, Children and Friends.

Tho' spice-breathing gales o'er his Caravan hover,
 Tho' round him Arabia's whole fragrance ascends,
 The Merchant still thinks of the woodbines that cover
 The Bow'r where he sat with Wife, Children and Friends.

The day spring of life, still unclouded with sorrow,
 Alone, on itself for enjoyment depends;
 But drear is the Twilight of Age, if it borrow
 No warmth from the smile of Wife, Children and Friends.

Let the breath of Renown ever freshen and nourish
 The laurel that o'er her dead favourite bends;
 O'er me wave the Willow--and long may it flourish!
 Bedew'd with the tears of Wife, Children and Friends.

Let us drink! for my song, growing graver and graver,
 To subjects too solemn insensibly bends:--
 Let us drink! pledge one high--Jove and Virtue shall flavour
 The glass that is sung to Wife, Children and Friends.

And, if in the hope this fair Island to plunder,
 The Tyrant of France to invade us pretends,
 How his Legions will shrink, when our arm'd Freemen Thunder,
 The War-cry of Britons--Wife, Children and Friends!

1 For Spencer's Poems, see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 18. MF refers to stanza 8 of Spencer's "Wife, Children and Friends," which was not published with his collected poems. For HLP's response to the poem, see ante, p. xvii.

2 Nornaville and Fell, booksellers, 27, New Bond Street (Holden's London Directory, 4th edn., 1809).

3 York Place is the continuation of Baker Street northwards. It is unclear why MF sent the book to York Place, unless HLP had ordered it for a friend.

4 A "Joe Miller" is a stale jest. The name is taken from Joe Miller (1684-1738), an actor in the Drury Lane company and reputed humorist.

5 Cast: "find or declare guilty; to convict" (OED).

6 Robert Dalzell or Dalziel (1662-1758), colonel (1708), major general (1727), colonel of the 33rd Foot (1730), colonel of the 38th Foot (1739), lieutenant general (1735), general (1745). In 1749 he retired, selling his regimental commissions. The story of Dalzell leaving his men short of clothes is untraced.

7 Streatham Park, Surrey, which HLP inherited for life from her first husband, Henry Thrale. "In 1807 Streatham had been let to Abram Atkins, who agreed to pay £500 a year, without deduction for taxes....A lawsuit with Giles, her former tenant, was finally settled in 1808, when he paid what was demanded (Ry. 585, 9)" (Clifford, p. 431 n. 1).

8 HLP, Retrospection: or a Review of the Most Striking and Important Events, Characters, Situations and Their Consequences, which the Last Eighteen Hundred Years Have Presented to the View of Mankind, 2 vols., 1808. "Prefixed to the first volume was an unflattering portrait of the author, which caused much annoyance to her more intimate friends" (Clifford, p. 401). The portrait was painted by Pierre Noël-Violet (1749-1819), known as a minaturist and watercolorist, as well as portrait painter; it was engraved by Marine Bovi (b. 1758), an Italian engraver known for his portraits, who worked in London.

9 Sir Brooke Boothby's Fables and Satires with A Preface on the Aesopean Fable (2 vols., 1809) contains fables of Aesop, Phaedrus, Avienus and fables from the Greek and Latin. Fable lxxv entitled "Prometheus" reads: "When fierce Prometheus boldly strove/To form a man in spite of Jove,/His plastic hand the stubborn clay/Dried up, refuses to obey./Seeing his impious labour vain,/Nor water able to obtain,/The Demi-god to weep begun;/The clay grew moist, the work was done" (ii. pp. 63-64, ll. 1-8).

10 "Cromwell House, Old Brompton, an old mansion in the 17th century called Hale House, but which in the 18th century had somehow come to be known as Cromwell House, and popularly believed to have been the residence of the Protector. This, as Lyson's has shown, it could not have been, but he thinks it may be that Henry Cromwell had occupied it before he went to Ireland a second time. It is certain that he was married at Kensington in 1653....Later the house was divided into two and passed through many hands" (Henry B. Wheatley and John Cunningham, London: Past and Present, 3 vols., 1891, i. 475-76). Wheatley and Cunningham do not mention a Cromwell Cottage but describe the area surrounding Cromwell House as Cromwell Gardens, a popular gathering place in the early nineteenth century.

11 Barrett's sister was Julia (Barrett) Kingston (1784-1809) (WW).

12 Jerome, Count de Salis (1772-1837), Justice of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenant for the counties of Armagh and Middlesex, son of Peter Count de Salis, Captain in the Coldstream Guards, married Anne de Salis, died 20 Nov. 1807. "During a residence of some years abroad, Count de Salis [Jerome] filled the office of President of the Grisons, and was captain-general and governor of the Valteline and Chiavenna" (Bernard Burke, Colonial Gentry, 2 vols., 1895, ii. 575).

13 For CB Jr.'s ordination and clerical career, see ante 4 July 1808, n. 33.

14 Sir Martin Archer Shee (1769-1850), portrait painter, president of the Royal Academy, author of Rhymes on Art, or the Remonstrances of a Painter (1805) and its sequel Elements in Art (1809).

15 Jean-Baptiste, Count Hanet de Cléry (1759-1809), Journal de ce qui s'est passé à la tour de Temple pendant la captivité de Louis XVI, roi de France, 1798.

16 HLP's "voracious friend" may be Sir William Weller Pepys (1741-1825), lawyer, cr. baronet (1801). For an account of William Weller Pepys and his friendship with HLP and other bluestockings, see A Later Pepys: The Correspondence of Sir William Weller Pepys, 1785-1825, ed. Alice C. C. Gausson (2 vols., 1904). Verses on the "Old Set" do not appear in these volumes. However, Pepys was fond of reminiscing about the bluestockings and wrote to Hannah More in 1818: "You and I, Mrs. Garrick and Mrs. Piozzi, are all I can now recollect of those who have survived the wreck of our former society" (ii. 334). MF met Pepys in 1810: see ante p. xlv.

17 Story untraced.

18 The Parish Poor House appears in George Crabbe's The Parish Register (1807).

19 George Colman, the elder (1732-94), The Jealous Wife, 1761.

20 For Lady Diana Beauclerk, see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 15. HLP gives an account of Lady Diana's divorce and her own epigram on the occasion in imitation of Ausonius' distich Didoni in her diary, 30 Aug. 1786: "I told the Story of Lady Diana Spencer, Sister to the Duke of Marlbro', who having married Ld. Bolingbroke, and being grossly ill used by him, made a public Discovery and Confession of her own Adultery with Topham Beauclerk about 15 or 16 years ago in order to obtain a Divorce;--which took Place, and the Lady married her Lover, who likewise died in seven Years; leaving her a Widow in the Eye of the Law--tho' Lord Bolingbroke is still alive for ought I know to the contrary, who made this Epigram on Beauclerc's Death the Year 1776 or 1780 as I remember--

"Ah lovely, luckless Lady Di'
 So oddly link'd to either Spouse;
 What can thy Gordian knot untye?
 Or what dissolve thy double Vows?
 And where will our Amazement lead to
 When we review thy various life?
 Whose living Lord made thee a Widow,
 Whose dead one leaves thee still a Wife"

(Balderston, pp. 667-68).

21 Julius Caesar III.ii.109. For Joanna Baillie, see ante 23 July 1808, n. 12. William Parsons (d. 1807) of Chichester, versifier, actor, companion of the Piozzis during their tour of Italy, 1784-85, contributor to The Florence Miscellany (Florence, 1785). For further information on Parsons and his work, see Clifford, pp. 248-54. Reference untraced.

Tuesday 13 December 1808

MS. JRL(582.30).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: C DE 13 808. Clock DE 13 1808. TwoPyPoA Unpaid
Richmond.

Dear, dear, Mrs. Piozzi--what an inducement to me to send any little joke I find to you, who always have a second, and a better to give me in return. Witness the Story of Mrs. Vanbrugh, who beats my Colonel, I think, completely:¹ and your witty History of female Subjection, which is quite after my own heart: and I think, though you wont say so--I have you on my side, when I lament, that of two Sexes so naturally equal one should be so habitually inferior, merely from the jealousy and tyranny of the other.² As in my opinion no difference (inferiority rather) exists, but what is constituted by envy hatred and malice. But Women have always been punished for tasting the Tree of Knowledge. This word reminds me of a Story I heard the other day, which I dont well know how to get in, of an Oxonian, saying of some Scholar he knew. --"Such an one, I assure you, is a man of great knowledge." "Ay!" said another, ashamed of his Pedantry: "I suppose he got it at St. John's Co^llege."³ You will allow this with your genius and learning, my adored Mrs. Piozzi--you, who forget nothing but injuries; as I could not help observing the other day; when

looking in the British Synonymy for the Article Madness, you led me involuntarily on, and I could not bring myself to close, till I had finished the book:⁴--In higher admiration than ever of your talents and knowledge, and delightful way of employing them. So now I must take more care than ever not to use false Synonymy, or I shall get as justly scolded as I was last time, about Mr. Spencer's Willow: little did I think it would bring me into such a scrape, naughty Willow! or I'm sure I should never have preferred it--unless indeed I had happened to guess at the beautiful Verses occasioned by it, that rewarded me for my mistake. --So now dear Mrs. Piozzi, as the "Children and Friends" happened to please you, for Mr. Spencer's sake and my own, in case there should be any such 'result' as the last, will you let me, next time, send another copy of verses by him --"How d'ye do, and Goodbye"--If you're sure you have not seen them already. --For in such Poetry as this, Novelty is the "Jelly of it," I think.⁵ What an excellent Story, and what a Natural one, that is!--and quite new to me, though I am surprised it is, as Grandpapa is so fond of telling Stories. But I suppose it lies somewhere unremembered in his mind, and must, till I can see and remind him of it. He is still at Chelsea, but not gone to bed for the winter yet, for he takes airings, now.⁶ And one of them was to See Cornelia Knight, who sent to entreat he would visit her. So he wrapped up

directly and went--and got rewarded for his alacrity by 2
beautiful drawings which she gave him of Italian scenery, taken
I don't know where, when Miss Knight was in Italy. I never had
the pleasure of seeing this ingenious and learned Lady: but
She is a great favourite with Grandpapa: and if not wholly
engrossed by her Books and her Place at Court, perhaps some day,
I may.⁷ Miss Baillie is another clever creature you were
inquiring after. A Scotch Clergyman, the only person I ever
met who was acquainted with her, gave me, the other day, as
high an opinion of her character as I had hitherto entertained
of her abilities. She was a great favourite and an intimate
Friend, he said, of his: and her manners as modest as her
genius is exalted. She leads a quiet life, generally residing
with an elder Sister at Hampstead--talks very little, in
company: always sedulously avoiding the subject of her own
productions; and by the tenderest care and most unremitting
attention to a sick Mother, lately deceased, with whom she
confined herself entirely, has shown to the world, how com-
patible are literary pursuits with all the charities of life.⁸
--I have a word to say about a very different character--Poor
Lady Di--or rather her Daughters, about whom I was misinformed.
One died, as you say, Lady Pembroke; and one is, as I said,
Mrs. Jennings--but this last is the same that ran off with
her half-Brother, by whom She had 2 children--and afterwards

married a German Count, named Jenningson; his Family of Irish extraction; and they are both in Germany now.⁹ Lord Pembroke you know, has married a very charming young Girl, whom Mama knew at Richmond 10 years ago; Daughter of Count Woronzow, the Russian Ambassador.¹⁰ But you must be tired of all these People, and we will go to a pleasanter subject; Mr. Shee, whose charming little book I must heartily thank my dear Mrs. Piozzi for recommending to me. We have got it her at last. I have begun, and am delighted with it. How strange and how disgraceful what he tells us of Sir Joshua Reynolds having no monument to record his merit!¹¹ --I have been reading Robertson's History of Charles V--who is such a favourite with me, (The Historian, I mean, I hate his Hero--nasty selfish, faithless fellow!)¹² that I shall break my heart if you don't like him too. Do tell me, dear Mrs. Piozzi. --If you have not broken your heart, about the poor Spaniards already. Somebody says "Money is so cheap in our Comedies and blood in our Tragedies, that we think nothing of sacrificing either."¹³ But you do, I know, and must deeply lament the sad news that the Spaniards have been so cruelly cut to peices--and the after-intelligence that the number of their¹⁴ forces has been much overrated, and that they require a levy of 6 hundred thousand Men to keep the Field at all--and so, I suppose will be compelled to quit it--Poor Fellows!

--You if I remember right, from the beginning prognosticated their Fate; but I who am more sanguine fondly hoped they must be victorious: and yet I can hardly help despairing now.¹⁵ This event, though so truly distressing, is a trifle to the French Revolution. --Dear Mrs. Piozzi, you must shew me that Pocket-Book, some day, wont you?¹⁶ and tell me what became of Abbé Edgeworth.¹⁷ --I am all impatience to hear about the Scribleriad, etc. I hope you wont be very hard upon them, because the Archdeacon (George Cambridge) is a great favourite of mine. He has a good Library, and lends me Books, which I am too poor to buy, and too ignorant to go without: and so has won my heart. I asked him for Bertrand de Molleville, but he had him not--nor Dr. Moore:¹⁸ for when his book came out, he thought it had a tinge of democracy; and the Cambridges are such tooth-and-nail People they think a Democrat as bad as a Deist, I believe. So to make me amends, the A. D. lent me the Annual Register for 93--and 4, which he said contained an impartial account of those sad transactions:¹⁹ but I would rather have read what you recommended To reward him, I ventured to say that you had asked for a Copy of his Father's works; because I knew how proud it would make him: and so it did. --I hear very little London news, here. They have not begun their operations at the Royal Institution, which is about 5

years old, I hear.²⁰ You, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, will be almost tired of hearing how much I am your ever grateful and faithfully attached

Marianne Francis

About 3 lines from my Aunt D'Arbly to Grandpapa a month ago, just said She was well, and uneasy at never hearing from her Family, who write, poor Souls! when they dare. No hope of her return.²¹ I must not forget to thank you for the French Epigram, wh is beautifully done.²² --People now are all reading Tall Townsends Travels in Spain, for want of any better. His to be sure, are good picking for mineralogists, but, bating the Bull Feast, thats all.²³ Why did not you Travel in Spain, dearest Mrs. Piozzi? What different Travels we might have had then!²⁴

Mr. Fox's Hist. contains a very long account of the Trials and Death {s} {of} the Dukes of Argyle and Monmouth and it goes by the name of "Fox's Book of Martyrs."²⁵ Who says I tore any Seal, the 13 Dec. 1808?²⁶

Best wishes and remembrances to Mr. Piozzi, How does this cold weather agree with him? Mama's kindest regards. --The Holydays will soon be here, and then I shall have an account to give of the Boys.²⁷ --Pray let me hear soon.

1 Possibly Prisca (Holt?) Vanbrugh (1727-1804), who married Edward Vanbrugh (c. 1722-1802), friend of FBA, lived in Bath (WW). Story untraced.

2 Among the Piozzi manuscripts in the John Rylands Library under "Miscellaneous Prose Fragments" is "An Address to the Females of Great Britain" (JRL, Piozzi MS. 629, 1760-1820). It outlines the history of "female subjugation" and exhorts the women of Great Britain to break the pattern of subjugation.

3 Knowledge: "The shortening of o in the first syllable is phonetically normal; the 15-17th c. spelling knowledge; (n^owledgz) used by some, is merely a recent analytical pronunciation after know" (OED).

4 HLP's definition of "Madness" in British Synonymy reads: "All power of fancy over reason is a degree of insanity...nor can we justly pronounce it Madness, till it becomes ungovernable, and influences apparently the speech or action of the person in question." The definition is adapted from "The Dangerous Prevalence of Imagination," in Rasselas ch. 44.

5 HLP recorded in her diary, 28 May 1806: "Spencer's new Verses of How d'ye do and Good b'ye are paltry Things....I think he is no better poet than H.L.P." (Balderston, pp. 1076-77). The poems appeared in Spencer's Poems (1811).

Quotation untraced.

6 In March 1807 Dr. Burney retired to Chelsea where "he accepted no invitations, admitted visitors only in the afternoons, rarely ventured out-of-doors in cold weather, and never left London except 'to brace and fortify if possible my shattered frame before the departure of la belle saison' at Bulstrode" (Lonsdale, p. 461).

7 For Cornelia Knight, see ante 23 July 1808, n. 9. Cornelia Knight published A Description of Latium, or La Campagne di Roma, with etchings by the author in 1805. The same year she became Companion to Queen Charlotte.

8 After publication of her second volume of Plays on the Passions (1802), Joanna Baillie, her sisters and mother went to live at Hampstead. After their mother died in 1806, the sisters rented a new house in the neighborhood of Hampstead Heath where they lived until they died. Scotch clergyman untraced.

HLP continued to be interested in Joanna Baillie. She wrote to her daughter Queeney, 28 June 1809: "Make me acquainted with Walter Scott and Joanna Baillie when I come next to London" (Clifford, p. 428).

9 For Lady Diana Beauclerk, see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 15. For her children, see ante 31 Oct. 1808, n. 3.

10 For George Augustus Herbert (1759-1827), eleventh Earl of Pembroke (1794), see ante 31 Oct. 1808, n. 3. Catherine Woronzow (1783-1856), daughter of Simon, Count Woronzow, Russian ambassador to England, 1785-1806 (WW).

11 For the passage from Shee's Rhymes on Art on Joshua Reynolds' unmarked grave, see ll. 141-58. Shee's note to this passage reads: "The author understands, that, despairing of any national or public tribute to the memory of Reynolds, his relatives have determined to procure the erection of a monument at their own expence" (p. 24 n.). "A monument in the cathedral St. Paul's, where Reynolds is buried was erected in 1813" (DNB).

12 William Robertson, D.D., The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V, 3 vols., 1769.

13 Quotation untraced.

14 MS. "that"

15 MF refers to the Siege of Rosas. 27 Nov. 1809 "the besiegers assaulted the Spaniards, who had intrenched themselves in the deserted house of the town; a hundred and sixty were taken, fifty escaped into the citadel, and the rest were slain" (Napier i. 572). MF's reference to the number of troops may be a misreading of the "Abstract of Foreign Occurrences" in Gent. Mag. (Dec. 1808) which reads: "There are, besides, in addition to other Spanish forces 60,000 effective men" (lxxviii. 714).

16 HLP's "Pocket-Book" may be her "New Common Place Book" begun in 1809 and kept until 1820; see Clifford, p. 438 and n. 1.

17 Henry Essex de Firmont Edgeworth (1745-1807), Confessor to Louis XVI, Chaplain to Louis XVIII (WW).

18 Correspondence Between M. Bertrand De Molleville and the Honourable Charles James Fox Upon His Quotation of the Annals of the French Revolution in the Debate in the House of Commons. On the 3rd of Feb. 1800, with a translation by R.C. Dallas, 1800. Dr. John Moore (1729-1802), author of A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany (1779), also several popular novels.

19 The Annual Register; or a View of History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1794, 2d edn., 1806. Gent. Mag. reviewed The Annual Registers as "Volumes...aided, as is now well known, by the genius and the labours of Mr. Burke....The volume which is now presented to the Public contains the history of the eventful and important period [1794] when...the Rulers of France were enabled to begin that career of conquest by which the long-established Balance of Europe was ultimately overthrown" (supp. 1808, lxxviii. 1174). For the author of The Annual Register, see post 3 Jan. 1809, n. 5.

20 The Royal Institution of Great Britain, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, was established 9 Mar. 1799 to promote public knowledge of mechanical inventions. It housed a library and lecture-theatre, where lectures on the arts and sciences were conducted. For the history of the Institution, see Thomas Martin, The Royal Institution (1942).

21 Letter of FBA to CB untraced. FBA was in residence with her husband and son at Paris. Napoleon's Continental blockade made correspondence between France and England difficult, since letters had to be smuggled across the Channel.

22 This may be the French epigram by HLP in Balderston, p. 492.

23 Joseph Townsend (1739-1816), geologist, Rector of Pewsey, Wilts, author of A Journey Through Spain in the years 1786 and 1787, (3 vols., 1791). There is a reference to Tall Townsend in HLP's diary (1772); see Clifford, p. 94. Also, MF wrote to HLP in June 1807: "Tall Townsend has promised to teach me Greek next winter." Townsend's Journey Through Spain includes a detailed account of a "bull feast" or bull fight in Madrid (Journey, pp. 342-54). Howell's Letters (c. 1670) describe the sport of "baiting the Bull Feast": "There was a great Show lately here of baiting, of Bulls, with Men, for the entertainment of the Prince, it is the cheapest of all Spanish sports" (p. 140).

24 HLP had published Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy and Germany in 1789.

25 For Fox's History, see ante 14 Sept. 1808, n. 3. Chapter III relates the deaths of Argyle and Monmouth.

26 MF wrote this postscript passage around the seal on the letter.

27 For CF and Dolph's schools, see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 21.

Tuesday 3 January 1809

MS. JRL(582.31).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: Clock 4. TwoPyPoA Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green, Tuesday: Jan. 3d 1809.

Dear Mrs. Piozzi, and your Classical Pun!¹ --Well, I do think it is best to be an Aristocrate. --I borrowed, as you told me, the bloody Register for 1792, and the Appendix of Anarchy and woe. --Such scenes of horror I think I never read! Well may you hate the Jacobins; I hate them too; and the French Nation I think I never shall like again. --But why did the King suffer his Authority to become so contemptible? Why did he not adopt more vigorous measures in the first Stages of rebellion? Exertions then, might perhaps have secured his existence afterwards--and what the Compilers of the Registers say of this unfortunate Monarch seems true enough: he had passive, but not active courage.² Charles the fifth would never have suffered his subjects to take his head off, I'm sure: he would have drowned them all in some fresh African expedition first; as he knew how, having lost eight thousand Men in one hour, the last time he landed at Algiers--according to Robertson; who like Homer, is at no pains to conceal the faults of his Hero: even comments upon them, with the greatest

nonchalance, and seems to dwell, with equal complacency, on his great abilities, and on his want of integrity, that in my opinion tarnished them all. I have not quite finished the History yet³ --when I have, I shall attack the American volumes; and I dare say they will be my favourites, as well as yours, dearest Mrs. Piozzi.⁴ --N.B. Among the select Poetry, in one of the Registers, there is Dr. Johnson's "Long expected one and Twenty." --To whom were these lines addressed? --and "In that roguish face one sees, etc." from the Italian, by Mrs. Piozzi.⁵

Before I go on, I think I ought to explain my black wafer --but you will be sorry too, sweetest Mrs. Piozzi, for the explanation. An Uncle of mine in India--the very Dick you told the jolly Story about, is the cause of it. He died not along ago--far enough, poor Soul! from a Mitre; and leaving his Wife and half a dozen Children, I don't know how provided for. I never saw, but Mama remembers him leaving this Country 20 years ago for the golden coast whence so few return⁶--and you have not forgotten him--nor have I your Verses on our Graphic Friend, Shee--with his "Graphic Muse," and her "Graphic Fount" and "Graphic utterance," and every thing "Graphic" about her. --This you pointed out to me, you know: but I delight in the Book, nevertheless, and shan't point it out to any body else:⁷ the Edinburgh Reviewers, of caustic Memory, will do

that fast enough: though how illnature'd and unjust soever,
 I must love them for one thing--their zealous and unequivocal
 declarations for the abolition of the Slave Trade--the
 glorious object which that Abdiel, Wilberforce, has at length
 accomplished.⁸ Are you not a Friend to him too, dear Mrs.
 Piozzi--A Firmer Friend than you are to the Proud Patriots.⁹
 --They, and their Country are all the fashion now, and every
 body is reading Tall Townsends Travels in Spain, because you
 never happened to go there. Why did you not? Or rather why
 am I so unreasonable as to expect you to have been every where,
 as well as to read every thing. --Perhaps you have not though,
 seen the Verses supposed to have been written by Shakespeare
 on his Wife, Anne Hathaway.¹⁰ (Before she was his Wife tho!
 --I suppose he would not have taken the pains afterwards.)
 If they are new, shall I send them to Brynbella? Or will
 Brynbella's fair Mistress be angry with me for molesting her
 with verses again, when she writes them so beautifully herself?

Dear, darling, Mrs. Piozzi!--how often, in crowds of
 unmeaning People, where the fix'd Smile 'bespeaks the vacant
 mind'¹¹--where a new Gown is more prized, because better
 appreciated, than a new Idea--how often in such company do I
 think of you--Your swe<et> society--your rare talents:

"Skill'd with wit and Sense t'impart

Feelings of a Gen'rous heart"¹²

--Your elegant Literature and sportive fancy. Learning itself

seems playfulness in you. But 'tis unwise to call back to
fretful imagination

the fair Delights that air my Soul
on Mem'ry's wings like Shadows fly:¹³

Rather I will take Shakespeare's Advice:

Look! what thy Soul holds dear, imagine it
To lie that way thou go'st, not whence thou
cam'st.¹⁴

So I shall console myself with my dear Mrs. Piozzi's condes-
cending Letters, and not think of her, if I wish to be pleased
when I am in Company with any one else. Rather Remember Swift's
satirical advice about Female Visiting, to amuse my mind. I
dare say you remember his "Letter to a Young Lady," where he
gravely says with his usual contempt for our Sex, "with regard
to Visiting, half a dozen Fools are in all conscience as many
as you should require; and it will be sufficient for you to
see them twice a year."¹⁵

But in the multitude of my thoughts within me, I am
forgetting one very pleasant part of my intentions in writing,
to thank you for the account of your Friend Mr. Glasse; (would
he were mine!) And his witty speech to the enraged Squire.
I should have gloried in seeing his face at the time.¹⁶ --As
to Miss Knight, I have no words to express my astonishment at

her Gigantic powers.¹⁷ I will talk to my Uncle Charles about her, when I see him--and mention, too, your Friend at Hanwell. --He would blush for the Dignified Dunce--Clergyman, I mean, that had never read the Dunciad. You will think there Should be a blush on the cheek of your impertinent but ever gratefully affectionate

Marianne Francis

Do say how Mr. Piozzi is. 1000 kindest regards from Mama--and best wishes from us all for the New Year. The Boys are come home for the Holidays. Clem sends love and respects to classical Brynbella.

1 Reference untraced.

2 The Annual Register for the Year 1792 (1799) contains an account of the French Revolution, the Jacobins, and Louis XVI, pp. 1-62. The Appendix to the Chronicle appears on pp. 67-155. An assessment of the character of Louis XVI appears in The Annual Register for 1793 (1799, xxxv. 224-29) but the phrase "passive but not active courage" is not employed. A portion of the passage reads: "The gentleness of his nature...which... enabled him to support the evils that befell him...disqualified him...for that power and promptitude of exertion which would have prevented their approach" (p. 229).

Burke contracted with Robert Dodsley to edit and write for The Annual Register in 1758. He kept his editorship a secret and it is uncertain whether or not he continued to write the historical section after 1766, though it is assumed that he continued to contribute to the periodical. For articles on Burke's connection with The Annual Register, see Bertram D. Sarason, "Edmund Burke and the Two Annual Registers," PMLA (1953), lxviii. 496-508. See also, Thomas W. Copeland, "Burke and Dodsley's Annual Register," PMLA (1939), liv. 223-45. The compilers of The Annual Register are unknown.

3 Charles V's troops were driven back to Spain from Algiers by a violent storm. For Robertson on Charles V's landing in Algiers, see History of Charles V, iii. 225-30.

4 William Robertson, The History of America, 2 vols., 1777.

5 For Samuel Johnson's "Long expected one-and-twenty," see The Annual Register for the Year 1794 (2d. edn., 1806), lxxxvii. 419. "Extracts from Mrs. Piozzi's British Synonymy" appeared on pp. 400-07. Johnson's "Long-expected one and twenty," the first line of his "A Short Song of Congratulation" (1780), was addressed to Sir John Lade, nephew of Henry Thrale, Mrs. Piozzi's first husband.
HLP's translation untraced in AR.

6 Richard Thomas Burney (1768-1808), son of CB and Elizabeth (Allen) Burney, FB's half-brother, arrived in Calcutta in 1787, was headmaster of the Orphan School at Kiddepore, died in Rangoon 8 Mar. 1808. For particulars about Richard, his wife and family, see Walter K. Firminger, "Madam D'Arblay and Calcutta," Bengal: Past and Present (1914), ix. 244-48. The "black wafer" is the black seal (gummed paper) on MF's letter, used as a sign of mourning.

7 In reference to Somerset House Shee writes: "The Graphic Muse maintains the throne of Taste" (Rhymes on Art l. 86). Shee also writes of the "Graphic Fount" (i.288), the "Graphic Muse" (i.12), the "Graphic Moralist" (i.120) and the "Graphic dunces" (i.283).

8 For S.T. Coleridge's Review of Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, see Edin. Rev. (July 1808), xii. 355-79. For Abdiel, see Paradise Lost v.805. William Wilberforce (1759-1833), statesman, philanthropist, member of the "Clapham Sect," author of A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes of this Country, contrasted with Real Christianity (1797), sponsor of the bill for abolishing the slave trade (1807).

9 For the Spanish Patriots, see ante 13 Dec. 1808, n. 15.

10 The Poems of Mr. William Shakespeare...With Mr. Capell's History of the Origin of Shakespeare's Fables, 1805. Edward Capell (1713-81), editor of Shakespeare, was known for his apocryphal stories of Shakespeare's life and may be responsible for the story of the poem to Ann Hathaway; reference untraced.

11 Adapted from Oliver Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village" (1770), ll. 121-22.

12 Quotation untraced.

13 Quotation untraced.

14 Richard II I.iii.286-87.

15 Jonathan Swift, Complete Works, ed. Herbert Davis, 10 vols., Oxford, 1968, "A Letter to a Young Lady, on her Marriage," Irish Tracts: 1720-23, ix. 83-94; quotation on p. 88.

16 George Henry Glasse (1761-1809), Rector of Hanwell, Middlesex, classical scholar (Balderston, index). The story is untraced.

17 For Cornelia Knight, see ante 23 July 1808, n. 9.

Monday 30 January 1809

MS. JRL (582.32).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: B JA 30 809 12 o'Clock JA 30 1809, Nn.

Richmond Green, Monday Morning, Jan. 30th 1809.

Six O'Clock.

Ah sweetest Mrs. Piozzi, how shamefully, how ungratefully have you been used!--and how strongly does it prove the sweetness of your nature, that such treatment has not Timonized your heart!¹ --Mine it almost has, to reflect that you could ever have been injured for your kindness, and forgotten for your benefits. --Forgotten, too, by any relation of mine--² tho' you will live 'within the Book and Volume of my brain, while Memory holds her seat!'³ --But I will turn from this subject, where I can only wonder and grieve, and thank you, my own ever-dear Mrs. Piozzi, for letting me know (what I might, but never should have guessed) that Sir John Lade was the Hero of the Song.--(Dr. Johnson's Verses, I mean, that pleased us all so much--) and the Piccini's pretty Song you translated out of fondness for Mr. Piozzi.⁴ Poor dear Mrs. Piozzi! --You wont believe me if I say that I would almost change places with him, and endure all his sufferings, if I could be sure you would love me as well for my pains. --So I shan't say any thing

of the sort, but go on--with better success, I hope, than poor General Moore. --What a sad event his Death was. --The more so too, because it makes People grumble--especially those who are determined to blame the Ministry, for every misfortune that occurs.⁵ They say, that "it was along of⁶ the Ministry-- (that Duke of Portland too,)--that the General was killed.⁷ How should the poor Duke keep the nation out of danger, when he can't keep himself out of debt?"⁸ --This is almost as provoking as Buonaparte's proclamations--(Dont you admire⁹ them?) "That God has given him power and inclination to surmount all obstacles--and that he should send Marshall Soult to throw the English into the Sea!"¹⁰ Poor Fellows! They say 10000 perished in the struggle, and that 50000 more are expected to be sent into Spain soon--and all to help those treacherous Spaniards, who wont help themselves.¹¹

Tell me, dear Mrs. Piozzi, (if you are not tired of those Annual Registers, that I have talked to you so much about;)-- tell me, who wrote the Historical part? --Was it Burke?¹² for I think they are so well written. --What you say of poor Louis Seize, and his strange Will, ought to be printed. ¹³ --Nobody has said any thing so true or so witty of him yet. --I am the more angry that Francis the 1st fought only for Buonaparte because I like him. --He was brave, and unfortunate, and a Friend to Literature--and--I think--shamefully used by

Charles Vth.¹⁴ You have not told me your opinion of him, yet.
 --Though you have your reason for not going into Spain. Your
 true Michaelian Reason.¹⁵

Have you heard of Coelebs, dear Mrs. Piozzi? "Coelebs in
 Search of a Wife"--a new Book every body is reading, and they
 say it's written by Miss Hannah Moore.¹⁶ I shall get it soon--
 and if it's very much like a Novel, shan't say that She is the
 Author.

A Book I have been able to procure, and that amused me
 very much, is Colonel Hutchinson's Life, by his Widow Lucy.
 Do you know that innocent, pious, old English publication--and
 her fond description of him--"his eyes of a lively grey--graced
 with many becoming motions."¹⁷ But even Mrs. Hutchinson is not
 so innocent nor so naïve as Froissart, whose celebrated Chron-
 icle, translated by a Countryman of yours, (Mr. Johnes, of
 Hafod--) We have been reading. Mr. Barrett gets it, 2 vols. at
 a time, out of 10--from the Westminster Library--and we are
 delighted with it. Dont you think the description of the king's
 love to the Lady Salisbury, and the Battle of Crecy, admirable?
 --Froissart shows the power of money, "the metal by which, (as
 he says,) the affection of Gentlemen and poor Soldiers is to
 be won"¹⁸--Ay! and of rich ones too, sometimes. "Plate Sin
 with gold, and the strong lance of justice harmless falls."¹⁹
 Doesnt that appear, when the Queen of Edward the 2d goes into

{France} to ask her Brother's assistance, wh he promises her,
 {thus} "you are welcome my fair Sister, with my fine Nephew
 {xxx}." Then come Jewels and bribes from Sir Hugh Spencer--
 {xxx}
 "and all are forbidden, under pain of death from helping Queen
 Isabella." Do tell me you like Sir John Froissart, sweetest
 Mrs. Piozzi, and I shall like him still better. Only I think,
 poor fellow, travelling about, as he did, to pick up materials
 for his Book by word of mouth, he must often have been imposed
 upon.--for all he "mixed with Lords, and slept in their fine
 beds"²⁰--which could not well be finer than yours I think. For
 Mr. Twining, who lives here, and who called, a little while
 ago on Mama, told her that a Son of his, travelling through
 Wales, was hospitably invited by Mrs. Piozzi to sleep at Bryn-
 bella. He accepted the Invitation with great glee--was de-
 lighted with his visit; and at night, shewn into such a fine
 room, and such a beautiful Bed, that "he was afraid to lie
down on it."²¹ --I determined to tell you this; and so I have.
 --I wish I could say that I am acquainted with clever Mrs. Opie.²²
 But I am not. Mr. Barrett, however, knows her a little, and
 likes her much. Do you interest yourself at all about Mr.
 Lancaster, and his Schools? and the Pamphlet in wh Mrs. Trimmer
 takes him so to task? ²³ --I remember, with admiration, Shee's
 lines on the Democrates²⁴--and heard with far different feelings,
 the conduct of Sir Joshua's infamous Neice.²⁵

In Mrs. Chapone's Life, she says, that she wishes to understand Hebrew in order to discover whether that Text is properly translated wh says--a "man must not be cheerful with his Daughters."²⁶ You can tell dear Mrs. Piozzi, whether there is any less offensive Synonymn for the word. --At any rate let me have the verses you promised me, Soon. Clement begs you wont forget him. He goes back to his studies next week. Dolph is devouring the Arabian Nights as a respite from his. Mama sends kindest regards to Brynbella. You know, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, that you are loved and admired with unabated ardour, by your gratefully affectionate

Marianne Francis

I forgot to say that the Text I mentioned is in the Apochrypha. 7 chap. 24. verse.²⁷ What species of Composition is a Virelay? I met with the word in Froissart.

1 Timonize: "to play the Timon or misanthrope" (OED).

2 For HLP's strained relations with FBA, see ante, pp. xlv-xlvii.

3 Hamlet I.v.102-03.

4 Niccolò Piccini (1728-1800), Italian composer of opera. HLP's translation, referred to in the previous letter, untraced.

5 Sir John Moore (1728-1800), lieutenant general, the hero of Corunna, where Moore's army defeated that commanded by Marshal Soult. Gent. Mag. recorded under obituaries: "At Corunna, a very few hours after receiving a mortal wound in the shoulder, from a spent cannon-ball, in the battle before that town, of which he lived long enough to exult in the glorious result, Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, K.B., Commander in Chief of the British Forces in Spain" (Jan. 1809. lxxix. 94).

6 Along of: "chargeable, attributable, owing to" (OED).

7 William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1738-1809), third Duke of Portland, was twice prime minister, 1782-83, and 1807-09. The failure at Walcheren, the victories of Vimeiro and Talavera, and the Convention of Cintra all occurred during his last premiership. The Earl of Malmesbury recorded in his diary, 1808: "His [the Duke of Portland's] complaint (the stone) was returning, and the excruciating pain this occasioned, joined to the worry and torment of his official situation, quite broke him down" (Malmes., iv. 404).

8 The Reference to debts of the Duke of Portland untraced. Bulstrode, the Duke's home, was sold immediately after the Duke's death in Oct. 1809 (see C/okayne/) but there is no reference to debts.

9 Admire: "to view with wonder or surprise" (OED).

10 The Times reported, 9 June 1809, Napoleon's proclamation, which stated: "I shall speedily drive from the Peninsula that English army that has been sent to Spain... for God has given me power and inclination to surmount all obstacles." Proclamation on Soult untraced.

11 The Times reported at length on 24 Jan. 1809 on the Battle of Corunna and on Marshall Soult and General Moore: "By them

[soldiers returned from the battle] we learn the disastrous intelligence of the reserve of our army, 12,000 men, having had a severe battle on the evening of the 16th instant, with near 50,000 French, under Junot, who had joined the night before."

12 For an article on Edmund Burke and The Annual Register, see ante 13 Dec. 1808, n. 19.

13 Reference unclear. HLP wrote in her diary, 11 Oct. 1804: "Michot the Actor; Dear Dear Michot! he knows that Louis 16 meant him speaking of Ames sensibles in his last Will" (Balderson, p. 1060 n.). Louis XVI's will appeared in The Annual Register for 1793 (1799, xxxv. 133-36). The "will," written from prison in the "tower of the temple of Paris" does not bequeath worldly goods, but rather is a kind of exhortation to virtue. For example, Louis XVI writes: "I leave my soul to God"; "I recommend my children to my wife"; "I forgive, from my heart, all those who became my enemies without cause," etc. (p. 134).

14 Francis I (1494-1597), King of France (1515-47) was defeated by the Emperor Charles V at the Battle of Pavia (1525), where he was captured. Francis regained his freedom by consenting to the Treaty of Madrid (1526), in which he renounced his claims in Italy, agreed to surrender Burgundy to the emperor, and abandoned the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois.

15 Michael: "the archangel"; "He [Michael] is here [Book of Daniel] regarded as the guardian of the Israelites in opposition to polytheism and foreign innovations. In the NT [New Testament] Michael is found fighting in heaven (Rev. 12.7) against the dragon 'who is called the Devil and Satan,' and is typical of the warfare which is the special work of the church on earth" (Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings, rev. edn. Frank Grant and H.H. Rowley, New York, 1963, p. 657). For HLP's comparison of Napoleon to the devil, see ante 24 Aug. 1808, n. 5. Napoleon's Continental Blockade, intended to cut off trade between Spain and Great Britain, may be HLP's reason for refusing to travel to Spain.

16 Hannah More (1745-1833), bluestocking, poet, and religious writer, author of Coelebs in Search of a Wife: comprehending Observations on Domestic Habits, Manners, Religion, and Morals (1808).

17 Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham by His Widow Lucy, ed. Julius Hutchinson, 1806. Lucy Hutchinson's description reads: "his eyes of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions" (p. 32). The book contains a Preface by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson (pp. i-xiv); a fragment of a life of Mrs. Hutchinson, written by herself (pp. 1-17); and the life of John Hutchinson (pp. 19-446), which covers the years 1616-64.

18 Sir John Froissart, Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries from the Latter Part of the Reign of Edward II to the Coronation of Henry IV. Newly translated from the French editions, with variations and additions from celebrated MSS. By Thomas Johnes, 5 vols., 1805-06. Vol. i., ch. ii is entitled, "Of the Relations of King Edward the third"; ii., ch. cxxviii. treats "The Battle of Crecy, between the Kings of France and of England"; i., ch. vii. describes Queen Isabella's reception by her brother King Charles of France (p. 13), Sir Hugh Spencer's bribes, and Isabella's subsequent banishment (p. 14). Vol. I, ch. lxxvi is entitled, "The King of England is enamoured with the Countess of Salusbury /Countess of the Castle of Work of Scotland/" a portion of the description reads: "The King could not take his eyes off her, as he thought he had never seen so beautiful or sprightly a lady; so that a spark of fine love struck upon her heart" (p. 292).

19 King Lear IV.vi.169-70.

20 The first quotation reads: "gold and silver, which are the metals wherewith the love of gentlemen and poor soldiers is acquired" (ch. vii., 14). The remark of King Charles to Queen Isabella appears in ch. vii., 13. The last passage refers to Queen Isabella's return to England to claim the throne for her son, Edward, and Sir Hugh Spencer's bribes of her brother, Charles, King of France, to secure the Spencers' power. The passage reads: "The King disconcerted the expedition, and forbad any person, under pain of banishment, to aid or assist the queen in her projected return to England" (p. 17). Froissart wrote in his Preface of the hospitality he received in travelling

throughout England to write his history: "all the great lords, dukes, earls, barons, and knights, of whatever nation they might be, loved one, saw me with pleasure, and were of the greatest service to me" (p. ix). Final quotation untraced.

21 Daniel Twining, son of the Thomas Twining (1675-1741) who founded the Twining tea business around 1710, father of Thomas (1735-1804), Richard (1749-1824) and John (n.d.). The Twining who visited HLP may have been Richard, who kept copious journals of his tours on the continent and in England, edited and published by his son Richard under the title of Selections from Papers of the Twining Family (1887). Reference untraced.

22 Amelia (Alderson) Opie (1769-1853), author of Tales of the Heart (1820), married (1798) John Opie (1761-1807), the painter. Lectures on Painting by the late John Opie, with Memoir by Mrs. Opie, and other Accounts of Mr. Opie's Talents and Character was published in 1809.

23 Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838), founder of the Lancastrian system of education under the patronage of George III. Lancaster advocated free education on "general Christian principles," instead of those of the Church of England. Lancaster met with resistance from many to his system of education; in addition, he was forced to leave London in 1807 to evade his creditors.

Mrs. Trimmer, an opponent of Lancaster's system of education, published in 1805 A Comparative View of the New Plan of Education, Promulgated by Mr. Joseph Lancaster. Her main objection to Lancaster was that "his system was not to be controlled by the clergy, and was therefore calculated to weaken the authority of the established church" (DNB).

24 For Shee's lines on the "Democrates," i.e., Revolutionaries, see Rhymes ii. 139-60.

25 Mary (Palmer) O'Bryen (1770-1820), niece, companion, and heiress of Sir Joshua Reynolds. The reference may be to her marriage (1792) to Murrough O'Bryen (c. 1724-1808), fifth Earl of Inchiquin (1777), Marquis of Thomond (1800), a widower.

"The discrepancy in ages...gave rise to ill-natured, sometimes ribald, references" (FB:JL, i. 157 n. 26). It may also be a reference to her inheritance in 1797 of the bulk of Reynolds' estate, worth over 100,000£. For a copy of Reynolds' will, see James Northcote, The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds (2 vols., 1818), pp. 400-05.

26 For Hester (Mulso) Chapone, see ante 14 Sept. 1808, n. 10. The reference appears in Chapone's Works (1809), ii. 95-96.

27 "Hast thou daughters? have a care of their body, and show not thyself cheerful toward them" (Ecclesiasticus vii. 24).

28 Virelay: "A long or short lyric piece, of a type originating in France in the fourteenth century, usually consisting of short lines arranged in stanzas with only two rhymes, the end-rhyme of one stanza being the chief one of the next" (OED).

Wednesday 15 February 1809

MS. JRL (582.33).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: FE 7 o'Clock FE 16 1809. 809. TwoPyPoA Unpaid Richmond.

Thursday. Feb. 15. 1809. Richmond Green.

Ah dearest Mrs. Piozzi. I am delighted with the verses, sure enough; --but you must not--indeed you must not, impute it to partiality. They are beautiful. "But I have no other than a woman's reason. I think them so because I think them so."¹ I like "the vapour-woven veil". O, and the praise of Walter Scott--and I like the concluding Stanza so much! But tell me, sweet Mrs. Piozzi, and dont be very angry with my ignorance. --What gave rise to these "Imitations," as you call them? What was their Original?² Do tell me, if I may know. I rejoice to see that your fine mind can diverge from the point of affliction where it centers, to any extraneous, lighter object. But I do grieve that poor Mr. Piozzi's illness is so inveterate. I hardly dare say, that I have heard People congratulated on the gout, as a Symptom of longevity. But I must give a message to you from a Friend of mine here. Count de Salis is the eldest Son (as you may well suppose, when you hear that, poor fellow! He is 40 years old--) of a Swiss Nobleman long resident in England. His Father is

lately dead. And the Son wont "break his bones with industry,"³ for he inherits an immense Irish Estate, with 3000 People upon it, under his command: and thither he means shortly to retire--⁴ and there train the People to habits of piety and peace, in order to counteract the wicked designs of Buonaparte, who is, (he has firmly persuaded himself) the "Great Beast" of the Apocalypse--and "his mark"⁵ de Salis says, he is determined never to wear. (I forgot to tell you that he has just discarded the "suits of woe"⁶ for the death of his second Wife.--) To go on with my story, which I am afraid you will find a "Mons parturiens"⁷ after all. De Salis was on a visit to Mr. Barrett here, a short time ago. And you dearest Mrs. Piozzi, and your poor Invalid were the theme of our Conversation. --He begged me to tell you, (How could I do less than promise that I would?) He himself has been much afflicted with the gout--but that he has "always kept it off--even sent it away--by the simple, tho' not very inviting remedy of eating onions." And now I have fulfilled my promise--and tho' even my sanguine wishes will not afford me one ray of hope that this prescription could ought avail the object for whom it was intended, don't be angry, dear Mrs. Piozzi, with de Salis, and the onions, and me!

We have been very much saddened here, lately. Poor Mr. Barrett has lost his Sister--his only relation: the beautiful Mrs. Kingston.⁸ Nothing could shew more forcibly, the fallacy

of human expectations. Three Months ago saw her blooming and fair and young--Healthy, as if She could defy the blast--and fair, as if Death himself would not have dared to touch her--and now She is the theme of pity, and the food of worms. It was not her case, I hope: But how many does one see in this world, who, like Macbeth, would gladly "Jump the life to come!" --But why should I detail the "ravishing Strides" of "th' unwelcome Messenger of Fate," to you, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, who have pourtrayed them so beautifully yourself--and given us all "sufficient Warnings." ⁹ I will rather give you some news of the living, of 'animated Nature.' ¹⁰ And first, I must tell you a speech of your little Friend, the quondam Baby, Dolph. By some mischance the Devil was the subject of conversation. "Where does the Devil live?" says Dolph. "In Hell, my dear." "O Sister, I'm glad of that--I'm glad the Devil's in Hell, arn't you? He'd only be tormenting the land now, if he was alive." --Poor little Dolph! He studies very busily, and goes on with Latin and Geography at home, when he can't go to School, which illness has lately prevented: and insists on reading my favourite Froissart: and acts all the Stories he reads: and calls himself Sir Reginald. ¹¹ Clement is gone back to Horace and Euripides, and Dr. Charles--and Mama and I are left at home here, to nurse the new baby, who is a beautiful little thing, though it is her own old Aunt that says so. The Baby's Mother

always desires to be affectionately remembered to Brynbella.

Dear Mrs. Piozzi! I'm glad you are of my mind, about Charles 5th.¹² I like the Story of the Monk, which is new to me. Robertson does not give it.¹³ If it were not for the great preponderance of the last quality over the first, might not Miss Monarch almost lay claim to the character of the famous Philosopher, whom Pope calls:

The wisest, brightest, meanest of Mankind.¹⁴

I like your description of the "concluding Ballet." I wish it were not so sadly unified--Not only in Political and Military, but in Literary affairs.¹⁵ It is not at all in allusion to this last remark, that I tell you poor Holcroft is dying.¹⁶ If he has not served his God, like Cardinal Wolsey, he can't accuse himself of having served his King.¹⁷

Since you wrote to me--I was almost going to say, since I saw you, last--(Your beautiful letters are too like Conversation, dear Mrs. Piozzi, not to excuse the mistake. I wish it were not a mistake!) I have read Coelebs, with great delight--delight that was encreased, I am almost ashamed to say, by finding the Sentiments on Religion and education a Counterpart of my own--"What oft I thought, but ne'er so well expressed."¹⁸ I wish you would read this book. Perhaps You could resolve the much-agitated question, whether its Author is Mrs. H. More. Sometimes She seems

to be there in propria persona--making the Heroine learn Latin is like her too. Yet there are occasional colloquial inelegancies that puzzle me sadly. Do dear Mrs. Piozzi read Coelebs and tell me what you think of it. And whether you can tolerate Colonel Hutchinson's life. I cant his nasty Editor, who, in the notes, keeps shaping up all sorts of paltry little excuses for him, veering about, like a Ship, from one side to the other. If he thought the Book good, it needed no excuse. If bad, none should be accepted for publishing it.¹⁹

Thank you, for what you tell me, dear Mrs. Piozzi, about the Text; which I suspected, but Mrs. Chapone should have known. Archdeacon Cambridge is just returned from a Residence at Ely. The first time I see him, I will ask the question you mention. There is no escape from the Sentiment, as you say. Therefore it is some confort to reflect that the Book of Ecclesiasticus is not an inspired work. I am as much confounded as you, about Mr. Twining--and would most readily allow that I dreamed it all, if Mama also had not heard him say that a Son of his, slept for a night, at Brynbella. How you should forget it, I can't imagine: unless, indeed, you put it under the head of "Injuries."²⁰--Pray remember us all to Mr. Piozzi. Mama sends her kindest regards. Would that my pen were able to say half how much you are loved and admired, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, by yr ever gratefully affectionate

Marianne Francis

1 Two Gentlemen of Verona I.ii.23-24.

2 For HLP's verses on Walter Scott occasioned by the publication of Marmion and for her Imitations in praise of the landscape of North Wales and Britain's "Vapour-woven veils," see Balderston, pp. 1095-98. See also, ante 4 July 1808, n. 5 and ante, p. xliv. Original untraced.

3 "Over-careful fathers have broke their sleep with thoughts,/ Their brains with care, their bones with industry" (2 Henry IV IV. v. 70).

4 For Jerome de Salis, see ante 21 Nov. 1808, n. 12. "On the decease, without issue, of Charles, first Viscount Fane, in 1772, his sister, Mary, Countess de Salis, inherited the extensive estates in Ireland of the Fane family (derived from Rachel, Countess of Bath). She died in 1784, and was succeeded by her elder surviving son, Peter, Count de Salis (d. 1807)" (Bernard Burke, Colonial Gentry, ii. 575).

5 The seven-headed Leviathan denotes the King of Egypt in Ezekiel xxix. 3. The monster reappears as the red dragon in Revelation xii. 1, where he is identified with the serpent of Eden and Satan. "The men which had received the mark of the beast" (Revelation xvi. 2).

6 Hamlet I.ii.86.

7 "Mons parturibat, gemitus immanes ciens; Eratque in terris maxima expectatis" (" a mountain was in labor, sending forth dreadful groans, and there was the highest expectation throughout the region"). Phaedrus, Fables iv.22, the Latin rendering of Aesop's fable of "The Mountain in Labor."

8 For Julia (Barrett) Kingston, see ante 21 Nov. 1808, n. 11.

9 Macbeth I.vii.7 and II.i.55. "Th' unwelcome Messenger" untraced. "Sufficient Warnings" is an allusion to HLP's poem, "The Three Warnings" (1766). See ante 4 July 1808, n. 24.

10 "Animated Nature," a common phrase, appears in the title of Oliver Goldsmith's An History of the Earth and Animated Nature (1774).

11 Froissart lists Sir Reginald Lord Cobham in "Of the Bravest Knights of This Present Book" (i. 6).

12 For Robertson's Charles V, see ante 13 Dec. 1808, n. 12. HLP described the influence of the Dominican monks on Charles V's conquests in South America, Mexico and Peru: "Bartolomeo de las Casas undertook a defense of their abilities, interesting the King of Spain (then dying) in their favour: endeavoring to gain over Ximenes, and persuade Charles V that these were men like those of the old hemisphere, and that to enslave, insult, and murder them, were mortal sins against impartial Heaven. The Spanish planters threatened to tear Bartolomeo to pieces, and he took shelter in a convent. Coming out however he escaped to Europe, where from Charles V he gained new powers, and set about schooling his new pupils in a new place where he deemed them uncorrupted by Spanish manners" (Retrospection, ii. 120-21).

13 Story of the monk untraced.

14 Miss Monarch untraced. Pope's philosopher is Francis Bacon (Essay on Man iv.281).

15 The "Concluding Ballet" in political and military affairs may be an allusion to the Peninsula War and to the end of the Duke of Portland's ministry. The Duke resigned in Oct. 1809, and he died at Bulstrode on 30 Oct. 1809. For a reference on the end of the Duke's ministry, see ante 30 Jan. 1809, n. 8.

16 Thomas Holcroft (1745-1809), dramatist and novelist. "Holcroft embraced the principles of the French revolution, and in Nov. 1792 became a member of the "Society for Constitutional Information." In company with Thomas Hardy (1752-1832) and ten others Holcroft was indicted for high treason. In consequence of Hardy's acquittal, Holcroft was discharged without a trial.

17 See Henry VIII III.ii.56.

18 See Alexander Pope, An Essay on Criticism ii. 298.

19 The Rev. Julius Hutchinson wrote in the Preface to Lucy Hutchinson's Life of Colonel Hutchinson (1806): "the greater merit shall appear in this work as a history, the greater will be the regret that the writer did not dedicate more of her attention to render it complete and full, instead of summary" (p. xii). His Preface and notes have a generally apologetic tone; for example, a note on Lucy Hutchinson's description of

Colonel Hutchinson's courtship and their "little amorous relations" reads: "Will not many regret that she passes so transiently these scenes of tenderness and sentiment" (p. 44).

Wednesday 16 March 1809

MS. JRL(582.34).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: C MR 15 809. 7 o'Clock MR. 809

Richmond Green, Wednesday, March 16, 1809.

The pleasure of writing to you, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, I deferred, till the accomplishment of a scheme long projected between Mr. Barrett and me, of walking to Town one day, and walking back the next, in order to pick up some London News to diversify the round of country employments. This we effected, with very little fatigue, for I am a good walker, --tho' a bad Gleaner, I fear, as our harvest of intelligence was so small.

We learned, however, that poor Holcroft has "not willed to die,"¹ or rather God has not willed it for him, as he still lives; but dropsically, and expects but a Year's reprieve. How he will spend his last important Year, all who are acquainted with him must be interested to know.² I often think of the concluding lines of your last Letter; and when I was in Town, and heard every body canvassing the merits of Mrs. Clarke,³ I thought of you again, dearest Mrs. Piozzi. They talk of riots, rebellions and associations, if the Duke

is acquitted, on one side; on the other it is said that he means to resign--that is, I suppose that he will have the ingenuity so to call his dismissal. When I was pitying our long-spoken Senators for meeting for their 8 Hours Speeches in the middle of the Night:--"Oh," said a Lady to me, "don't pity them for that: If they did not sit up in the House of Commons, they would in their own." Every body is anxiously expecting the final decision of this strange affair: but the wishes of the Nation are apparent enough, when the same Mob insults the Duke of York that cheers Mrs. Clarke. The Princes are grieved at this exposure, report says, and the good Old King quite afflicted by it.⁴ London is full of New Books,--both bad though, I fancy, and Marriages worse than all. While an Account of some titled run-away shocks one ear, the other is surprised by the story of a Clergyman hitherto respectable, of 3000 a year, marrying an Opera-dancer.⁵ Then come Duels and Murders, etc. One man shooting another for calling him Pogee⁶--Till one is forced to agree with the Poet, when he says, "Il Mondo invecchia, e invecchiando, intristisce."⁷

One Work I heard spoken of with great approbation: A Quarterly Review, which is to be conducted by very able Critics, and to have all the wit without the malice of the Edinburgh Review.⁸ I saw in it an account of Miss Owenson's last Publication, "Ida of Athens"--a Romantic Story of a Greek Girl.

But, as Crabbe says, "I'll know no more!"⁹ Nor ever read the works of a Lady, of whom even Reviewers can't help observing that "She has a singular antipathy to Revelation." They quoted some passages from "Ida," totally unintelligible; and after saying that they left to the Reader's digestion Conundrums, which they were unable to solve, recommended Miss Owenson to purchase a Spelling-Book; and to add to this, in process of time, a Pocket-Dictionary.¹⁰ Do you happen, dear Mrs. Piozzi, to know any thing of this singular Lady? Who wishes to add the curse of Infidelity to the weight of misfortune that now oppresses this Country. --Well! We can only

"Quake in the present Winter's State,

And wish that warmer days would come!"¹¹

I have been reading the 1st 3 vols. of Robertson's America; and admire the Historian as much as I detest his Heroes: which is praising him as highly as I can. It has always been his Fate to relate the deeds of falsehood and cruelty. While we shudder at the vile acts of the bloody Cortez and detest the mean perfidy of the treacherous Pizarro, I grieve at the disappointments experienced by the benevolent Columbus, from that odious cold, interested Ferdinand. Don't you hate him? Tho he did die at a lucky moment for Spain. Yet "Nothing in his life became him like the leaving it."¹² --I was much pleased with the dissertation on the Manners of the Americans--and I

as I read the curse that the Enemies of the Tartars imprecate upon their head--"always to live in the same place, and to feed on the top of a weed" thought how heavily it would sit on the greedy and the restless, in civilized Nations.¹³ --How I wish you could read Coelebs, and tell me what you think of him! People appear to me to be ashamed of not praising it, or afraid. Every body reads and likes it: as a 2d or 3d Edition already, proclaims.¹⁴ I ought not to be running backwards and forwards to Robertson, as I do; but I cant help saying how glad I was at a discovery made by his Book. I had settled in my own mind, that the constitutional failing of Man was greediness: of Woman, Vanity: and agreed perfectly with some Old Proverb, that says, "the way to a Man's heart is by his palate, and to a Woman's, by her ears:"¹⁵ But this is all overturned by Robertson, at least one half; and we have good reason, I think, to doubt that Vanity is not an inherent quality in Woman, when he tells us that the American Ladies, (Savages, I mean) spend all their leisure hours in painting and adorning their Husbands: and, "vested in all the simple innocence of nature," never once look into a glass themselves.¹⁶ So has not their fair fame been injured? O! and another thing, let me ask--whether you can subscribe to a sleeping creed I heard the other day, in a dispute of how many hours of "dead oblivion" ¹⁷

were necessary for the human frame. "Nature requires 5 Hours sleep: Comfort, 7: Laziness 9: Wickedness, 11." I always have fancied six were sufficient for all four of these purposes.

Your little Friend Dolph studies very sedulously, his Latin Grammar, but regales his mind in his leisure Hours, with the account of some religious rites: An Ox was sacrificed to Heaven: a Goat to the Sun, and a Hog to the Moon.¹⁸ "Ah;" said Dolph, quite indignantly, "if I'd been the Moon, I wouldn't have been put off with a Hog!" --My Neice is 5 months old, still thriving and beautiful. I am to teach her music. She is to begin soon, I believe, whether she has an ear, or whether she has not. Clem is studying hard, with his Uncle, and is going to have a fine Edition of Euripides. Can you tell, dear, darling Mrs. Piozzi, who is the Author of this strange Epitaph, that Clement gave me the other day?

"Hic jacet in Tumbo Rosamond sed non Rosamundi
Non redolet sed olet, quae redolere solet."¹⁹

Mama sends kindest remembrances to Brynbella. She is well: but anxious for letters from Paris. Nobody has heard of poor dear Aunt D'Arblay for an age.²⁰ Charlotte is stout, as you may imagine, when she walks with Mr. Barrett and me. (Do let me be proud of my walking.) We took a ramble of 10 miles, a few days ago, in the "churlish chiding of the

winter's wind."²¹ I got my eye blighted; but not before I had had time to read this curious composition, in Twickenham Church Yard, which, for a read Epitaph, I thought good enough--tho' not --perhaps--for you.

As Death patroll'd the Western Road,
 Staid in this Town a short abode
 Inquiring where true merit lay,
 Stopp'd short--And stole this worthy Man away!²²

The idea of Death taking his pleasure in the Western Road, amused me. Archdeacon Cambridge don't know, or won't know, the question I asked him; so I let him alone. Roger's Poem of Columbus is daily expected to be published.²³ Marmion kept it back, last year.

The Genevrin Nobleman you mention, was Uncle, and is so still, to the de Salis we know.²⁴ Thank you for yr remarks on Lancaster, dear dear Mrs. Piozzi. I scratched out Heber's Name, as you told me.²⁵ I have read, (in Pope's Letters, I think) another interpretation of the Old Proverb, "when the winds rise, worship the Echo." --"When Tales and Opinions are abroad in the Earth, believe the second report."²⁶

Adieu, dear, sweet, Mrs. Piozzi--though my heart rung with grief at the sad account you wrote me, I hardly venture to say so, because I wish to keep your sorrows for a few minutes, out of your mind. They are not the less thought of by your ever grateful and affectionate

Marianne Francis

1 Perhaps an allusion to: "That something still that prompts
th' eternal sigh,/For which we bear to live or dare to die"
(Essay on Man iv.2-3).

2 Holcroft's speculations in picture dealing left him frequently in debt.

3 Mary Ann Clarke (1776-1852), mistress of Frederick Augustus (1763-1827), Duke of York (1784), second son of George III, Commander-in-Chief of the army.

4 Colonel Gwillym Lloyd Wardle instigated a Parliamentary Enquiry in the House of Commons in 1809 into the charges that Mrs. Clarke was involved in the sale of military commissions through the promise of her influence with the Duke of York. The charges were not proven against the Duke, who resigned his post, but was reappointed to it by the Regent two years later. Mrs. Clarke's behavior during examination before the bar won her many admirers. For an account of the House of Commons' investigation of the charges brought against the Duke of York, see Gent. Mag. (Jan.-June 1809), lxxix. 164-66, 257-62, 354, 460-61, 553-56). For a detailed study of the scandal, see Paul Berry, By Royal Appointment (1970), with bibliography.

5 References untraced.

6 Pogee: "a name given to certain fishes" (OED). Story untraced.

7 "The world grows older and in growing old, grows wicked" (Tasso, Aminta II.2).

8 The Quarterly Review was founded by John Murray in Feb. 1809 as a Tory rival to The Edinburgh Review. Walter Scott was a promoter of the periodical and one of the first contributors to it.

9 The first line of Crabbe's "Sir Eustace Grey."

10 Sydney (Owenson) Morgan (c. 1783-1859), novelist, author of The Wild Irish Girl (1806) and Woman: or Ida of Athens (1809). For the review of Woman: or, Ida of Athens, see QR (1809), i. 50-52.

11 Cymbeline II.iv.5-6.

12 Macbeth I.iv.7-8.

13 For Robertson's America, see ante 3 Jan. 1809, n. 4. Robertson treats the subject of Columbus and his negotiations with the Spanish court (i. 55-164); the "History of the conquest of New Spain, by Cortes" (i. 391-528); the "History of the conquest of Peru, by Pizarro" (ii. 1-113); a "View of America when first discovered, and of the manners and policy of its most uncivilized inhabitants" (i. 229-391).

14 There were twelve editions of Coelebs between 1808 and 1809.

15 Proverb untraced.

16 "The decorations of the women were few and simple; whatever was precious or splendid was reserved for the men. In several tribes the women were obliged to spend a considerable part of their time every day in adorning and painting their husbands" (Robertson i. 346). Remaining quotations untraced.

17 The phrase, "dead oblivion," is from Thomson's Seasons; see post 28 Mar. 1810 and n. 23.

18 Reference untraced.

19 "Hac jacet in tumba rosa mundi non Rosa munda" ("In this tomb lies a rose of the world, but no chaste Rose / She, who is accustomed to use perfume, does not smell fragrant, but stinks. "A running epitaph placed on the tomb of fair Rosamund, in reference to her name and lax morals" (H.T.A. Riley, Dictionary of Latin and Greek Quotations). "Fair Rosamund" was the mistress of Henry II, King of England.

20 For FBA's correspondence from Paris, see ante 13 Dec. 1808, n. 21.

21 As you Like It II.i.7.

22 Epitaph untraced.

23 Samuel Rogers (1763-1855), "Columbus, a poem pp. 34 London, 1808? Without title page. This appears to have been an early draft of the poem for the author's private use" (BMC listing). The Voyage of Columbus was published in 1810.

24 The uncle known to HLP was Jerome, Count de Salis son of Peter de Salis (d. 1749), who was naturalized by Act of Parliament (1734), married (1735) Mary Fane, eldest daughter of Charles, Vicount Fane and had three children: Charles, M.P. for Reading (1760); Peter, his eventual heir, and Henry Jerome, Vicar of Wing, co. Bucks, and Rector of St. Antholin's, London. Henry Jerome died in May, 1809.

25 Richard Heber (1773-1833), bookseller, antiquarian. Reference untraced.

26 The original and reference in Pope's letters untraced.

Saturday 1 April 1809

MS. JRL (582.35).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: TwoPyPoA Unpaid. Richmond. B 8. P9 N. P. 8.

Richmond Green. Saturday. 1st of April 1809.

Dear, dearest, Mrs. Piozzi shall not be troubled with a long letter from me now, though the longest could never express half the sorrow and anxiety I feel for her--nor the desire I have to know how she is supported under this heavy assail of affliction.¹ --My beloved Mrs. Piozzi, you cannot, I know, write to me now. But till you can, let Lake, in pity send me one line sometimes to say how you are.² --The tender sympathy and concern we all here feel, I will not take up your time by telling you. Would that

"Wishing well had a body in't

Which might be felt!"³

That Almighty grace may support you under this hour of trial is the fervent Prayer of my own Mrs. Piozzi's ever gratefully attached

Marianne Francis

1 Gabriel Piozzi died on 26 Mar. 1809. He was buried on 3 Apr. 1809 (Clifford, p. 461).

2 Alexander Leak (?-1816), HLP's steward (Clifford, p. 442 n. 2). He is mentioned often in her diaries and is referred to as both "Lake" and "Leak."

3 All's Well That Ends Well I.i.191.

Thursday 6 April 1809

MS. JRL (582.36).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi.

POSTMARK: None.

Richmond Green. April 6. 1809.

Forgive me, my adored Mrs. Piozzi, my loved, my exemplary Friend, for obtruding my image at such a moment on your recollection--not with the empty presumption that it can carry consolation along with it: --Time only can heal, Heaven only can reward you! But as one who loves you most tenderly, I claim the sad privilege of saying how heartfelt my sorrow has been at your recent affliction, how great my concern for poor dear Mr. Piozzi.

My heart hangs with fond anticipation on the hope of soon meeting the object of its dearest interest, from whom a distance of 200 miles for two long, painful years has separated me.

That Peace may soon resume her happy station in your Soul --that each hour may lessen the weight of sad recollection--that your fine spirits and valuable health may gradually be restored, is the fervent Prayer of my ever beloved Mrs. Piozzi's faithfully attached

Marianne Francis

Mama and my Sister Charge me with their heart-felt condolence-- Entreat me to say how much they feel for the Sorrows of Brynbella; and how anxiously look forward to the happiness of seeing its dear Owner in Town.

1 On 18 Apr. 1809 HLP left Brynbella on her journey to London. On 24 Apr. she settled at Morin's Hotel in Duke Street, Manchester Square, London. After attending to business affairs, HLP returned to Brynbella in June (Clifford, pp. 426-28).

Monday 1 May 1809

MS. JRL (582.37).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

If not there, to be forwarded immediately.

Warrens Hotel, London.¹

POSTMARK: C MA 1 1809. 7 o'Clock 1809. NT.

Richmond Green, Monday May 1 1809

I have waited, my beloved Mrs. Piozzi, and counted the days with all the patience in my possession. Five have elapsed since the "25" and not a word from Brynbella--nor a line from London. I did determine not to annoy you now with letters, when weightier cares must be pressing upon your spirits: but my resolution has melted like the snow, and I cannot do the things that I would.² April has used me very cruelly: I am determined that May shall behave better: She ought; for I was so good as to be born in May, on the eleventh. (I blush to think how old I grow, so I won't say I shall be nineteen then) and before my Birthday, I hope May will bring me news of my dear, darling Mrs. Piozzi, or else I shall wish to strike the Month and myself and all out of the Calendar.

Ah now, dear, sweet Mrs. Piozzi, do tell me where you are; that's all I ask. I will only see you for ten minutes,

or 5, if ten be too many. Or if that won't do, I will be contented with just looking at you outside the windows, that I may be sure you're safe. Forgive me for being suspicious before my time; and do write to me only one line, and then I shall be quite happy.³

I shudder to think what you have suffered, and how you must have been broken down, though I have not the sad satisfaction of thinking I can conjecture even half of what you have gone through. Dearest Mrs. Piozzi--do try to keep up your fine spirits; and though you must indeed be nerve-shaken now, yet--I cant help hoping, that quiet and peace and exemption from care and painful solicitude, and fresh scenes and fresh faces, may by degrees by inducing a new train of thoughts, banish some of the old painful intruders from your now too retentive memory. I long to know how you are, and where--and I long, Oh I need not, for I cannot say how much to hear you ~~(r)~~ dear voice again.

I am going to read what the Reviewers have the impertinence to call, "the most learned, the most arrogant, and the most absurd work that ever was written." Do you at all anticipate, by this description, Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses?⁴

When you are a little recovered, dear Mrs. Piozzi, you must read Coelebs. It is no small compliment I think to the

morality of the age, {this} book has gone through 5 Editions already: ⁵ and I re{joice} to think how Hannah More will be pleased that her word is so much liked--so much read, at any rate. Some antidote there should be to the growing corruption; apropos to which, I hear, that notwithstanding the pension, and other large pecuniary concessions that were granted to Mrs. Clarke, on condition of her suppressing the correspondence between herself and her royal Lover, it is likely that these letters will still appear in print.⁶ That the Printers, aware the press might be stopped, contrived each to conceal enough to reprint in the shape of a volume: "Break ice in one place, it will crack in more."⁷ In these Epistles it is said that the Duke, not only disgraced his own character, but treacherously and unwarily betrayed the secrets of his Family. And the Intrigues of the Princesses are next expected to be brought forward for the consideration of the Public and Mr. Wardle.⁸ This puts me in mind of a story I heard the other day, where the man had more treachery and the woman more wit, than in the present case. Two French Lovers quarrelled. The Man was so exasperated, that he tied up all the letters written to him by his former fair, and resolved to revenge himself upon her delicacy, by returning them in a large company, where he knew she would be present. This with a formal bow, and an audible voice, he effected. The Lady, not at all dismayed, received

them very coolly, and only replied, with true French presence of mind, "Fort bien, Monsieur. Il n'y á avoit rien à redire, que l'addresses."

I wish I knew yours! but you will tell me soon, won't you? dearest Mrs. Piozzi?--and you will not in the mean time forget, that I am on this side Idolatry,⁹yr every gratefully affectionate

Marianne Francis

You know poor Holcroft is dead. A subscription is circulating for his destitute widow, and 6 children.¹⁰

Mama begs her kindest remembrances. So does my Sister, her affec. respects.

1 HLP wrote to her daughter Susan Thrale [ST] on 10 Apr. 1809: "I fancy you will all be contented to set me down at Warrens. 'Tis my favourite Hotel, but Cecy [Cecelia (Thrale) Mostyn] offer'd first, so She will direct me" (NLW, Brynbella MSS.). The arrangements for her stay in London were made for Morin's Hotel. She recorded in her diary entry for 24 Apr. 1809: "Arrived at a dirty Hotel Duke Street, Manchester Square" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A).

2 "That ye cannot do the thing ye would" (Galatians v. 17).

3 HLP recorded in her diary a number of visits with MF during her London stay in 1809: 5 May, 8 June, 9 June, 10 June (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A).

4 William Warburton (1698-1779), Bishop of Gloucester (1759), editor of Pope, author of The Divine Legation of Moses (1737-41) and Letters from the Late Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester to the late Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, from the Year 1749 to 1776 (1809). In a review of Warburton's Letters, Edin. Rev. called The Divine Legation of Moses "The most learned, most arrogant, and most absurd work which has been produced in England for a century" (Jan. 1809, xiii. 346).

5 For a reference on the editions of Coelebs, see ante 16 Mar. 1809, n. 14.

6 Mrs. Clarke proposed to publish the letters she had received from the Duke of York. "Sir Herbert Taylor bought up the letters, and offered Mrs. Clarke 7,000 l. down and 400 l. a year, and for this consideration, the printed edition was destroyed, with the exception of one copy deposited at Drummond's bank" (DNB). For an account of Mrs. Clarke and the letters, see Gent. Mag. (Feb. 1809), lxxix.166.

7 "Lord Chichester, the Joint Postmaster General, was entrusted to negotiate the purchase of the manuscript and the destruction of all the printed copies of her [Mrs. Clarke's] memoirs, and on April 1st, an agreement was prepared" (By Royal Appointment, p. 181). Proverb untraced.

8 The Princesses were the unmarried daughters of George III: Augusta (1768-1840), Sophia (1777-1848), and Amelia (1783-1810). Mrs. Clarke threatened to publish memoirs which would expose bitter relations between Queen Charlotte, the wife of George III, and Princess Caroline, the estranged wife of the Prince of Wales, and her daughter Charlotte. Intrigues of the princess untraced.

9 "I lov'd the man, and do honour his memory (on this side .dolatry) as much as any" (Ben Jonson on Shakespeare, Discoveries: 1641, ed. O.B. Hardison, 1922; rpd.; New York, 1966, p. 28).

10 For an account of Holcroft's debts, see Gent. Mag. (May 1809), lxxix. 286. Holcroft married four times. "His son William (by his second wife) when only sixteen committed suicide while attempting to escape to the West Indies after robbing him of 40 £ in November 1789 (Memoirs, pp. 141-42). His daughter Fanny (d. 1844) was the authoress of several novels and translations, while another daughter, Louisa, became the wife of Carlyle's friend Badams (Carlyle, Reminiscences, ed. C.E. Norton, 1887, i. 93-95). His widow, Louise, whose maiden name was Louise Mercier, remarried James Kenney, the dramatic writer" (DNB).

Saturday 29 May 1809

MS. JRL (582.38).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Morin's Hotel, Duke Street,
Manchester Square, London.

POSTMARK: 12 o'Clock MY 30, 09. TwoPyPoA Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green. May 29. 1809.

Dearest Mrs. Piozzi who feels for every body, and can talk of every body but herself, will be concerned to hear what bad accounts come from Chelsea. Poor dear Grandpapa has been very seriously ill. Sir Walter Farquhar attends him,¹ and pronounces his sore-throat, etc., to be the thrush;² but derides the notion of men being subject to this complaint only at their 'exits or their entrances.'³ Then he has cough and hiccough; eats little and sleeps less. In short, yesterday afternoon Mama went to Chelsea, and to-day we are very anxiously expecting her return, or else tidings by the post, to say how the poor Invalid is. I have great hopes from his temperate habits and natural strength of constitution. His sister who died lately was one year older than himself. His twin-Sister whom he loved so tenderly, has been dead many years⁴--and now he is left alone, like Marmion, tho' not, I hope to follow his fate.⁵ Forgive me, my beloved Mrs. Piozzi, for still harping on the same melancholy subject--and let me thank you for indulging me in talking a little of yourself: but not enough; for you don't say now, how you are;

and I must know, or I must come to Town and See.

We confess our faults in the plural and deny them in the Singular, I think Boileau says.⁶ Now I am determined to prove an exception to his rule, by confessing my singular ignorance and misfortune in not knowing where you met with Vopiscus. Clem does not know. The Archdeacon does not know:--I can only tell you, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, that you have not invented the word, which the Lexicon says Pliny uses. (I suppose he told you of it, after all: "Vopiscus quem Mater vi adipiscitur--vel qui ope natura servatur, cuiet opem fert," etc.⁷ --Does this derivation satisfy you?

I heard a story of a Schoolboy t'other day, who was asked by Queen Anne, how many times he had been flogged. "Infandum Regina jubes renovare dolorem,"⁸ replied the Boy and walked away. --I wish this may be new to you. But I'm afraid you're too much in Solomon's way to find any new thing under the Sun.⁹ This is far from being my case: for Whit Sunday was quite new to me, and very amusing too.¹⁰

I heard a long discussion on Coelebs the other day: every body abusing him, and calling him a Methodist. At last a definition of Methodism was introduced, which is certainly a desideratum in argument, and I thought very fairly expressed: Def. Meth. "Every man who has more religion than I have." Now all may adopt this; and I believe very many do.

Have you seen, my dear Mrs. Piozzi, The New Quarterly Review (Not Cumberland and Horace Twiss's,¹² who speak daggers, and put their names to them too)¹³ but one in which Southey writes and Walter Scott: and they abuse some Author for affirming a fact on the authority of a certain Historian called "Little Doubt."¹⁴

I heard the other day how the Critics manage when they wish to pursue their honorable employment--Read 14 pages of a work--Then write a review of the rest. Adieu, dearest Mrs. Piozzi. Surrounded as you are by Amusers, it is more than ever condescending and kind of you to think of me. But you must know, by this time, that your letters are dearer to me than any thing I have, in spite of my bad hand. So do soon encrease my patrimony:¹⁵and pray tell me how you are.

I should like to know Sr W.W. Pepys, I'm sure, because I like the verses he made 100 years ago so much. You know what I mean "Herald wherefore thus proclaim,"¹⁶ and I hope I shall get to Morin's Hotel again soon.

Clem is Fagging hard at Horace. He was so delighted with his visit to you. Charlotte sends affectionate remembrances. Dearest Mrs. Piozzi--you are ever present in the memory of your ever gratefully affectionate,

Marianne Francis

1 Sir Walter Farquhar (1738-1819), baronet (1796), physician to the Prince of Wales.

2 Thrush: "A disease, chiefly of infants, characterized by white vesicular specks on the inside of the mouth and throat" (OED). HLP wrote to ST on 1 June 1809: "So poor old Dr. Burney is dying of a sore Throat and Thrush at last" (NLW, Bryn-bella MS. 11100A). CB died in 1814.

3 As You Like It II.vii.132.

4 Rebecca Burney (1724-21 May 1809) and Susannah Burney (1726-34), twin of CB (WW).

5 For Marmion, see ante 4 July 1808, n. 6. In Marmion, the protagonist is killed at the battle of Flodden Field.

6 Quotation untraced.

7 "Vopiscus, i.e., one of a pair of twins, born alive after the premature birth and death of the other: vopiscos appellabant a geminis, qui retenti utero nascerentur, altero interempto abortu, Pliny" (Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, 1879); the passage cited is from Pliny's Natural History vii. 7. 51-52). "The twin whom the mother bore by force or who was saved by harmful aid, gave assistance to the other"; passage untraced.

8 "Too deep for words, O queen, lies the sorrow thou bidst me renew" (Aeneid ii.3). Queen Anne reigned 1702-14.

9 See Ecclesiastes i.9.

10 Whitsunday: "The seventh Sunday after Easter observed as a festival of the Christian Church....One of the Scottish quarter days or term days, ordinarily observed on May 15" (OED). Reference untraced.

11 Methodist: "Originally, a term applied to the members of a religious society (nicknamed 'the Holy Club'), established at Oxford in 1729 by John and Charles Wesley and other members of the University having for its object the promotion of piety and morality; subsequently applied to those who took part in or sympathized with the evangelistic movement led by the Wesleys and George Whitefield....Applied contemptuously to a person of strict religious views" (OED).

12 Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), dramatist, founder of The London Review, which was published only for 1809. Horace Twiss (1787-1849), wit, politician, contributor to the Morning Chronicle.

13 "I will speak daggers to her, but use none" (Hamlet III. ii.414).

14 For the new publication, The Quarterly Review, see ante 16 Mar. 1809, n. 8. The "Little Doubt" passage occurred in a review of Thomas Zouch's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney (1808). The passage reads: "We have now a specimen of the new mode of writing History, which enables the ingenious inventors to give us the particulars of an event that never took place. Our author, having discovered that Tasso resided at Padua when Sidney was there, by the assistance of a certain historian (whose name appears to be Little Doubt) has boldly described their interview....'The celebrated Tasso was then resident at Padua, and there is Little Doubt Mr. Sidney visited this seat of learning'" (QR, Feb. 1809, i. 83).

15 For the reference to MF's "bad hand," see ante, p. xliii. Reference to "encrease my patrimony" untraced.

16 For Sir William Weller Pepys, see ante 21 Nov. 1808, n. 16. For "Herald wherefore thus proclaim," see Hayward, p. 33. Hayward's presentation of the verse reads: "The place assigned to Mrs. Thrale by the popular voice amongst the most cultivated and popular women of the day, is fixed by some verses printed in the "Morning Herald" of March 12th, 1782, which attracted much attention. They were commonly attributed to Mr. (afterwards Sir W.W.) Pepys and Madame D'Arblay, who alludes to them complacently, thought them his; but he subsequently repudiated the authorship, and the editor of her Memoirs believes that they were written by Dr. Burney. They were provoked by the proneness of the Herald to indulge in complimentary allusions to ladies of the demirep genus" (Hayward, pp. 32-33). The poem proclaims the literary talents of Hannah More, Elizabeth Carter, Mrs. Thrale, Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Chapone and Fanny Burney, among others.

Tuesday 6 June 1809

MS. JRL (582.39).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Morin's Hotel, Duke Street,
Manchester Square, London.

POSTMARK: 7 o'Clock JU 6 1809 NT. TwoPyPOA Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green. Tuesday, June 6. 1809.

It was Mde. de Sevigné who first taught me to register in my Letters the day they were written, by remarking some where in her own, "que l'application aux dates est une marque assurée du plaisir et de l'intérêt qu'on prend à un commerce."¹ Ever since that, I have felt bound to date to my beloved Mrs. Piozzi, at least. But before all this I should have told her what is of so much more importance, that Heaven seems mercifully to intend protracting the date of dear Grandpapa's existence a little, I hope a great deal, longer. Every fresh account from Chelsea says, that in spite of four Doctors, the best of them all, he still mends. The Thrush (for so by medical authority it was pronounced) has resumed its shape and gone back to the woods; and the other troublesome Visitor, the hiccough, has been turned out of doors too. Now June is come, and poor Grandpapa will leave his sick room, and take an airing, and still be able, I hope, some day, to thank my sweet Mrs. Piozzi for enquiring so kindly after him, as I shall be sure to tell him She has.

And now I have said all I know about Chelsea, do let me, my own dear Mrs. Piozzi, thank you for your beautiful letter; telling me (though sparingly) that your house of clay is still whole and tight, and writing me Criticisms on the books you read, that will please me, I dare say, better than the books them selves. Particularly the account of Mrs. Montagu and her Baby-days, and her morning-Sun.² How true that remark is-- and how often you must have Seen it verified!

As to Women being incapable of amusing--that I deny. Look at our Friend Mrs. Briggs, who has humour enough, I'm sure³--and for wit, I could, if I dared, quote ad infinitum. But I suppose I must not even say that the Prefaces of a certain fair Authoress I know,⁴ have more attraction and more wit, in their little fingers, than Mr. Cumberland or his Associates, will ever have, in the whole extent of their enquiries to posterity.

I knew you would not care for his Critique on the Synonymes; but still I was angry with him for making them.⁵ But Cumberland is nothing to the Edinburgh Reviewers. Have you seen how they pounce upon Coelebs? Stanley is a Methodist: i.e. has more religion than the Edinburgh Reviewers. Miss Moore (they choose to mispell her name all the way through to shew they never read her writings) talks rubbish about fingiverous children, and dabbles in moral brick and mortar.⁶ Do you remember what Junius

says of these Gentlemen, keen as their native air, and cutting too --"that in the warmest indulgence of their passions, the Scotch have an eye to their expence, and if their other virtues fail us, we have a resource in their oeconomy."⁷ They wish to keep up the fame, i.e., the sale of their publication, so to persuade the Public that they have not quite lost sight of candour, they just give here and there something like an old dry compliment to Hannah More, plainly shewing they would like to prove her a knave and a fool, if they dared. You will think I have adopted the style of my new ol<d> Favourite Warburton⁸ --Not quite--but I am so mad with these North-Britons, I can't brush them off like a Musquitoe, as you wisely say.

St. Pierre tells us that the Negroes believe God, after creating the whites and blacks, gave the latter the choice of two gifts: gold, or the knowledge of letters. The Blacks chose the most shining present--and the Deity, to punish their avarice, declared that they should be in subjection to the whites, and live in a state of inferiority to them.⁹ Now the Negroes have been rebelling--and doesn't it seem, that they are tired of their bargain?--or rather, that the whites are growing Savage and keeping the gold. So the blacks think it is but fair that Letters and Liberty should revert to them?¹⁰

By way of diversion from the learned Warburton, who writes so much Greek that I study him with a lexicon, I have

been reading Godwin's Life of Chaucer;¹¹ do you know it?
And do you know a stone, (now in the British Museum) with the
head of Chaucer contrived upon it by Nature, in the same way
as that of Louis Seize on Robassomè's curiosity?¹² --I must
get Miss Edgeworth's book to read¹³ and I must come to London
soon, and see my own darling Mrs. Piozzi, more than once more,
I hope, by a great many times, before She goes.

Till then I am her, how much more than I can say, her
obliged and attached for ever

Marianne Francis

Mama sends her best regards and thanks for your kind wishes
for her Padre.

1 Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, Marquise de Sévigné (1626-96). Her Letters, first published in 1696-97, were published in their authorized version (6 vols.) in 1734-37. Quotation untraced.

2 Elizabeth (Robinson) Montagu (1720-1800), bluestocking, author of Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare (1769), and Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, ed. Matthew Montagu (1809). Matthew Montagu was Elizabeth Montagu's nephew. For a biography of Elizabeth Montagu and a collection of her letters, see Mrs. Montagu: Queen of the Blues, ed. Reginald Blunt (2 vols., 1923).

3 Story untraced. Mrs. Briggs unidentified.

4 MF refers to HLP's Preface to Retrospection, pp. v-xii. Other prefaces by HLP are the Preface to her Anecdotes (pp. 3-4) and the Preface to Florence Miscellany (pp. 5-6).

5 Cumberland had written an unfavorable review of HLP's British Synonymy in the first issue of The London Review. HLP wrote to ST on 20 June 1809: "Mr. Rogers said that dear old Cumberland would come to see me but at that Instant came out his Review censuring some stuff of mine--and then he was ashamed to come--how silly!" (NLW, Brynbella MS.11100A).

6 For Sydney Smith's review of Hannah More's Coelebs see Edin. Rev. (1 Apr. 1809), lxiv. 145-51. For comments on Mr. Stanley, a character in Coelebs, see pp. 146-48.

7 A new edition of The Letters of Junius (1769-71) was published in 1810. Junius discusses the insincerity and treachery of the Scots in Letter xxxv., 19 Dec. 1769. Reference untraced.

8 Warburton's style was notoriously argumentative and personally abusive.

9 Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1734-1814), author of Paul et Virginie (1789). Reference untraced.

10 In 1807 Wilberforce had carried a bill in Parliament which forbade British subjects and British ships from taking any part in the slave trade. For reviews of Thomas Clarkson's The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishments of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament (1809), see Gent. Mag. (May and June, 1809), lxxix. 445-49, 535-38). "Letters and Liberty" may be an allusion to the 1760's slogan of "Wilkes and Liberty." Negro rebellion untraced.

11 William Godwin (1756-1836), author of a "Life" of Chaucer (1803).

12 For the British Museum collection, containing a head of Chaucer, (p. 16) and see ante 9 July 1808 n. 7. For Count Robassomé and the image of Louis XVI, see ante 4 July 1808, n.25.

13 Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), author of Castle Rackrent: an Hibernian Tale (1800) and Tales of a Fashionable Life (1809).

Tuesday 13 June 1809

MS. JRL (582.40).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: B JU 13 809. 7 o'Clock JU 13 1809. TwoPyPcA

Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green. Tuesday: June 13 (No "voluptuous month" to me.)¹

Here begins again, provoking paper intercourse, with my beloved Mrs. Piozzi. Sad and melancholy as I have been in reality, ever since I parted with her, on paper I can, and intend to be, very philosophic:

Et mihi res, non me rebus, submittere conor.²

So as I can't welcome her to Brynbella de vive voix, I send a letter there instead, to tell her how welcome She is every where and that I feel somehow easier (tho' I suppose it will pass for a Warburtonian paradox)³ now I know she is out of my reach, than when I was always fretting and fuming how to conjure up some "sightless coursers of the air"⁴ on which I could be 'hors'd' to Town, from whence all the Bishops in Heaven and Hell combined, could not have kept me.⁵

If I had lived in the days of Aristotle what a fine Peripatetic⁶ (Heaven forgive me) I should have made! Thirteen miles Mr. Barrett says I walked last Saturday and I say, without

being tired--when I got home, how pleased I was to see Retrospection on the Table--Bound so beautifully and written in too; notes and corrections and all, by H.L.P.'s own enviable hand. I am so proud at having the best copy of Restrospection in the world. So never let me know, my darling (a very pretty word, that I am by no means inclined to sacrifice to "my name-sake Mrs. Clarke")⁷ Mrs. Piozzi, that there is such another. Like the lady that was "deep in apple-pie",⁸ I am, all day, deep in Retrospection. I never can thank you enough for the present, of all others, that I wished to have--so in the transport of my gratitude I must:

Like a ciphher,--yet standing in rich place--multiply,
With one I-thank-you, many thousands more
That go before it.⁹

And you, the sweet donor, as I am not "Liber amore"¹⁰
(I hope you have not forgotten the Preface I am so fond of)¹¹
must suffer me to talk to you about Retrospection a little sometimes, just as if I were still sitting on one side of you, opposite the merry little fire, as you called it, and Mr. Shepard on the other.¹² I can't help thinking as I read, that if all the Fools who blinded themselves with throwing dirt at you, and busied themselves with shewing how well they had forgotten their catechism that forbids the indulgence of "envy hatred and malice and all uncharitableness,"¹³ I can't help thinking that

if these very Fools had come to me, I could have told them all of a much easier punishment to them and heavier to you than ever they devised--a task in short, that they might have imposed upon you, and that you would have been more plagued and puzzled with than ~~ever~~ poor Penelope was--to write a dull Book--A Fine that I'm sure you never could have paid: at least not without their assistance.¹⁴

I have got the 2d vol. of Warburton now, dedicated to the Jews, which dedication, by your account, I shall probably not like so well as the first.¹⁵ But I must take care how I use the word probable, or I shall have the Ghost of Warburton rapping upon my knuckles, in the Aegyptian fashion. He says, you know that the only difference between the Sceptics and Academics was, that the first believed nothing--the last pretended to take up the Probable when found; but that it never was; so they went on looking for it all their lives, and thundered away about the verisimile and Probabile from the midst of doubt and darkness, like the Sancho Pança of his Island on the Terra Firma.¹⁶

When Mr. Shephard walked home with me, the other night (and he might as well have escorted a Statue of Harpocrates)¹⁷ he told me how hard he found it to make you attend to the Law--that the Prophets themselves could not have kept you <alert> like Montesquieu, c'etait L'Esprit sur les Loix.¹⁸ When <XXX> was over, I was ill disposed to sleep, so I took up Du Tens, to finish it. Now you

that are such a good judge of titles, mottoes, etc., tell me if Du Tens title page would not have been improved by a little interpolation. Memoires (de la Vanité) d'un Voyageur qui se repose.¹⁹ I do nothing but talk of "young magpies, etc." to myself: and I do think I would submit to pass a whole day without opening a book, for the sake of seeing that gravely printed in the London Review!²⁰

And now my own dear delight, my darling Mrs. Piozzi, do be glad you are wrong for once, as I hope and trust you certainly are. From you, last Saturday, I went straight to Mrs. Raper²¹--gave her your card. She solemnly assured me in return, that Grandpapa who, to be sure, poor soul, is agreeable when he is kind, but not, like Dr. Johnson, sublime when he is cross--is now neither sick nor cross: but quite recovered, and merry and wise and well as ever, and even suffers People to drink tea with him again. Now dont you begin to hope you were in the wrong?

For this peice of good news, will you, can you, my dearest Mrs. Piozzi help me out of a dilemma? --I have been asked for an Epitaph--Latin, or English, or any thing--for a countryman of yours, a Colonel Lloyd of Caemarthenshire²²--an excellent man as well as a Welsh Officer, who put his carryage in the Stable and sold his horses to give more bread to the poor, in the year of scarcity, that you remember, not long ago.²³ Now

you can think of 5 Epitaphs in a minute, or make 5 in one more
--will you, perhaps, when you have settled about the dot and
go one²⁴ with my Lord Lake, send one of the 5, old or new,
to your own gratefully and affectionately attached

Marianne Francis

Pray, pray write soon; and don't forget to say how you are,
I mean the vile cramp, etc., and when you arrived. Vive Vale!

1 Also possibly an allusion to HLP's recent return to Bath after her London visit.

2 "Mihi res, non me rebus, subjungere conor" ("I endeavor to subdue circumstances to myself, and not myself to circumstances") Horace, Epistles I.i.19.

3 Warburton was famous for his paradoxes; see Leslie Stephen, English Thought in The Eighteenth Century, (2 vols., 1876), i. ch. vii., sects. 3, 10, 25.

4 Macbeth I.vii.23.

5 HLP left London on 11 June 1809. She arrived at Brynbella on 17 June (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A, HLP's diaries).

6 The Peripatetics, so called from their habit of walking about when teaching, were the followers of Aristotle.

7 For Retrospection, see ante 21 Nov. 1808, n. 8. For Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, see ante 16 Mar. 1809, n. 3.

8 Reference untraced.

9 Winter's Tale I.ii.6-7.

10 "Free in love"; reference untraced.

11 The Preface to Retrospection.

12 Charles Mitchell Smyth Shephard (b. 1782), eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Shephard, head of a school at Enborne, near Newbury, Berkshire, where John Salusbury Piozzi was in school in 1807; attended Eton; B.A. Jesus College, Cambridge (1805); Adm. at Gray's Inn, 1803 (Alum. Cant.). He later (1820) became Attorney General of St. Vincent in the Windward Islands. After Mr. Gillon's death in 1809, he became for a while Mrs. Piozzi's confidential adviser (Balderston, p. 1083). For Charles Shephard, also see ante, p. li.

13 "The Litany," The Book of Common Prayer.

14 For a brief summary of the published criticism on Retrospection, see Clifford, pp. 403-05.

15 For Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, see ante 17 May 1809, n. 4. The dedication "To The Jews" of books iv., v. and vi. of the Divine Legation appears in i. 637-47. The dedication "To the Freethinkers" of books i., ii., and iii. appears in i. 79-107. For HLP's passage in Retrospection on the Jews, see post 27 June 1809, n. 2. MF and HLP had many exchanges in the later correspondence on the conversion of the Jews as a sign of the Second Coming.

16 Warburton's characterization of Sceptics and Academics appears in the Divine Legation, i. 456-57. Reference to "Aegyptian fashion" untraced.

17 Harpocrates: "The Greek equivalent of the Egyptian Harpechrat, i.e., 'Har or Horus the child,' Horus in his character of the youthful Sun, represented as a boy with a finger on his mouth. From a misunderstanding of this attitude, he came to be regarded by the Greeks and Romans as a god of Silence" (OCD).

18 "In BC 629, whilst Josiah was King of Judah, a scroll was found in the temple of Jerusalem which the prophetess Huldah identified as the Law of Moses. It now constitutes chapters 12 to 26 to 28 of Deuteronomy. The great religious and political Reformation which Josiah brought about in obedience to this Book of the Law has been hailed as the practical beginning of Judaism" (A Modern Dictionary of the Holy Bible, compiled by Horace Carroll Jenkins, Gwynedd, Pennsylvania, 1958). Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, De L'Esprit des Lois, Paris, 1748.

19 Louis Dutens (1730-1812), Memoires d'un voyageur qui se repose, 3 vols., 1806.

20 HLP wrote to ST, 20 June 1809: "In Peter Pindar's last Funny Thing about Mrs. Clarke, there are two lines would make a capital good Motto for Cumberland's Review, while he begs assistance from Horace Twiss--who has just done growing, and Mr. Crowe who has so lately begun feathering his Nest.

"Young Magpies, with old Ravens, Coughs and Crows,
Spit in our Face and pull us by the Nose"

(NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A).

The London Review was the monthly magazine edited by Richard Cumberland which appeared for two volumes, Feb.-Nov. 1809.

21 For Fanny Raper, see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 2.

22 Colonel Lloyd untraced.

23 Deficiencies in the harvest of 1799-1800, confined largely to wheat, brought on a sharp increase in the prices and created a bread crisis. For statistics on this major "year of scarcity" as well as other economic declines between 1800-10, see A.H. John, "Farming in Wartime: 1793-1815," Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution: Essays Presented to J.D. Chambers, ed. E.L. Jones and G.E. Mingay (1967), p. 30.

24 Dot and carry (one): "A schoolboy expression in some processes of elementary arithmetic....Hence, a name for such processes; also, for one who does calculations" (OED). Dot and go one: "An expression representing the limp of a person lame of one leg or who has a wooden leg which makes a 'dot' on the ground" (OED). MF intends the first expression.

Tuesday 27 June 1809

MS. JRL (582.41).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: B JU 27 809. 7 o'Clock JU 27 1809 NT. TwoPyPoA

Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green. Tuesday. June 27.

You have sent me a noble letter to be sure, my sweet Mrs. Piozzi, (to make amends for no Epitaph) and quite after my own heart; for I delight to talk of dear old Warburton, who, if transmigration were in vogue now, would certainly slip into a Paradox, his own favourite form. I am more of your mind though than of his, with regard to the motive for the Jewish separation from other People which must have been the Birth of the Messiah among them, while preserving their favoured nation apart, was a wise corollary, to be sure.¹ I found the $\frac{1}{2}$ page in Retrospection you alluded to, and wh talks of the future congregating of their Tribes, "by a greater than Rabbi Asser."² The 7 Alephs in the 1st ver. of Gen. are very remarkable, and would please Mr. Tighe,³ who visited us here at Richmond, about a week ago, and talked of what he called Love-letters of Dr. Johnson's, to a Miss Boothby, once in his possession, but which he was obliged to restore to the owner, Sir Brooke-Boothby, who sold them to pay his journey to Hollywood-House, where he now lives. Can you tell me anything

about them? Law, and his works was the subject of one, the longest.⁴

However I am going off from Warburton without telling you that I am now on the verge of beginning the 3d vol. He talks of the Abraxas, I find. Says that such gems were so first engraved when the Ptolemy's ruled, and when Serapis was worshipped --and brought to light by certain Xian Heretics and Natives of Egypt, who had not quite abjured Pagan superstitions. Talismans, of the same nature, he adds, are still saved among Mahometans; and the later Greeks called them ETOIXEITA, signifying, as you know, Hieroglyphics. All this Warburton asserts on the authority of Rufinus, Cotemporary with St. Jerome.⁵ You talked of another of these curious very valuable gems, in your possession. Tell me, will you, sweetest Mrs. Piozzi, what is engraven upon it?⁶ --My favourite Bishop, who like Moses was "Learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,"⁷ seems to think the natural way of writing, after all, is from top to bottom, like the Hieroglyphics on Pillars--not as one reads German, from bottom to top, the key-word being often at the end of the page.

I was so pleased with the derivation this Author makes of letters. Do tell me if it pleased you, or if you will think me very fanciful for hanging my faith upon it. I mean, representing first the images, as well as they could, of objects they wished to describe; then letting some of these be symbolic of many more,

till they come to Hieroglyphic marks, which were in time reduced to an Alphabet, as he thinks, by Moses, perhaps. And brings the Chinese as proof of his System, who are still without a regular Alphabet, and who write, in fact, hieroglyphically.

But I will talk of somebody else, besides Warburton, only first saying that I thought of you, and your cedar-wood, so inimical to bugs, and moths, and rust, when I found that the dead bodies of the Egyptians were anointed with gum of cedar to preserve them.⁸

And now wish me joy, my darling Mrs. Piozzi, that I have not yet reads Mrs. Montague's letters; wh is your own paradoxical praise of them. Did you know her Sister, Mrs. Scott, of whom I heard a strange story yesterday--that She lived in the country, where She was cowardly to such a degree, as to have a little foot-page, always running before her in her walks, to keep off carts, cattle, frogs, etc., and announce their approach. One day her Mercury spied a Stray sheep at the top of the lane--and running back full speed to his Mistress, "would you please, Ma'am," said the boy, tout simple, "would you please to be afraid of a sheep?" She was ashamed of herself the Story says, and sent the boy away.⁹

I was pleased to read in Retrospection that Rotterdam was the Birthplace of Erasmus,¹⁰ wh I had forgotten, or, more probably, had never recollected. Erasmus won my heart, many years ago, by

an anecdote I read of him in Henry's Hist. of England, wh I longed to see here in a note. He wrote to a Friend for money --adding in his letter "if I had money, I should first buy Greek books--secondly, clothes."¹¹ I thought he was an honorable man. --Tell me, pray, what Book have you of Jacob Bryant? Is it the Plagues of Egypt, or the Λογος, the only one Mr. Cambridge has to lend me.¹² He still continues to be my kind Librarian--and I verily believe the reason is, because he came one day and found me at work (with my needle, I mean.) I am much disappointed tho' that I cannot get King's morsels, etc., which he has not.¹³

Now I must talk a little about my own dear Retrospection, which I do love to my heart; and I must say that when I read the witticism for wh poor Pertinax lost his life, (calling Caracalla Geticus)¹⁴ I had half a mind to wish the Emperor's own unfeeling, characteristic, speech about his unfortunate Brother had been recorded in a note, whom, when he was murdered, he enrolled among the Gods, adding, "sit Divus, dum non sit vivus."¹⁵ My lot has been more fortunate than that of poor Geta with his divine honours. I have had a present made me of a watch, a real one, such as I can set upon the table, while before I was forced to be contented with setting one on my lips.¹⁶ Last Summer my watch was stolen, in the country, ever since which I have been forced to borrow an hour-glass of Death, which I shall however return to him now in triumph, with my compliments, and when he

called my poor Aunt away the other day, she bequeathed her watch to her God-daughter.¹⁷ All this is strictly true.

But I should not have plagued you with it, for all that, if you had not said in the Anecdotes, that you told Dr. Johnson some man pleased you because he was open, and talked of his Uncles and Cousins.¹⁸ So now to please you, here is a touch at the Aunts--and now you will not be pleased at all, but very angry my darling Mrs. Piozzi, at what I am going, after your prohibition to tell you. But I must for all that, (and you shan't read it if you don't like,) just tell you My great Aunt's Epitaph, because it is so appropriate. (I See you make a face and tell me that like Vespasian, I don't attend to "la petite morale"¹⁹--but never mind--do go on.) She died, poor Soul at 85, of "that sickness of long life--old age."²⁰--(of wh, nobody, ergo, need die, till 85.) And Lee, the Poet says,

Of no distemper, of no blast She died;

But fell, like Autumn fruit that mellow'd long,

E'en wonder'd at because She dropp'd not Sooner.²¹

(N.B. This is not put on. I only wish it were.) Now pray don't punish me for my naughtiness as I deserve, by keeping me a long time without a letter. But do write very soon, dear, dear, Mrs. Piozzi--and do take care of yourself, and tell me that your "vexatious stomach" does mend--and that you are not annoyed with the cramp. I am very thankful that you had such a tolerable Journey, and I can't help envying the Nephew that heard the

pedantic lecture on Architecture, as you call it.²²

Did the carriage do its Service without much expense of its own vitals? And did you find all right in Denmark when you got there?²³ Pray remember us all to General Lake: Oh how I wish we may meet at Bath--wh we shall, if I could but get there! --Adieu, darling Mrs. Piozzi--look through your smoky glass of retrospection at the number you have delighted in life--and tho' many may have shewn it more palpably, by none can you ever have been more tenderly loved, or more truly admired, than by yr own gratefully affectionate

Marianne Francis

Mama and my Sister and Mr. Barrett beg their warmest regards. Dolph sends his love. So would Clem if he were not chopping Euripides at School, wh he leaves next Friday for the Holidays. I am going now to read Dr. Johnson's Favourite Ode of Anacreon, tho' the original will be hardly more beautiful than his translation.²⁴

Men still, as in the times of the Romans, "break their empty heads upon the pavement," as Retrospection truly says²⁵ --and when Lord Tefton and his Companion--Churchill,²⁶ (members of the 4 in handclub,)²⁷ were thrown from their airy Seats the other day, and much damaged--might not Horace still have exclaimed, "Post equitem sedet atra cura!"²⁸

1 Warburton wrote: "The separation of the Israelites was in order to preserve the doctrine of the UNITY amidst an idolatrous and polytheistic world...The separation was made for the sake of mankind in general; though one people became the honoured instrument, in reward of their forefathers' virtues" (Divine Legation, ii. 236-37).

2 The passage from Retrospection reads: "Meanwhile the retrospective eye will...observe the still blinded Jews collecting their civil and canon laws into a thalmud or respository, regardful of the letters, but mindless of the spirit in which they were at first composed. Unobservant also, or strangely prepossessed against the true sense of those prophecies which long before had so minutely described their miserable state; and promised future, though distant release from it; a sure if late recall to their inheritance, from amongst all the nations they are scattered over; a congregating of their tribes by a greater than Rabbi Asser" (i. 146). HLP suggested the following as a reason for the separation and survival of the unconverted Jews: "That wondrous family, confounded among all nations and yet distinct from any: which thriving on oppression now, as in the days of Pharoah, is supposed by Bishop Law, to be even more populous than ever; --carrying our Bibles for us, as St. Austin says, reverent, although unconscious of its veiled content, mysterious tenets! to them dark and cloudy, yet still confiding in its hitherto unaccomplished predictions, though unobservant that the greatest is fulfilled, and senseless to the guilt of murdering their own Messiah when he came" (Retrospection, ii. 11).

3 Henry Tighe (n.d.) married (1793) Mary (Blanchford) Tighe (1772-1810), author (DNB). Reference to the "7 Alephs" untraced.

4 Miss Hill Boothby (1708-56), friend of Dr. Johnson, aunt of Sir Brooke Boothby (1743-1824), poet. For the text of the letter on Law's Serious Call, see The Letters of Samuel Johnson, ed. R. W. Chapman (3 vols., 1963), i. 83. Chapman's note on the Boothby letters reads: "J's six letters to Miss Boothby written...in her last illness, were first printed by HLP in 1788. JB [James Boswell] printed one of them justly remarking that of the others 'the excellence is not so apparent' (Life iv.57). Many of her letters to him will be found in An Account of the Life of Dr. Johnson, 1805" (i. 77). Reference to Tighe's possession of the letters and Boothby's Hollywood House untraced. For an account of the publication of the Boothby letters, see Letters to and from the Late Samuel Johnson (2 vols., 1788), ii. 391.

5 The description of the Abraxas and Egyptian hieroglyphics appears in the Divine Legation, ii. 63-64. For this theory about the engraved gems, called Abraxas, Warburton cites Rufinus, Ecclesiastical History, ii. ch. xxvi (i. 63).

6 HLP mentioned an Abraxas stone in ST's possession in two letters to ST. She wrote of consulting CB Jr. about the stone in a letter of 24 Jan. 1799, and again, on 25 Mar. 1811: "You ask me who is Doctor Charles Burney? I reply...That he is the Man--I shewed your fine Abraxas to...and he knew no more about the Matter than my chambermaid" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 1100A).

7 Acts vii.22.

8 Warburton's theories about the origin of the alphabet appear in the Divine Legation, ii. 32-47. The description of the funeral rites of the Egyptians in which they "annoint the whole body with gum or resin of cedar" appears in ii. 20-22.

9 Elizabeth Montagu's only sister, Sarah (d. 1795), was wife of George Lewis Scott. It is unclear whether or not HLP ever met Sarah Scott, but Elizabeth Montagu wrote to her sister of HLP in 1789: "I have been amused by Mrs. Piozzi's letters, tho the style is sometimes Vulgar, sometimes pedantic. She writes like a Woman of parts" (Mrs. Montagu, ii. 278). Story of Sarah Scott untraced.

10 The passage reads: "of Rotterdam, destined to be the birthplace of Erasmus" (Retrospection, i. 29).

11 Robert Henry, D.D., The History of Great Britain from the First Invasion of It under Julius Caesar, 6 vols., 1771-93. The passage reads: "If I could get money," said he, in a letter to one of his friends, "I would first purchase Greek books, and secondly cloaths" (1814 edn., 221-22). Henry discusses the character of Erasmus at length.

12 Jacob Bryant (1715-1804), classical scholar; author of Analysis of Ancient Mythology (1774-76), mentioned in Balderston, p. 800; also the author of Observations Upon the Plagues Inflicted Upon the Egyptians (1794). Reference to $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\varsigma$ ("an account") untraced.

13 Edward King (?1735-1817), antiquary, religious prophet, author of Morsels of Criticism (1788).

14 Caracalla's brother was named Geta; see below. "Helvetius Pertinax too, son of the momentary monarch, hearing how the name of Parthicus had been decreed to Caracalla, for some advantages gained by gross treachery over Artabanus,

said, that he thought the appellation Geticus might not be much amiss (there were a barbarous people called the Getae) and for that criticism he was content to lose his life" (Retrospection, i. 61).

15 "Let him be a God, so long as he is not living."

16 Possibly an allusion to: "Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth: and keep the door of my lips" (Psalms cxli. 2).

17 Rebecca Burney (1724-1809) died 21 May 1809 (WW).

18 "Why do you like that man's acquaintance so said he Johnson? Because, replied I, he is open and confiding, and tells me stories of his uncles and cousins" (Anecdotes, p. 6).

19 The passage reads: "Flavius Vespasian, to whom, when someone presented a machine for useful purposes, the Emperor saw him rewarded, and the mechanism burnt, for how, said he, must my subjects live by labour, if all their work is to be done by engines?" (Retrospection, i. 56).

20 Pope, Imitations of Horace: Satires II.ii.88.

21 "Of no distemper, of no blast he dy'd; /But fell like Autumn Fruit that mellow'd long, /E'en wonder'd at, because he dropt not sooner" (Nathaniel Lee, Oedipus: a Tragedy IV.i.229-31).

22 For John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, "the Nephew," see ante 4 July 1808, n. 1. Reference untraced.

23 See Hamlet I.ii.90.

24 For Johnson's translation of Anacreon's "Ode on a Dove," see Anecdotes, pp. 20-21.

25 The reference to the dissipation of the Romans under the Emperor Maximus reads: "the mornings of rich people, no longer spent in study or improvement, were consumed in riding up and down the streets, at risk of breaking their empty heads upon the pavement" (Retrospection, i. 71).

26 William Phillip Molyneux (1772-1838), second Earl of Sefton, married (1792) Maria Margaret, daughter of sixth Baron Craven, M.P. for Droitwich (1816-31); er. Baron Sefton of Croxteth (1831). "Greville writes of him:....having successively sought for amusement in hunting, shooting, racing, gaming,...he plunged with ardor into politics (C/okayne/). Churchill untraced.

27 Four-in-hand: "A vehicle with four horses driven by one person" (OED). MF refers to the aristocratic sport of "driving four-in-hand" in imitation of professional coachmen. The investigation of the fashion of driving "four-in-hand" is attributed to Sir John Lade. The sport became a popular pastime in Hyde Park among men and women. For a description of the sport and its history, see William Boulton, Amusements of Old London (2 vols., 1901), ii. 156-59. Though Lords Sefton and Churchill are not specifically mentioned, the author writes: "With materials such as these [contemporary phaeton and horses] the youth of both sexes of the Regency and George the Fourth superseded the old promenades of the Mall, and revived the tradition of equestrianism and equipage of Hyde Park which survives in our own day, and has produced such organizations as the Four-in-Hand Club" (p. 159).

28 "Black Care mounts on the horseman's pillion" (Horace, Odes III.i.40).

Wednesday 10 July 1809

MS. JRL (582.42).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: A JY 11 809. 4 o'Clock JY 11 1809 EV. TwoPyPoA

Unpaid Richmond.

Richmond Green. 10th of stormy July. 1809.

It was very good indeed, my dearest Mrs. Piozzi, to send me those two beautiful impressions, which I do value most exceedingly, and which are no "cock and a bull story" to me, as I never think of the price of stocks, but enjoy the gems and the joke, the cocks and the corn, and all.¹

Your ingenious conjecture about Joseph must be right, I hope²--it is so clever, and to me, so new. You best know whether the worship of Serapis began about 1712 years before Christ, the time when "all countries came into Egypt to buy corn."³ All I know is, that I humbly thank the Stars (Jupiter excepted, who having but ten hours [a]day, was always my private aversion) that Mrs. Piozzi and I were not both born in days of Egyptian darkness, in which case, I should certainly and solemnly have worshipped her, half inclined as I am to that species of idolatry⁴ "e'en at this very now."⁵

What with Lake and me, you've talk enough "about Bullocks";⁶ so I'll only add one more peice of news about 'em, and then go

to something else. The impressions came to me quite trim and safe, only my Lord Apis got a little crack on his nose⁷--but it doesn't shew much, luckily, so he don't care--and won't cry, like your weeping Lady--I mean the Melpomene⁸ who presided once over the Miss Thrales,⁹ and who since that, has transferred herself and her tears to poor Charles Cambridge, whom She, I suppose, has worn, (taking the old Proverb no doubt, for her rule, that "a drop, by degrees will bore a hole through a stone")¹⁰ till he really looks, poor man, like an "eel-skin stuff'd."¹¹ I have at last discovered the History of him and his Wives, about whom you questioned me in Town.¹² He married first, a Sister or Daughter of some Mr. Edwards who wrote an Account of Jamaica.¹³ When that was over and the Lady dead, he then aspired the hand of your weeping fair, Mrs. Cochrane;¹⁴ and the willow still lives, and still weeps, and makes him weep too, for sympathy, sometimes, I hear--and suppose, as Gray says, that they both

"weep the more because they weep in vain."¹⁵

Dear, thin, Clement who has nothing in common with Charles Cambridge but his "riding-rods"¹⁶ and the wish of Caesar for Cassius, "would he were fatter,"¹⁷ came home, here to remain, last week. He has done with School I believe, as perhaps it's time, being tall and seventeen, that he should, and is trying in spite of his inclination for some mercantile situation, in

which he says he must make up his mind to the "dot and go one," for the sake of the "three pound two." Turn which way he will, he still finds "Poverty's unconquerable bar,"¹⁸ and Bankers talk of Premiums, and Merchants of bonds, like Shylock. However, I always in my sanguine folly like to hope for the best. For instance, I choose to flatter myself that I shall see you again soon, though I must own that Aristotle's plaguy Categories of When and Where¹⁹ puzzle me a little--and I like to hope that poor Clem will do well and rise in whatever he likes best, which he may, I think, if he be but steady in his character and firm in his conduct, not adding his name to the long list of Fools who are slaves to the first impulse they feel, and Converts to the last opinion they hear. Taking all colours like the Camelion, and like that animal, retaining none.

I don't at all wonder at the Booksellers' persuading you to publish those very entertaining letters that everybody, as well as myself, has read and admired:²⁰ but I do wonder at Mr. Tighe's account of Sr. Brooke Boothby, which seems, nay, "I know not seems," which is,²¹ quite incompatible with yours, and makes out, I know not how, some narrative of Dr. Johnson nobody ever heard of before. I will endeavor to understand this strange story, and not trouble you about it any more till I do.²² --I was much interested by your account of Miss

Boothby in those charming Anecdotes, and of the rival-ship of Dr. Johnson and Lord Lyttleton.²³ But dearest Mrs. Piozzi, you think that I live much more in the world than I do. There's no world here at Richmond, that we know, worth living in-- Empty heads and unploughed brains--cards--and conversation, (as Warburton said of some Author who had written against him) "defecated of the grossness of meaning."²⁴ Is this a world worth leaving one's writing-desk for? The rest are all Dukes and Duchesses who stay at home as Briggs says, on rainy days counting their dead Friends, and go out airing on fine days to see their living ones.²⁵ The Cambridges alone belong to neither of these Classes--and the Conversation I like, comes all from Brynbella. So pray let me have some more soon-- though for my eager grasp of you and your letters, I think I have already been punished like Tantalus, by a perpetual thirst.²⁶

My pleasures are rather of Memory than of Imagination. I feed on the past sooner than on the present, and think how quickly the hours rolled on when I was sitting by my beloved Mrs. Piozzi at Morin's, and hearing her talk--but now it's all gone!

"Mortal Pleasure, what art thou in truth?

The torrent's smoothness e're it dash below!"

--I'm more than half tempted to cry out with Campbell,²⁷ Only I'm

more than half afraid you'll laugh at me, or disbelieve me, which I could not bear. For fear you should do both if I say any more, Adieu, darling, exquisite, Mrs. Piozzi. Forgive me for being a little romantic, because you know, mine is the age for it. But never forgive me if I could cease one instant to be your faithful and affectionate and obliged and grateful

Marianne Francis

I don't know whether an Epigram I heard the other day is new to you. In case it may be, (if any thing can) I venture to send it. A Boy making verses gave a false quantity to the Euphrates, making the a short. So the master wrote him this reproof;

"Venit ad Euphratem Juvenis perterritus haesit;

Ut bene transiiret, corripuit Fluvium."²⁸

I have put the Notes to Retrospection as you desired it--the Book I read daily with encrease of pleasure.²⁹

Do, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, write to me very soon--and dont stick you health just up in the corner there, but tell me fully and truly how you are--whether the cramp goes away, and if Brynbella begins to be a little less triste to you. Every thing concerning you, is interesting to me. Mama and my Sister beg their kindest regards. So does Mr. Barrett his respects. The Neice wd join Clem and Dolph in sending their little impertinent loves if She could.

1 Impression: "The figure produced from stamping or sealing: a cast, mold, copy" (OED). References untraced.

2 Joseph: the son of Jacob, in Genesis xxxvi. HLP's "conjecture about Joseph" may be in response to a passage in Warburton's Divine Legation which suggests the practice of medicine in the time of Joseph proves the "high antiquity" of the Egyptians (ii.20).

3 Serapis: a god invented and introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy I in the 2d century A.D. to unite Greeks and Egyptians in common worship. See Jeremiah xliiii. 7.

4 See ante 17 May 1809, n. 9.

5 "Even now, now, very now" (Othello I.i.88).

6 See Life iii.181.

7 Apis: an ancient Egyptian deity, the incarnation as a bull of Ptah, the god of the sun, identified with Osiris.

8 Melpomene: the muse of tragedy.

9 The Misses Thrale, daughters of HLP and Henry Thrale, are: Hester Maria (Queeney) (1764-1857), wife of Viscount Keith; Sophia (1771-1824), wife of Henry Merrick Hoare; Susanna Arabella (Susan) (1770-1858).

10 Possibly an allusion to: "constant dropping wears away the Stone" (Putnam's Dictionary of Thoughts).

11 "My armes, such eelskins stufft" (King John I.i.141).

12 For the Cambridge family, see ante 13 Aug. 1808, n. 4. Charles Owen Cambridge (1754-1847) married (1787) Mary Edwards, daughter of James Edwards (1757-1816), a bookseller in Pall Mall, 1784-1804. After his first wife died in 1788, he married (1789) Mrs. Cochran, widow of Major Cochran (WW).

13 For a review of An Account of Jamaica and Its Inhabitants (1808), see Gent. Mag. (Aug. 1809), lxxix. 729-34. This may be the work of James Edwards.

14 "Mrs. Cochran...remained apparently as Queeney's, and later as her sisters', companion until the autumn of 1788, when Mr. Lort [Dr. Michael Lort (1725-90)], apothecary, friend of HLP informed their mother on November 3, after a visit to Brighton, that she was living with her uncle, Dr. Pitcairn, and that the girls were living alone at Brighton" (Balderston, p. 612 n. 1.).

15 Thomas Gray, "Sonnet on the Death of Mr. Richard West"
l. 14.

16 Riding rod: "A rod or switch used for riding" (OED).

17 Julius Caesar I.ii.198.

18 James Beattie, The Minstrel i.1. For the details of
CF's financial status, see ante, p. lxxvii n. 3.

19 Category: "One of the ten classes of Beings, or of typical
forms of speech used to assert Being, or finally, of typical
judgements regarding Being, as Aristotle distinguished these
ten classes in his table of categories" (Dictionary of Philosophy
and Psychology, ed. James Mark Baldwin, 3 vols., 1960, i. 160).

20 Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi, Letters to and from the
Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D. to Which are Added Some Poems
Never before Printed, 1788.

21 Hamlet I.ii.76.

22 Story untraced.

23 For HLP's account of Miss Boothby and the relationship
between Dr. Johnson and Lord Lyttleton, see Anecdotes, pp.
62-63. HLP wrote: "such however was the purity of her / Miss
Hill Boothby's / mind, he / Johnson / said, and such the graces
of her manner, that Lord Lyttleton and he used to strive for
her preference with an emulation that occasioned hourly disgust,
and lasting animosity" (p. 62).

24 Quotation untraced.

25 For another reference to Briggs, see ante 6 June 1809;
quotation untraced.

26 Tantalus: "Name of a mythical king of Phrygia, son of
Zeus and the nymph Pluto, condemned, for revealing the secrets
of the gods, to stand in Tartarus up to his chin in water,
which constantly receded as he stooped to drink, and with
branches of fruit hanging about him which ever fled his grasp"
(OED).

27 Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), author of the Pleasures of

Hope (1809) and Gertrude of Wyoming, a Pennsylvanian Tale and Other Poems (1809); see Gertrude of Wyoming III.v.3-4.

28 "The frightened youth came to the Euphrates and conquered it, so that he crossed over successfully and overcame the river"; original epigram untraced.

29 Reference untraced.

Saturday 28 July 1809

MS. JRL (582.43).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: B JY 29 809, 2 o'Clock JY 29 1809. Nn.

Saturday, July 28. 4 oclock. A. M. 1809

Richmond Green.

No, my beloved Mrs. Piozzi--I have certainly not been writing a novel,¹ nor even reading one, nor perplexing my brains with any such pitiful stuff. And I would as soon think of being married as of writing a book unknown to you. Thank Heaven both these contingencies are equally unlikely to happen to me. To convince you of which, instead of going to bed, I am sitting up all night, (I and my candle,) to undeceive you. So at any rate, to night, my "little life is" not "rounded with a sleep."² Some Caroline Burney, (no relation of your romantic Admirer) has been publishing some frothy folly,³ which I suppose is the origin of the tale, that shall be dismissed now, to make way for something much more worth talking of--good old Job, and spiteful old Warburton, who insists that the former stands for the Jewish People; while of his wicked rib he wittily says, that if the Devil assaulted Job, he seems to have got possession of his Wife.⁴ I do think his conjectures most ingenious; and he turns and twists all the People about

like a child with a scratch-cradle,⁵ to answer his own ends-- but I cant somehow bring myself to think his forced interpretations true. But you are best judge, and I long to hear what your opinion is, that always pleases me on every subject; particularly in the history of Euphrates, which I dare say was just so, and the boy right after all. At any rate the Master would have been pleased like me to see the epigram so nicely translated.⁶ I do think, darling Mrs. Piozzi, you possess the knack of translating or imitating in greater perfection than any body in this world. All your writings show it, and dear Retrospection among the rest, to which you are too severe only so merry that one cant help laughing too.

Warburton is still my standing-dish--then I have many little entremets besides. Mrs. Mountagu's letters serve me for trifle, and I go to Retrospection for desert--saving, like the children, what I like best to the last.

Witty Mrs. Mountagu's antithetical letters, I have read at last, with great delight, and admire the success of that constant antithesis which makes them so amusing. An anonymous epistle to a man on the brink of matrimony I thought one of the best. Do you remember it? And do you recollect her queer way of writing to her mother--Madam--your dutiful daughter-- as stiff as Falstaff's men in buckram,⁷ while every body else

is dear, and she is affectionate. Losing little Punch was a hard stroke.⁸ The Poet says

"Life can little more supply

Than just to look about us and to die."⁹

But ev'n that little is denied to some--and poor Punch died without having had time to look about him at all. His Mother's memory was almost as wonderful, I think as yours. Her Essay on Shakespeare has a quotation or allusion in every line--and you have alluded to that, I recollect, answering some wicked impertinence of that vile Boswell, in the Anecdotes.¹⁰ I am glad the Roman Connoisseurs had the wit to adopt my sweet Mrs. Piozzi's ingenious conjecture.¹¹ Will she forgive my ignorance for their sake, and tell me whose lines she quotes: "The reason would you find, etc."¹² Because they please me so much; and I always like to know who I am to thank. I read them too and the whole letter to Clement. I knew it would delight him, and so it did--and he means to remember it, and to fulfill your predictions, restraining at present all genius for expence, as you say of some Roman Lady, Lucilla I think¹³ --not Miss More's Lucilla tho', so moderate and so good.¹⁴ If she has written a dull book about her, remember, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, that's more than you could do.

The Notes in Retrospection written so beautifully, please

me much. Particularly that about Polyænus, exposing the ignorance and the malice, the wormwood and the gall, of the criticized Critics.¹⁵ Cumberland and his Man Twiss,¹⁶ I suppose--Spinoza and his Man Toland--Warburton says¹⁷--i.e., Robinson Crusoe and his Man Friday.

I mourn to find you talk so ill of your health--do take care of yourself pray--and tell me always how you are. I cant help thinking that you are too quiet down there by yourself, living the life and reading the meditations of a Recluse --tho' I don't know whether such a state is not better almost than running to and fro on the earth as we do, and walking up and down on it like Capt. Barclay, hearing only of wars and rumours of wars.¹⁸ This last bad news seems to have thrown every body into despair, though the dear loyal Cambridges who feel every battle in every bone in their skin, declare and hope things have been represented worse than they are. Nobody talks of driving away Murat I think, or of any thing but this expedition, all with long faces auguring its ill success. Few sights I should think could be more melancholy to a reflecting mind than that of seeing a whole set of brave fellows sail away, unknowing whether they will ever sail back again.¹⁹ Have you heard of Parr's work, below²⁰ Parr, compiling a life of Mr. Fox from old Newspapers, Chronicles, etc., interlarding it with copious greek quotations, etc., to the amount of two closely

printed octavoes?²¹ All to the tune of persuading the Public that making a book and writing a book is the same thing.

Adieu my beloved Mrs. Piozzi. I hope you are convinced that I have done neither. Mama's best regards. Charlotte's affectionate respects and Clem's constant love can never express the affection and gratitude of your

Marianne Francis

I rejoice that poor Mr. Gillon gets better.²²

1 A fragment of a novel by MF undated and untitled, is in the British Museum (Add. MSS., Eger. 3707). For this fragment, see ante, pp. xxvi-xxviii.

2 The Tempest IV.i.57.

3 Caroline Burney, Seraphina, or a Winter in Town: a Modern Novel, 3 vols., 1809.

4 For Warburton's Divine Legation, see ante 17 May 1809, n. 4. For the interpretation of the history of Job as an allegory of the history of the Jewish people, see the Divine Legation, ii. 400-04. The characterization of Job's wife reads: "The devil indeed assaulted Job, but he seems to have got possession of his wife" (ii. 405).

5 Scratch-cradle: a name for Cat's-cradle (OED).

6 HLP's translation of the epigram untraced.

7 See 2 Henry IV.

8 For Elizabeth (Robinson) Montagu, see ante 6 June 1809, n. 2. For the letter on marriage, see The Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, (2 vols., 3d edn., 1810), i. 115-20. "This anonymous letter was written by Miss Robinson, and sent to Dr. Shaw, the traveller, at the instigation, and for the amusement, of the Duchess of Portland and her society" (i. 115 n.). She wrote with the mock purpose to "prevent the espousal," and the dominant sentiment was: "if you would atone for your sins and do a work meet for repentance, marry" (i. 117). Mrs. Montagu signed the last letter in vol. i. to her mother, the Duchess of Portland: "your most dutiful daughter (i. 304). The letter of 16 Sept. 1744, addressed to the Duchess of Portland, concerns the death of Elizabeth Montagu's son. Matthew Montagu's note reads: "Her son died of convulsive fits from cutting his teeth" (ii. 310 n.). Francis Jeffrey's review of the letters included the observation: "The wit...is often childish, and generally strained and artificial; but still it both sparkles and abounds" (Edin. Rev., Oct. 1809, xv. 76).

9 "Let us (since life can little more supply)" (Essay on Man i.3).

10 Boswell's The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. (1785) "launched the public quarrel between Boswell and Mrs. Piozzi. It [a passage in the work] was a comment which gave great offense to Mrs. Montagu, Queen of the Blue Stockings, a circle in which Mrs. Piozzi had recently been a star. Boswell's text recorded Johnson as saying: 'Reynolds is fond of [Mrs. Montagu's Essay on Shakespeare], and I wonder at it; for neither I, nor Beauclerk, nor Mrs. Thrale, could get through it. Boswell had been undecided how to treat this passage. He had vacillated, whether or not to include Mrs.

Thrale's name. He canceled it in the manuscript, restored it in proof, then took it out again....Mrs. Piozzi begged her... supporters to contradict the report." "Mrs. Piozzi's friends /Lysons, her publisher/ decided the publication of the book Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson (1786) presented a perfect opportunity to make a statement of the author's appreciation of Mrs. Montagu's Essay on Shakespeare. They devised a postscript using her own words in a letter to Sir Lucas which concluded with something serviceably less ambiguous than her other apologies ... 'few things would give me more concern than to be thought incapable of testing, or unwilling to testify my opinion of its excellence.' This postscript was an unfortunate inspiration....Mrs. Montagu had been pacified by Mrs. Piozzi's letter of apology and Boswell, unprovoked, was silent. The incident was nearly forgotten. But when the Anecdotes were published the Postscript created a stir out of all proportion" (Mary Hyde, The Impossible Friendship, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, pp. 100-01 and 107-08). For Reginald Blunt's account of this incident, see Mrs. Montagu, ii. 276-78.

11 Reference untraced.

12 "wouldst thou find" (Essay on Man i.35).

13 HLP wrote of Lucilla, wife of Marcus Aurelius: "Her genius for expense required his tightest curb" (Retrospection, i. 53). Lucilla: a character in Hannah More's Coelebs (1809); for Coelebs, see ante 30 Jan. 1809, n. 16.

14 Hannah More's Coelebs enjoyed great popular success, but two major dissenting reviewers were Francis Jeffrey in the Edin. Rev. and Richard Cumberland in the London Review. For a detailed account of the reception of Coelebs, see M.G. Jones, Hannah More (1968), pp. 193-8.

15 Reference untraced.

16 For Cumberland and Twiss, see ante 29 May 1809, n. 12.

17 John Toland (1670-1722), English deist philosopher, author of Christianity Not Mysterious (1696), a rationalist in the tradition of Spinoza. In Letters to Serena (1704) Toland attacked Spinoza for his disavowal of the necessity of motion to matter, but in his later works Toland praises Spinoza. Warburton presents Toland's theory of the origin of idolatry in the Divine Legation, i. 577-78.

18 The Times reported at length, 14 July 1809, on a Captain Barclay, who had completed 13 July 1809 his project of walking a thousand miles in a thousand hours which he began on 1 June 1809. "From going to and from in the earth and walking up and down in it" (Job ii.2); "Shall hear wars and rumors of wars" (Mark xiii. 7).

19 Murat's army and the army for the Walcheren campaign were preparing simultaneously. "The one consisting of about twelve thousand men, drawn from Sicily, was destined to invade Italy.... The other was assembled on the coast of England, where above forty thousand of the finest troops the nation could boast of, and a fleet of power to overthrow all the other navies of the world combined, composed an armament, intended to destroy the great marine establishment which the French emperor had so suddenly and so portentously created at Antwerp. So vast an expedition had never before left the British shores....And so utterly had party spirit stifled the feeling of national honour, that men were found in Parliament base enough to reprobate the convention of Cintra, to sneer at Sir John Moore's operations, and yet to declare the Walcheren expedition wise, profitable, and even glorious!" (Napier, i. 547).

20 Below: "inferior to" (OED).

21 The QR remarks of Dr. Samuel Parr's Characters of the late Charles James Fox. Selected, and in part written by Philopatris Varvicensis (1809): "The work...is...of a very anomalous nature. The extract...from Bellendus...is followed up by a variety of characters of Mr. Fox, all either in prose, or prosaic, transcribed from newspapers, magazines, reviews, pamphlets, and other fugitive publications of the day" (Nov. 1809, ii.375-401).

22 For John Gillon (1748-1809), see ante 9 July 1808, n. 4.

Thursday 24 August 1809

MS. JRL (582.44).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: C AU 24 809, 7 o'Clock, 24 1809 NT, AU 24 1809 EV,
Richmond Unpd.

Richmond Green. Thursday. Aug. 25. 1809.

I do indeed thank my beloved Mrs. Piozzi for her learned and ingenious communications respecting the Book of Job, which certainly, (if any thing be) is worth conjecturing upon.¹ Warburton has given me an appetite for such things; and I am happy that you and the Bishop both agree in classing it at the head of dramatic compositions, and in applying the Allegory to the History of the Jews.

Your derivations of the names gave me pause, for most extraordinary they certainly are; and reality, as you say, would be far less strange than such accident. I allude to the names of Job's Daughters, the meaning of which was new to me,² but however singular, I read them to myself only, and suffered nobody but Clem to read the letter, as you, my sweet Mrs. Piozzi desired. Though I could not help regretting that mine should be the task to wrap so much talent in a napkin. Tillotson says "there is a pleasure in admiration."³ So there is; and you must therefore forgive me for admiring almost as much as I love you, and only impute it to my wishing to enjoy one of the few

innocent pleasures there are in the world, recommended by my favourite Archbishop; for I do love Tillotson, and think myself most fortunate in having a fol. edition of his works given me the other day, especially too, now they are out of print.⁴

Talking of Sermons, I must say a word about Mr. Glasse, who has published an edition of Beveridge, selected and abridged, with one of the best quotations, (next to yours,) in the preface, I think that I ever met with. After enumerating many of the distinguished characters who graced the period at which Beveridge lived, Newton, and Bentley and Addison and Dryden and Pope, he adds, "there were giants in the earth in those days."⁵
--Do tell me if this is your Mr. Glasse; I think it must.

There have been Anakims extant since then, too.⁶ Johnson was certainly so in one way; Woelfl is now in another.⁷ This gigantic german genius is at Richmond now. I am under his hands --he teaches me, and plays:

Ye Gods, how he will play!!⁸

We call him Typhon, sometimes, when he hurls his musical mountains --not Polypheme, for however "inform'ingens," he is not "horrendum."⁹ Sometimes he goes by the name of Saul, for he is certainly "head and shoulders higher than any of the People."¹⁰ And sometimes Don Quixote, whom he closely resembles. Which of the three epithets suit him best, I have to hear Mrs. Piozzi's recollection to decide. I make "such a Sinner of my memory"¹¹ that I am

ashamed of it; forgetting those lines of my favourite Pope, whom I have read till I thought he never could enter into the list of those who "have been so long remember'd, they're forgot."¹² But Woelfl puts every thing out of my head, I think. He makes me fag so hard, under promise of dedicating a lesson to me, that I have time and thought for little else just now, as nothing can make me acquiesce in the vulgarly received opinion that his music is only:

"a tale told by an idiot;

Full of sound and fury signifying nothing."¹³

I am ashamed to say almost, that nothing in this world gives me such pleasure as very fine music; but I must say it, as an excuse to my dearest Mrs. Piozzi for indulging in this ill-placed Typhonic eulogy, when her motto perhaps, is "nil admirari,"¹⁴ after all.

I have at length read Ennui, the only vol. of Miss Edgeworth I mean to afford time for, at your recommendation, and am delighted with it. Miss E. is a clever creature to be sure, as the Author of fun; but She puts me in mind of an oeconomic Housekeeper, giving the old mutton cold <one> day, and hashed the next. For she serves us up Castle Rackrent, (which is certainly much the best of productions,) over and over again.¹⁵ There is, (as you and Solomon and every body say,) nothing new

under the Sun,¹⁶ (tho' above it I dare say there will be novelty enough) and a certain set of stories to the tune of about a dozen, I think, has served the world ever since, I suppose, the adventures really first took place. Shipwreck on a desert island is one; and I fear the ennui story of being changed at nurse, is another. But for all that, the book is very agreeable, and makes good whipt syllabub, as you say. And I am very impertinent about it.

Now I have done with my Lord of Gloucester, (who was certainly never Shakespeare's "my Lord Fool" as we call our dog)¹⁷ I am engaged in another hard pull that I am afraid you will laugh at me for. That is Rapin's fol. Hist. of England,¹⁸ wh I borrow from the Archdeacon too, and read with great attention and great delight. One must read for instruction in one's youth, or one can have no right to read for amusement in one's age. So do tell me you dont hate Rapin. and tell me, pray, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, what I am much more anxious to hear, that you take care of your health, and don't fancy it is of no consequence, because that is, suffer me to say it, a mistaken cruelty; to others, not to yourself, who have been so ill used by this wicked world, as our Catechism¹⁹ well teaches us to call it, that it hardly deserves you Should stay in it. But I, who mean to be in the world, but not of the world, have a right to

entreat you, for my sake, among many others, to take care of yourself, living by yourself as you do, with nobody to put you in mind of the only person you are likely to forget.

You must be pleased, I'm sure with the success of our expedition--like Imogen²⁰--"safe may it wander, safe return again."²¹ Can one wish the ultimate end to be accomplished? The entire destruction of the French Fleet? --Adieu my beloved Mrs. Piozzi. Pray write Soon, and say you take care of yourself, to oblige yr ever grateful and faithfully attached

Marianne Francis

Mama and my Sister and Brothers send best, warmest remembrances. Dolph construes Cornelius Nepos. every day.²²

1 Reference untraced.

2 HLP wrote: "Job, oppressed by his enemies. His three daughters, Jemina, the dawn; Kezia, a struggle with poverty; Kerrenhappuk, the horn of abundance" (Piozziana, p. 17).

3 John Tillotson (1630-94), Sermons, 1694. Quotation untraced in Tillotson's Sermons.

4 The last edition of Tillotson's Sermons, edited by Thomas Birch, was published in twelve octavo volumes in 1757. A folio edition of Tillotson's Works was published in 1720.

5 For George Henry Glasse (1761-1809), see ante 3 Jan. 1809, n. 16. William Beveridge (1637-1708), Bishop of St. Asaph, Sixteen Discourses Abridged from the Works of William Beveridge, ed. George Henry Glasse, 1805. Genesis vi.4.

6 Anakims were inhabitants of the southern hill country of Judah who appear in the Old Testament as figures of giant height. See Joshua xi. 21.

7 For Woelfl, see ante 4 July 1808, n. 28.

8 Nathaniel Lee, The Rival Queens III.30.

9 Typhon: a monster with a hundred serpents heads, fiery eyes, and a tremendous voice, whom Zeus attacked with thunderbolts, set on fire, and flung into Tartarus.
Polyphemus: a Cyclops, son of Poseidon, one of the race of savage one-eyed giants. "Vast in size" but not "frightening"; for the description of Polyphemus, see the Aeneid iii.870.

10 Saul, the first King of Israel. See I Samuel 1x.2.

11 The Tempest I.ii.99.

12 Quotation untraced in Pope's works; possibly an allusion to: "What he remembered seems to have forgot" (Cowper, Conversation 1. 132).

13 Macbeth V.v.26-28.

14 "Nothing ought to be admired" (Horace, Epistles I.vi.1).

15 For Maria Edgeworth, see ante 6 June 1809, n. 12. Ennui was the first of six volumes of Tales of a Fashionable Life published 1809-12.

16 Ecclesiastes i.9.

17 For William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, see ante 17 May 1809, n. 3. Quotation untraced.

18 Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, The History of England, tr. Nicholas Tindal, 15 vols., 1726-32.

19 This catechism is at the back of the Book of Common Prayer and the phrase occurs in the first long paragraph.

20 Imogen, the wife of Posthumus in Cymbeline.

21 The Cymbeline III.v.105.

22 Cornelius Nepos (c. 100-c. 25 B.C.), author of De Viris Illustribus, the basic Latin text for the nineteenth century English schoolboy.

Wednesday 19 September 1809

MS. JRL (582.45).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: B SE 20 809, 12 o'Clock SP 20, 20 1809. Nn

Richmond Unpd.

Richmond Green. Sept. 19. 1809.

My dearest Mrs. Piozzi will never get a holiday in "this working-day world,"¹ nor will her troubles ever be over, I do begin to fear. That Lady Keith was gravida, surprised me much to hear; but that surprise was over when your letter arrived, for I had been informed before of her Ladyship's unexpected predicament,² by Mrs. Frances Bowdler, a Lady who has been spending a fortnight in our green retreat at Richmond --so dear Mrs. Piozzi's was but post-intelligence. She is Sister to the Bath Bowdler, Editor of the life of Miss Smith, etc., etc., and calls herself your Cousin. Has she a right to that honour?³ Three years ago She was in Italy, and may call herself well off I think that She is not there now, "where nothing is but grief and woe."⁴ Mrs. Bowdler desired I would not forget her best remembrances to you. She left Richmond yesterday for Bath, where She hopes to have the pleasure of seeing you next winter--only twenty years have elapsed since your last interview, She says, and is almost ashamed that you should see her, I fancy, parceque "Les rides du front passent

jusqu' á L'ésprit," as Boileau says.⁵ But it is not so with your ancient Pistol.⁶ When the first task of getting over manners cold and repulsive is performed, Mrs. Bowdler is sensible, $\frac{1}{2}$ agreeable, and has known every body worth knowing, for the last 50 years; in the world--among the rest, him who bore:

"Il nome che piu dura e piu onora,"

the tragic Poet, Alfieri. Were you acquainted with him in Italy?⁷

They say there is to be a general Jubilee throughout England, when our King shall have compleated the 50tieth year of his reign; in imitation, I suppose, of Edward III, who, as Rapin tells us, when he was 50 years old, proclaimed universal joy, and forgave every criminal in the land, even pardoning treason. It's curious enough, that then, he had just treated the French as they have lately been treating us⁸--and ours, to be sure, may be the boast of greater philosophy, since we are thankful even for bad success, and certainly deserve that the Pope, (if he were not such a Beggar,) should pay us a premium for our work of supererogation, being not only, as we are commanded, "patient," but rejoicing "in tribulation"⁹ --at a time, too, when we must almost compare ourselves to the Egyptians of old, among whom one in every house was slain,¹⁰ and when the public prints are like Ezekiel's roll, "written within and without with lamentation and mourning and woe."¹¹ "Quae caret ora cruore nostro?"¹²

I hope, my beloved Mrs. Piozzi, you will not continue your project of nursing Lady Keith. I would not urge her not de-serving that you should, because to your forgiving spirit, that would be an additional motive for attending her. But consider, for once consider yourself--what fatigue and vexation wait on such a scheme, and how many days you would embitter to yourself, without alleviating one moment's pain to her.¹³ However, all this is of no use, I know--you will do it, I suppose, malgré moi. My only hope is, and my fervent wish, that Lady Keith will decline your offer, at least reduce it as erst, to "a short visit in a fortnight's time." O tempora, etc., etc.¹⁴

From the drawing room griefs we come to the Kitchen, as "great wit to madness nearly is allied,"¹⁵ the only excuse for talking in the same page of Mrs. Piozzi and the Dairy-maid.¹⁶ Do tell me what has become of the poor creature, whether She still lives, and lives at Brynbella, or whether "with great imagination, proper to madmen," She has "led her powers to death."¹⁷ --Of all afflictions, insanity I think so much the greatest. Clement was delighted with the College pun, so was I--excellent I think, and fair classical impudence, for wh I admire your Cousin.¹⁸ I am reading Rapin now, good tough stuff, is it not? and makes me want to read venerable Bede, that you talk of so merrily in Retrospection,¹⁹ and Rymer's Foedera,²⁰ etc. etc. After Warburton, too, Rapin is really light reading--and goes down like desert, or

as any other Author must have done to Mrs. Carter after digesting Guicciardini, who, she said made every other writer amusing--not witty himself, but the cause of wit in others. Mr. Shee has been publishing something more, I understand. I was half afraid he would have been the cause of my affronting the Archdeacon once--when he presented me his first poem to read, I could not help calling out in Dr. Johnson's burlesque of Schoolboy composition, "great He, but greater Shee!"²² After all our disgraces and mishaps on the continent, I fear the serpent you speak of bodes no good to us.²³ But the People here disbelieve all those Newspaper prodigies, so I grow incredulous too, or else I should ask my beloved Mrs. Piozzi what she thinks of that solemn attestation, signed by a clerical hand, of having seen a Mermaid in the West of England.²⁴ But having all these Mermaids Serpents and Chimeras dire,²⁵ let me say that Grand-papa still continues well, and still at Bulstrode. Charlotte denies any sort of sympathy with Lady Keith, and Clement has still the patience to anticipate through the medium of trade, his Barouche and 4 through Hyde Park. I am very busy reading Herodotus, and all his odd Stories, told in his own beautiful language.--and I am also happy to say that Clem, in spite of 3 Pd 2, still finds time for Aeschylus. He sends 1000 thanks, and would fain add his love, if I would give it to Mrs. Piozzi. Apropos to my thoughts, (because I have just been reading Horace)

tho' not to my pen, is it not strange, that what the Ancients so carefully avoided, the Moderns should so sedulously seek? --I mean Rhyme. Adieu my ever-adored Mrs. Piozzi--you will be glad there is still one power on earth, Necessity, that can make me pronounce that word to you. My ink begins to be as muddy as my mind, both for want of stirring up, because I have not walked enough to-day. Pray write soon, and tell me that you are well, or better, and dont continue to be "as full of sorrows as the Sea of sands"²⁶--and say that you forgive and sometimes bestow a thought on your ever grateful and unalienably attached

Marianne Francis

Mama and my Sister beg a thousand remembrances and desire I will not omit to say how much they feel for your domestic troubles.

Will dear Mrs. Piozzi have the charity to tell me whether there is any Latin-Hebrew Lexicon, as well as Hebrew-Latin. I mean the Lat. 1st.²⁷

1 As You Like It I.iii.12.

2 Gravidia: pregnant. The "unexpected predicament" is the pregnancy of Hester (Queeney) Thrale, Lady Keith. She gave birth in Dec. 1809 (Clifford, p. 428).

3 "Thy Forests, Windsor! and thy green Retreats" (Pope, Windsor-Forest l.1). Mrs. Frances Bowdler (c. 1747-1835), daughter of Dr. Thomas Bowdler, sister to Thomas Bowdler, the Shakespearean expurgator, lived in Bath with her sister, Harriet Bowdler. She was not related to HLP. For Harriet Bowdler, see ante 24 Aug. 1808, n. 19.

4 "What is in this world but grief and woe?" (III Henry VI II.v.19).

5 Quotation untraced.

6 Pistol: one of Falstaff's associates in 2 Henry IV, Henry V, and The Merry Wives of Windsor.

7 Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), Memoirs, tr. anonymously, 1810. "The name which is strong and honorable." Quotation untraced. There is no mention of HLP meeting Alfieri either in her Florence Miscellany (1785) or in her Observations and Reflections made in the Course of a Journey Through France, Germany and Italy (1785).

8 George III (1738-1820), King of England (1760-1820). Gent. Mag. gave a history of the jubilee: "Among Christians, the solemnization of Jubilee was first instituted by Boniface VIII, in the year of our Lord 1300....It is generally understood that the Kings of England who have reigned 50 years have also occasioned a public rejoicing to be held throughout the land. But as only two instances of such long reigns occur in our history (namely, the Kings Henry III. and Edward III.) the mention of Jubilee is scarce....King Edward III. in the fiftieth year of his age, caused his birth-day to be observed at court, in the nature and name of a Jubilee. Upon which occasion he granted pardons, immunities, privileges, and many other civil indulgencesThe virtues of our present illustrious and beloved Monarch are too conspicuous to require the pen of panegyric to record them, and the love and loyalty of his subjects too prevalent to require any appeal" (Sept. 1809, lxxix. 830-31). Reference untraced in Rapin.

9 Pius VII (Gregorio Chiaramonte), Pope (1800-23). Gent. Mag. reported the excommunication of Buonaparte by Pius VII, Pontiff and the Pope's "Protest against Buonaparte; declaring the new and violent spoilation of the papal dominions null and void" (Aug. 1809, lxxix. 773). "In May 1809 the Papal States were assimilated to the Empire, and on 10 June the Papal flag was hauled down from the St. Angelo and the tricolour run up.... The papal bull Quum Memoranda pronounced major excommunication on all who had dared to commit sacrilege against the Patrimony of Peter. On 6 July a storming party under General Radet broke down the doors of the Quirinal with hatchets and, bundling the Pope into a carriage, rushed him toward captivity at Savona" (NCMH, p. 156). "Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation" (Romans xii. 12). Wellesley had compelled Soult to evacuate Portugal and had won a recent victory over King Joseph and Victor at Talavera on 28 July 1809.

10 A reference to the slaying of the firstborn in Egypt; "And the Lord slew all, the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of the beast" (Exodus xiii.15).

11 Ezekiel ii.10.

12 "Which shore is clean from our blood" (Horace, Odes II.ii.36). II.ii.36).

13 HLP hoped to attend "Queeney" during her pregnancy. "No such possibility had entered her daughter's head, however, and the baby was born in December without the benefit of her grandmother's presence. Nothing would ever change Queeney's feelings toward her mother" (Clifford, p. 428). For Lady Keith's opposition to HLP's marriage to Gabriel Piozzi and her business quarrels with her mother, see Clifford, pp. 213-23 and 431-32.

14 "O what times, O what habits!" (Cicero, In Catilinam I.i.1.).

15 "Great wits to madness sure are near allied" (Dryden, Absalom and Achitophel i.163).

16 Story untraced.

17 "His powers" (II Henry IV I.iii.29).

18 Reference untraced.

19 Bede (c. 672-735), Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, c. 1475. HLP wrote in Retrospection: "Venerable Bede gave us a bright example of blameless conduct, and of calm research into the deep-hidden stores of learning." She considers his description of hell and of the offerings of the three kings. See Retrospection, i. 202-03.

20 Thomas Rymer (1641-1713), Foedera, Conventiones, et Cujuscunq[ue] Generis Actia Publica, 20 vols., 1704-35.

21 For Elizabeth Carter, see ante 14 Sept. 1808, n. 5. Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), Florentine historian and statesman, author of Storia d'Italia (1534). Reference to Guicciardini untraced. "I am not only witty in myself, but the cause/Of wit in others" (II Henry IV I.ii.9-10)

22 For Martin Archer Shee, see ante 21 Nov. 1808, n. 14. Samuel Johnson's parody of Sir John Dalrymple's style reads: "It is the mere bouncing of a schoolboy. Great He! but greater She! and such stuff" (Life ii. 210).

23 For HLP's use of Apocalyptic analogies for Napoleon, see ante 24 Aug. 1808, n. 5.

24 Gent. Mag. reported: "There have lately appeared in the Newspapers some well-authenticated accounts from the coast of Scotland, of a phaenomenon having been seen there of that description called a Mermaid" (Sept. 1809, lxxix. 829).

25 Paradise Lost ii.628

26 Two Gentlemen of Verona IV.iii.32.

27 J. Wetstein, Biblica Hebraica Manuelia, Amsterdam, 1753. HLP's knowledge of Latin-Hebrew dictionaries untraced.

Wednesday 11 October 1809

MS. JRL (582.46).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: C OC 13 809, O 13 1809 EV, Richmond Unpd.

Richmond Green. Wednesday: Oct. 11. 1809.

I dont know whether my sweet Mrs. Piozzi will be glad or sorry to hear that Clem, her young-old Friend and Admirer has been so busy lately inquiring with whom he shall deposit his "three pound two," that I determined to wait till I should be able to give some account of his schemes. Nothing is yet irrevocably concluded; but he will, I believe, soon be engaged with some Merchant --Smith, Green, White or Brown-- Smith, I think, who is to take him into Partnership by and by, and whom Clem will serve instead of the Muses meantime. --As this is to be his fate, I dont talk to him much about Horace and Aeschylus--Satires and Buskins--but put him in mind of what Solomon, after plodding over the Cedar and the Hyssop, I dare say, feelingly said, that "much study is a weariness to the flesh." ¹ For what could Clem do at College with 100£ a year?²--a Sum that would not keep him in "Greek Books"--and as he is not Erasmus, he must have "cloaths" too.³

These proceedings will confine Mama and me very much to London, whither she will repair, perhaps in 6 weeks, that Clem may have a home, knowing that at his age "contagious blastments

are most imminent." ⁴ But you will be quite tired if I go on any longer essaying⁵ on projects, that after all, may vanish, like Ossians Ghosts into thin air. ⁶

Let me rather thank you, my ever loved Mrs. Piozzi, for your kind, satisfactory communications about the Lexicon and David Levi,⁷ wh I think is more to both our tastes than Mr. Smith the Merchant and must be a most valuable work. I suppose you dont think so about Rapin, avoiding as you do to say one syllable about him, good or bad. --Is it because he talks of "that crabbed Country Wales?" ⁸ --I am all anxiety to know how the Welsh projects come on--the bad Stacks and the Black Mountain, on wh you have set your heart, though I expect you will soon take it off and break it, what with public and private misfortunes. ⁹

"Proud France must sure to that blest Country yield

Whose Generals quit and Statesmen take the Field." ¹⁰

--Says somebody who can have the cruelty to turn such disasters into a joke. ¹¹ --I was surprised at reading your account of the Fire--because that I do believe --but as to the Mermaid on the rock--"Somebody saw a Seal there" Capt. Burney says. ¹² However do let me know what Lady Keith, in her dry way, has to say about it--and tell how her LadyShip bears her faculties,¹³ or rather her misfortunes: whether she has reconciled herself yet to the

thoughts of squalling brats, when She expects any, etc., etc.,
 --and above all pray tell me you dont mean to go and nurse her.

I have heard a great deal lately of Buonaparte's Physicians
 --how the English expected to be sure they'd kill him to oblige
 them. But I'm wicked enough to fear that his sickness was
 invented to tantalize the world¹⁴ and that this Attila has
 had the wisdom to follow the advice of his Cousin Macbeth,
 or Lady Macbeth, (I forget which):

"Throw physic to the dogs

I'll none of it."¹⁵

Tell me, dearest Mrs. Piozzi--did you ever think much about
 the wonderful coincidence, in passages without number, between
 Shakespear and Horace?--and do you believe with the people in
 general that it is merely accidental, and our Poet no Scholar,
 or that now and then his memory failed, and the impression made
 by the Roman Demi-God gave rise unconsciously to So many ident-
 ical thoughts?

Will you answer me another question, you that are so
intuitively ready at derivations--and say which of the Noble
 name of Plantagenet pleases you best. I only know the old one
 of the broom Twig, with wh Fulk, Ist Earl of Anjou caused him-
 self to be scourged at Jerusalem. Can that be the real origin
 of the name?¹⁶

I go on fagging {ha}rd for my honoured Master, Mr. Wilful as he is {som}etimes called--but I fear my poverty, but not {my} will will force me to dismiss him soon.¹⁷ Have you read, and do you like "Gertrude of Wyoming," a Poem by Hope-Campbell?¹⁸ There seems a stagnation of wit and industry now. Nobody publishes and nobody studies to any amount. And yet the Climate is the same and the country in wh Dr. Johnson lived and you wrote--and flourished--and still do, and long I hope will flourish--though you would fain persuade me it is all over. Frustra! --"Talk not of 'dregs' you might as well be mute."¹⁹ There are some People and some minds that are evergreen. I could name one at this minute, if I dared. Poor dear Grandpapa I think, might almost make a second. --He is still at Bulstrode, as young as ever, enjoying every comfort his hospitable Host can give him, and laying in a stock of stoutness for the Winter,²⁰ "when the rain and wind beat dire December," etc.²¹ I cant help thinking that Shakespeare was inspired with the Spirit of Prophecy, when he said,

The Seasons change their manners, as the Year

Had found some Months asleep, and leap'd them oer.²²

So fast asleep have been our Summer Months this year. Have you seen the New Poem of your favourite Mr. Shee? If not you will at Bath, no doubt. I am very jealous of your being there this

winter, but I console myself with the hope that it will be beneficial to your health, which is dearer to me even than the hope of seeing and conversing with you--but remember you have promised to come to Town.

Come ultimately to Town. I bid my ink be as clear and obliging as it could to day--but I am afraid I have not succeeded. You that write so very beautifully--with such fine insignia²³ always and such an enviable hand, have a right to scold--but what can I do if my ink is so stubborn? Adieu dear darling Mrs. Piozzi. Pray pray write very soon to your ever admiring and unalienably attached.

Marianne Francis

I dont understand much about the Play-house. But I hope which ever side it contends for, the Mob will be overcome.²⁴ --Think of the Government of ²⁵, i.e., the Jacobins, in France. I have a horror of "the blunt Monster with uncounted heads--the still discordant wavering multitude."²⁶ It should never know what victory is--like the wild beasts--blood once tasted, nothing else will do afterwards.

The Baby has been ill lately--crying and cutting teeth which will not come when she does squall for them.²⁷ Mama and my Sister and Clem beg their affectionate remembrances. Dolph begs to say that he is in Phedrus.²⁸

1 Ecclesiastes xii.12.

2 For CF's inheritance, see ante, p. lxvi n. 3.

3 For MF's reference to Erasmus and "cloaths," see ante 27 June 1809, n. 11.

4 Hamlet I.iii.42.

5 Essaying: "the action of the vb. essay" (OED).

6 James Macpherson (1736-96), author of The Poems of Ossian (1761-63), purported to be translations from the Gaelic of a poet called Ossian, revealed to be mainly fabrications by Macpherson.

7 David Levi, Lingua Sacra: in Three Parts. Part I. Contains a Complete Hebrew Grammar, with Points; Part II. a Complete Hebrew-English Dictionary; Part III. to Contain All Words Used in the English Tongue, Arranged in Alphabetical Order, and Explained in Hebrew, 3 vols., 1785-87.

8 Quotation untraced in Rapin.

9 HLP wrote to ST in Sept. 1809: "my Resolution is to enclose the black Mountain just behind Brynbella, and plant what we call the Bryn a scarry Rock that deforms our Beauty not a little" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A). The "public misfortune" may be a reference to the failure of the Walcheren expedition; see post 17 Nov. 1809, n. 19. The "private misfortune" may be a reference to HLP's strained relationship with "Queeney" (see ante 19 Sept. 1809, n. 13) or to her neighbors' resistance to her enclosure project (see post 17 Nov. 1809, n. 7).

10 Quotation untraced.

11 Reference untraced.

12 For Captain James Burney (1750-1821), see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 12.

13 Faculty: "Of persons: the ability or aptitude, whether natural or acquired" (OED).

14 Gent. Mag. reported: "A Letter from France, alluding to Buonaparte's late indisposition says:--'It is a positive fact, that the Emperor was lately violently attacked with a collapse, which lasted 36 hours, during which time he was in a state of perfect stupor....He recovered, however, before his illness had transpired; and scarcely a symptom of indisposition appeared in his face" (Nov. 1809, lxxix. 1068-69).

15 Macbeth V.iii.47; the lines are Macbeth's.

16 Broom twig is the usual etymology: planta, sprig, plant; and gneista, genesta, the broom plant (American Heritage Dictionary).

17 The reference is to Woelfl (Wilful), her music master; see ante 4 July 1808, n. 28. Allusion to: "My poverty but not my will consents" (Romeo and Juliet V.i.76).

18 For Thomas Campbell, author of The Pleasures of Hope, see ante 10 July 1809, n. 26. HLP wrote in her diary, 10 Oct. 1809: "Wrote Letters and read Tighe's Psyche and Campbell's Gertrude" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A).

19 Quotation untraced.

20 Evergreen: "always fresh, never failing" (OED). First example of the figurative use of the word is dated 1811. For Dr. Burney's stay at Bulstrode, see ante 9 July 1808, n. 7.

21 Cymbeline II.iii.35.

22 II Henry IV.iv.123.

23 Insignis: distinguished, remarkable, notable. Possibly a reference to HLP's "distinguished" passages.

24 The new Theatre at Covent-garden opened on 18 Sept. 1809 with new prices which gave rise to the O.P. (Old Prices) riots. Gent. Mag. reported: "A spirit of opposition to the increase of prices, which had animated the public since the opening of Covent-garden Theatre, far from being subdued, seemed rather to have gained strength and solidarity this night....The Proprietors, he Kemble sincerely assured them, were most anxiously concerned to do everything in their power to meet the public inclination.... They were willing a Committee of Gentlemen should be appointed, to inspect the state of the concern, and from the profits thus derived, to say whether the old or the new prices were the most

fit and reasonable....Mr. Kemble also stated, that it was the intention of the proprietors, that, till the report of these gentlemen could be received, the Theatre should continue shut" (Sept. 1809, lxxix. 882).

25 οἱ πολλοί: the mob.

26 II Henry IV Ind. 18-19.

27 Parody of Hotspur's speech in I Henry IV III.i.52.

28 The tales of Phaedrus Dolph was reading were probably those in Sir Brooke Boothby's collection of Fables; see ante 21 Nov. 1808, n.9.

Tuesday 7 November 1809

MS. JRL (582.47).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: B NO 8 809.

No. 38. Keppel Street, Russell Square, London.¹

Tuesday. Nov. 7, 1809

Here we are, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, once more safely housed in London. Clem is to go in good earnest to his Office in the City, soon, from eight o'clock till 5. --A safe receptacle for his bothered brains in the evening is essential, so Mama has left her Richmond retreat, and established herself moreover in Keppel Street Russell Square, at a reasonable distance from his office, that he mayn't spend all his time poor fellow! (like somebody else,) in going to and fro in the earth, and in walking up and down on it.² He has reconciled his mind to a fancied Necessity of business, to the exchange of Merchants for Muses, Wharfs for College, and Ledgers for Books--

T'is true 'tis pity, pity 'tis, tis true.³

But to unHINGE him again were still greater pity, fastening to straw as he does. --So he must go on now and find "sermons in Stones" if he can.⁴

I shewed him your last Letter, darling Mrs. Piozzi, and dwelt on your suggestions.⁵ (By the bye, I never suspected you could have talked away so fine on such ignoble subjects or that you were acquainted with any thing of business but the name.)

Clement is fortunate in having a very active and perfectly disinterested Friend in a Mr. Brooks, a Banker, who is well acquainted with all the intricacies of commercial transactions, knows Clem's little affairs thoroughly, and interests himself in his welfare with the kindness of a Father.⁶ So it is all left to his honour, (not forgetting the approbation of the Trustees) and as soon as the bargain is concluded I will write word, as you <are> so good as to interest yourself, sweet Mrs. Piozzi, in these uninteresting matters, yet important, too.

Pray tell me when poor Lady Keith has transacted her business. Children and teeth ought to last good for ever, they give so much trouble before-hand. I suppose your advice has been followed with regard to my Neice, for She thrives now, and sleeps o'nights,⁷ and grows like the grass. I can't help congratulating Charlotte in my wicked heart, that She is not likely to be blest with any more Babies just now. I should wish them all in the moon they cry for--

"The Silver crescent on the belt of night."⁸

I have been reading lately Mason's life of Gray. --Tell me were you pleased with it? did you know Gray?⁹ What a noble creature he was! I can't help admiring the union of such bright genius with such sturdy application. Such brilliant talents so sedulously cultivated. Not a Greek Author he didn't read, nor an English Poet he did not excel, one might almost say if Milton

had never graced this Island. There is a simplicity too in Gray's Biographer that is very engaging. I believe it was Mason whose picture was drawn by mistake in a painting by Barry, of the Elysian Fields, before he was dead. Somebody told him the Poet was still alive--"O never mind," Said Barry, "it's ready for him, then."¹⁰

The derivation of Dab, amused me much and must be new, I know.¹¹ Not so I suppose the etymology of Hocus-pocus, which Tillotson insists is a corruption of "hoc est corpus," alluding to the doctrine of transubstantiation. "Youth is bad at counsel, but admirable at execution," he says.¹² Dear Tillotson! Is he a favourite of yours? I like your expression "vast Folio of the world,"¹³ and am much obliged by the Account of Plantagenist, rather more satisfactory, to be sure, than my Broomstick etymology.

Psyche, by Mrs. Harry Tighe, is Neice, to our mystical Friend.¹⁴ --I am sorry my own Mrs. Piozzi chooses to afford a lonely instance of abjuring Authorship, once begun. Once a Priest, always a Priest. I thought those wrote always who wrote once. Why suffer your godlike reason to rust in you unused¹⁵--and why, above all things, (that does put me in a passion) why talk my dear Mrs. Piozzi, as if you were superannuated? You that are evergreen, that never could be old if you tried--you that talk and write with as much spirit now as you did 20 years ago, that recollect every thing, why will you forget the Song of the swan, that was always

sweetest at the last, like "music at the close."¹⁶

Pray do not fancy wits that cannot exist, but take care of your dear health, and write special word to your tearing little Friend that it is mending fast, and that you are coming to Town to have the Mountaineers performed very soon.¹⁷

Do write to me very soon, my own Mrs. Piozzi. The horrors of removal--paper and packthread have taken me up lately, and retarded my pen, but not the quick motion of my heart's affection towards you. Now here I am in London--confined at home (for I can't go out just to hover through the fog, and filthy air," like a witch)¹⁸--Sitting over my little fire--my "Friend far from me,"¹⁹ (and my "Lover" too, for the matter of that, having none) do let me have the consolation to hear often from you, for your letters are the greatest delight of my life, next to yourself--and Heaven knows "I am not comforted to live, but that there is this jewel in the world that I may see again."²⁰ That I must See. So pray just send word when to yr own ever gratefully, adoringly affectionate,

Marianne Francis

Mama's best remembrances--and Clem's constant love and thanks.

What will you say to my ignorance, blush I'm afraid in future to own me for a Friend, when I am forced to confess that yr favourite Apologue of Le Dragon à Plusieurs Têtes is unknown

to me.²¹ To err is human: to forgive, divine.²² You are
divine, so let the next letter chase the filthy air of
ignorance from my mind.

1 Keppel Street, Russell Square runs from the west side of Russell Square to Gower Street.

2 For the allusion to Captain Barclay and Job, see ante 28 July 1809, n. 16.

3 See Hamlet II.ii.98.

4 As You Like It I.ii.17.

5 HLP wrote in her diary 18 Oct. 1809: "Sent an answer to Marianne about her brother" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A).

6 Brooks, Son, and Dixon, Chancery Lane ("A List of Bankers in London," The Post Office Annual Directory, ed. Critchett and Woods, 14th edn., 1813).

7 "Sleek-headed men such as sleep o'nights" (Julius Caesar I.iii.193). The reference is probably to Julia Barrett's teething; HLP's advice untraced.

8 Quotation untraced.

9 Thomas Gray (1716-71), The Poems of Mr. Gray. To Which are Prefixed Memoirs of His Life and Writing /Including His Correspondence/ by W. Mason (BMC). William Mason (1724-97), the editor of Gray's works. HLP did not know Gray.

10 James Barry (1741-1806). The picture which made Barry famous was "Elysium, or the State of Retribution," a collection of portraits of distinguished persons. Story untraced.

11 "Dab (i), to strike gently. (E). M.E. dabben; also dabbe, a blow. Not in A.S." (Walter W. Skeat, A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, 1965).

12 Hocus-pocus: "Appears early in 17th c., as the appellation of a juggler (and, as the assumed name of a particular conjuror) derived from the same Latin formula employed by him....The notion that hocus pocus was a parody of the Latin words used in the Eucharist, rests merely on a conjecture thrown out by Tillotson...1694. Tillotson Serm. xxvi. (1742) II.237. In all probability those common juggling words of hocus pocus are nothing else but a corruption of hoc est corpus, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome in their trick of Transubstantiation" (OED). For John Tillotson's Sermons, see ante 25 Aug. 1809, nn. 3,4. The quotation on youth reads: "though they /youth/are bad at Counsel, they are admirable at Execution"; it appears in Sermon liv of Tillotson's Sermons (1624),

p. 554. Sermon xxvi on transubstantiation appears on pp. 262-82.

13 Quotation and references untraced.

14 For Mary (Blanchford) Tighe, see ante 27 June 1809, n. 3. Her poem Psyche was published with her other works in 1811. The "mystical friend" may be Tighe (no first name traced), a German surgeon to Madame D'Arblay (WW).

15 Allusion to Hamlet IV.ii.32-33.

16 Richard II II.i.12.

17 George Colman, the younger (1762-1836), The Mountaineers, 1794. The Mountaineers was performed in Bath on 6 Mar. 1810; it was performed by the Drury Lane Company in London at the Lyceum Theatre 31 Oct. 1810 (John Genest, Some Account of the English Stage from 1660-1830, 12 vols., New York, originally published Bath, 1832, viii. 208, 211).

18 Macbeth I.i.11.

19 Quotation untraced.

20 See Cymbeline I.i.90-92.

21 For the dragon of the Apocalypse, see ante 15 Feb. 1809, n. 5.

22 An Essay on Criticism ii.525.

Friday 14 November 1809

MS. JRL (582.48).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: A NO 17 809.

38 Keppel Street, Russell Square. Friday.

Nov. 14, 1809.

"Crawl through 7 years more existence!" dearest Mrs. Piozzi, what do you mean? --Seventy times seven, at least, Leak¹ and I settled that long ago. I think you are living back again for my part, for your letters make me more happy, and your hand more envious, every time. It is a most provoking hand that can make every other look mean and vulgar. That however I could get over--but one thing I cannot. My Sweet Mrs. Piozzi, you have but one fault in the world, that I can find, which is, being so fond of Bath when I am in London. --Four months! and I had flattered myself like a Fool that you would only stay two. I am an ungrateful wretch to repine though, and ought to be only thinking how happy I shall be when the 1st of April comes, which will not find us in Keppel Street, but Somewhere very near it, where Mama means to furnish a house.² Clem's affair is not yet finally adjusted, but will be we expect now, in two days. He was so delighted with your last letter, and the verses, I think he learnt them by heart. --So did I. The Latin was new to me,

almost every thing is. Quere, whether this gives more pleasure or pain? The Translation I extremely admire.³ You could not have done better nor any body else so well, for nobody has such a knack of imitation, all the world over. Though the 20;000 Seedling Trees is no imitation I'm sure, but an original act of goodness and vigour.⁴ I rejoice to see you so "ripe for exploits and mighty enterprises."⁵ Only I wish the Act could be passed next December instead of July.⁶ I hope the Inhabitants of "that crabbed country Wales" will in time be sensible of what you do for them.⁷

Are you acquainted with Southey's Memoirs of Kirk White? Have you interested yourself at all about him? I have been breaking my heart at the perusal of his sufferings and neglected genius and cruel exertions--and execrating the seared consciences of those who persuaded him to study till he brought himself to the verge of the grave, and not content with that, gave him supporting medicines to carry him through fresh trials, and so actually pushed him in.⁸ Poor Kirk White! He was a noble creature--Such original and such acquired powers--So much genius and learning and religion--"quite, quite down!"⁹ --Do tell me if you have seen the book and deplored the Fate of this unfortunate youth, who died, I think, in 1806. But other Sorrows have been awakening your grief I know, of late; I did not dare mention

the sad end of your unhappy Friend, in the hope that you had perhaps not seen it. I was very much shocked that it should come to this, and you must have been horror-struck to find that noble form blasted with extasy.¹⁰ --Suicide is generally the effect of insanity, 'brevis Furor,'¹¹ I must think, even among English men. --Who, that had not worked his mind into a phrensy of despair, could dare to "rush into the Secret house of death?"¹² Poor Mr. Glasse! The world attributes his sad Fate to the despair caused by the enormous debts in which an extravagant mode of living had involved him. --I have read, and did like his Sermons, I mean 16 which are published in 8vo. vol. also containing 16 selected from Bishop Beveridge, whose manner I thought he imitated.¹³

There are sad examples set now in every station of life. It's well that example cant justify wrong, or I suppose there would be no Ark with eight Souls in it on the mountains,¹⁴ but all would be "eating and drinking and marrying and giving in marriage," only.¹⁵

I heard for a Fact, a story of the Duke of Clarence the other day, which one ought not to laugh at if one could help it, I think. A Bill was proposed for increasing the Salaries of poor Curates,¹⁶ which to the great surprise of the Authors was strenuously supported by the Duke of Clarence. Next day

at dinner a grave Bishop thanked the Duke for his interference, adding that he was much gratified to defend his royal Highness defending the interests of the Church--"Upon my word, "replied the Duke, "I'm a Friend to the Church--have a high respect for many of its members. And though I can't often find time to go there myself, I always send Jordan and the Children."¹⁷ --Quid inde?¹⁸

Thanks dearest Mrs. Piozzi for the account of the Dragon. I don't know what even you, who always make the best of every thing, can say now for public affairs. This sad Island of Walcheren!¹⁹ --I know an Officer who caught the fever twice there, and an ague after, and came back alive after that.²⁰ Which I suppose is more than half the poor men can say. Grand-papa has lost at any rate a kind Friend, and to him an useful one, in the poor Duke of Portland, who begged him to consider Bulstrode as his home, take there whoever he would, and stay as long as he liked, and shut himself up as much as he pleased.²¹ This in the Summer was very agreeable, and prevented dear Gr. Papa from fancying himself too old and ill to see any body. Now it's all over. He knows little of the present Duke, but never will know any more I fancy. And when we dined at Chelsea 2 days ago,²² saw Mama only for $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour, but me not for a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a minute. His last attack he has quite recovered but he coughs a great deal, and what with coughing, and reading

and writing spends his days in his solitary study, admitting hardly any body, but preserving still his wonted vigour of mind, and powers of application--reading the smallest print and writing the finest hand (next to yours) that I ever saw. I asked my Uncle Capt. Burney²³ what book against Mrs. Siddons was published.²⁴ He says 'tis a deed without a name, and a work without a reader; but he believes it to be a "scoundrelly book." Pray let me hear as soon as you get safe to Bath--and tell me all the news--especially how you find yourself and how the pump agrees, and how the new-Carriage behaves. Every thing relative to dearest Mrs. Piozzi is interesting to the heart of her ever admiring and gratefully affectionate

Marianne Francis

What has become of poor Lady Keith? Is it over?

Mama begs her kindest rememberances, Clem his love and admiration.

This our Family now. The rest at Richmond.

1 Matthew xviii. 22; For Leak, see ante 1 Apr. 1809, n. 2.

2 After Gabriel Piozzi's death, HLP spent her summers at Brynbella and her winters in Bath and London. She was in Bath from 1 Dec. 1809 to 9 Apr. 1810. She was in London from 12 Apr. to 28 May 1810 (JRL, Piozzi MSS. 616, HLP's diaries). The Francis family moved to Chenies Street, London in Dec. 1809 and were residing there in Apr. 1810.

3 HLP's verses and translation untraced.

4 HLP wrote in her diary, 6 Oct. 1809: "Lake gone for Seedings to Holywell" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A). She was planting the trees as part of her enclosure project at Brynbella; see ante 11 Oct. 1809, n. 10.

5 Henry V I.ii.121.

6 Deficiencies in the crops of the late 1790's promoted the Enclosure Act of 1801. Many individuals enclosed land during the first decade of the nineteenth century, especially after the bad harvest of 1809. "The most obvious response to the stimulus of higher prices was the extension of cultivation and a quickening of enclosing activity, with its possibility of greater production. Half of all Enclosure Acts passed between 1727 and 1845 were enacted during the war years, involving slightly more than 3 m. acres. Considerable areas were also enclosed privately" (Land, Labour and Population, p. 30).

7 HLP wrote to ST on 11 Oct. 1809 of her neighbors' response to her enclosure project: "one must have something in Prospect, or the Ties of Life would relax too fast; and since it does not please God to cut mine as I expected, I must consent to use them from Benefit of my silly Neighbors, who dislike the Project exceedingly--but like Harriet Bracebridge I must cram their Mouths with Bread when They talk Nonsense. Don't you remember pretty Harriet Streatfield who married that Vulgar Fellow for his Money;-- and when he asked for Winegar at Table, or found fault with the Fillet of Weal,--would start up from dinner in the oddest Way imaginable, and with her pretty white hand seize the Rolls, and cram the Man's mouth with Bread--crying "I must punish him You know, I must indeed"--while We Lookers: on,-- not knowing where to look, observed the awkward Master of the house made awkwarder than he was before by this ridiculous Embarrassment. So it will probably be with my Peasantry" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A). Harriet (Streatfield) Bracebridge unidentified further.

8 Robert Southey editor of The Remains of Henry Kirke White (1807). Henry Kirke White (1785-1806) obtained a scholarship at St. John's College, Cambridge, where, according to tradition, overwork brought about his death.

9 Hamlet III.i.153.

10 Hamlet III.i.158.

11 "Momentary madness."

12 Antony and Cleopatra IV.ii.81.

13 For George Henry Glasse (1761-1809), and his works, see ante 3 Jan. 1809, n. 16 and 25 Aug. 1809, n. 5. Glasse "committed suicide in 1809, after losing a large sum of money (which he had just raised to pay his debts) by leaving it in a hackney coach" (Balderston, p. 1084 n.3). HLP wrote in her diary, 3 Oct. 1809: "George Henry Glasse has hanged himself!!!" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A). MF's conjectures may be in response to "Reflections arising from an unfortunate Suicide" which appeared in Gent. Mag. and employed the phrase "brevis furor" in a commentary on Glasse's suicide (Nov. 1809, lxxix. 1019-22).

14 Genesis vii.7.

15 Matthew xxiv.38.

16 For observations on Spencer Perceval's Bill in favour of Stipendiary Curates which was negatived on 30 June 1808, see Gent. Mag. (Oct. 1808), lxxviii. 499-502 and 509-10.

17 For Dorothea Jordan and the Duke of Clarence, see ante 13 Aug. 1808, n. 6. Story untraced. Dorothea Jordan bore the Duke of Clarence ten children, all of whom were named Fitzclarence.

18 "To what end?"

19 For a detailed account of the English forces' attack on Walcheren and the "Walcheren disease," see "Inquiry into the Expedition to the Scheldt" in Gent. Mag. (Mar. 1810), lxxx. 260-66.

For an account of the failure of the Walcheren Expedition (Sept. 1809), Sir Arthur Wellesley and the pestilent fever which assailed his army, see Napier, i. ch. iv.

20 Officer at Walcheren untraced.

21 The Duke of Portland died on 30 Oct. 1809. For CB's visits to Bulstrode, see ante 9 July 1808, n. 7.

22 For Chelsea, see ante 4 July 1808, n. 17.

23 For Captain James Burney, see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 12.

24 Sarah (Kemble) Siddons (1755-1831), the actress.
Catherine Galindo, Mrs. Galindo's Letter to Mrs. Siddons, Being a Circumstantial Detail of Mrs. Siddons' Life for the Last Seven Years: with Several of Her Letters, 1809.

25 Macbeth IV.i.49.

Tuesday 13 December 1809

MS. JRL (482.49).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Brynbella, Near Denbigh, North Wales.

POSTMARK: None.

No. 10. Chenies Street, Alfred Place Bedford Square.¹

Dec. 13. 1809.

Well! dearest Mrs. Piozzi, you are gay to be sure, now; and write in better spirits (say what you will) from the thick of your Bath foppery, than you ever did from Brynbella. With all this additional gas, you will hardly condescend, I suppose, to receive me for a "Dropper-in," as I have grave stuff to write about, changing houses, City Offices, and old Rapin. However you must hear me, and perhaps for Mr. Shephard's² sake may forgive me. You see I'm as jealous as possible of him; managing you and all your affairs at such a rate, and striding to Bath and Brynbella and all the places to see you, while I am obliged to stay and bite my fingers in London. When you do come here I shall have my revanche I think, by plaguing you every day. This same Mr. Shephard, cause of all the black passions in my soul, object of my envy, hatred and malice, sought for me with your unlimited direction, very sedulously, brought me you letter, and is to bring the Latin Verses, original and all, for every thing is new to me, I think, Miss Beffin into

the bargain whom I never saw, but must see sometime or other, from your wonderful account.³ Pray, to complete her education, dont she play on the Piano Forte with her mouth too? This would be a new accomplishment, a practicable one, and little more surprising than Woelfl playing with his hands behind him, which he sometimes does (turning his back to the instrument) to the great surprise of the company who wonder where the Sound comes from.⁴ But I must leave all these wonders to talk about your Friend Clement. You will rejoice, I'm sure, to hear that he is settled at last, any how, and drinks no more "the cup of alteration."⁵ A Merchant's house in the City holds him fast,⁶ and thither he repairs every morning from 9 till 5, making up his mind very fortunately to content itself with what he can snatch of classical lore when he comes home. Meantime dont expect to find us moved by the time you write again; we are stationary too: Mama has furnished our present abode, and engaged it for 4 years. So here we are, pretty much like a horse in a mill, only shall find ourselves at the place of destination a little sooner, I suppose. So much for four years to come of our lives, if they last. I do nothing but wish next April were to-morrow, and would willingly give time a shove, to effect it; but he being so stubborn as not to bestir himself for any living wight, you must make me what amends you can, sweet Mrs. Piozzi, by writing to me very often; telling

how you are what the waters do for you, and what you do for
 yourself, at No. 6 Pulteney St.⁷ I triumph in your forgetting
my direction,⁸ (though no injury I hope,) because I like to
 see some signs of humanity about you; for what with your
 provoking hand, you seem to distance every body; at least
 there's provoking distance enough between us now, I know, in
 every sense of the word. I am getting on with tough Rapin,
 (whom Hume enviously calls a "contemptible Historian")⁹ deep
 in the troubles of poor King Charles;¹⁰ and well do I recollect
 your digest of all these affairs in my own dear Retrospection.¹¹
 Rapin is very candid, and gives his authorities, which con-
 temptible trick I suppose Hume scorned to affect, for he has
 the impudence to expect People will take his word all along,
 which in such a long-winded History they have no business to
 do. Tell me will you, how you stand with regard to the Queen
 of Scots. I am most violently her enemy, and believe that
 she was certainly accessory to the murder of her Husband--why
 else marry Bothwell? Only I pity her for having such a poor
 mean Hamlet to revenge her. James was an odious fellow to be
 sure, and his Speeches as Macbeth says "a sorry sight."¹²
 Have you seen any more of Mrs. Mountagu's letters. Two volumes
 every winter are to come out I hear any day this 10 years. I
 suppose She embezzled all the sense that should have gone to
 her Nephew.¹³

We hear O.P. screaming in our streets at night. The uproar as great as ever, greater, since the triumph of Clifford.¹⁴ I asked your Friend if he was the Mr. Sergeant Shephard I saw so busy in the Papers.¹⁵ --As to the French letters you talk of, dearest Mrs. Piozzi, my only wonder is that you are not ashamed to read such a Book--to be sure you have a right perhaps a necessity, from having read every thing else worth reading. For my part, I intend to fag hard now, to work out some spare time for Mlle. L'Espinasse by and bye.¹⁶

London is empty enough as you may suppose. I meet Miss Parke sometimes singing.¹⁷ She is a very good Girl I believe but an impolitic one, because she makes a point of manifesting how much at her ease She is at performing, in any company. If She has attained that "belle indifference" as Sevigne calls it,¹⁸ it should be at any rate "celerata virtus."¹⁹ Tell me if you hear a famous Mrs. Caulfield at Bath,²⁰ and how Catalani was liked there,²¹ and that you mean always to come away in April; and pray say when Lady Keith has finished, and how.²²

Charlotte stays at Richmond still. Dolph comes home for the holidays in a week and writes me Latin letters meantime.²³ Mama desires kindest regards, and I, recollecting out of Girard's Synonymes what I think prettier than Mlle. L'Espinasse, must insert it here.

Vous n'crivez que pour écrire,
C'est pour vous un amusement;
Moi, qui vous aime tendrement,
Je n'ecris que pour vous le dire.²⁴

The latter part is certainly Applicable to dearest Mrs. Piozzi's
ever gratefully and devotedly attached

Marianne Francis

1 Chenies Street, Tottenham Court Road to Gower Street.

2 For Charles Shephard, see ante 13 June 1809, n. 12.

3 Miss Beffin untraced.

4 For Woelfl, see ante 4 July 1808, n. 28. Of Woelfl's performances HLP wrote to ST, June 1806: "This fine new Forte Piano Player is a German Jew--We are tired of him here already; for Wonder is after all a Short: lived Passion, and while other People play as if they were running down Stairs and up again; This Man seems Sliding down the Banisters at once--Some few capital Tricks performed however, the Sport ends: and Folks begin to wish for Mrs. Miles again" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A). For Mrs. Miles, see post 10 Jan. 1810, n. 11.

5 II Henry IV III.i.52.

6 CF's employer untraced.

7 For Pulteney Street, see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 10.

8 HLP wrote in her diary, 9 Dec. 1809: "Wrote to dear Marianne but forgot her Street and enclosed it to C. Shephard" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A).

9 David Hume (1711-76). Quotation on Rapin untraced.

10 The reference is to Rapin's account of Charles VI, King of France, and his conspiracy with Queen Isabella against her brother Edward, King of England; the account appears in Rapin's History iv. 167-69. Rapin gives primary sources in his footnotes.

11 See Retrospection, ii. 90-111.

12 Macbeth II.ii.21.

13 For the Letters of Mrs. Montagu, see ante 6 June 1809, n. 2.

14 For the O.P. riots at Covent Garden, see ante 11 Oct. 1809, n. 24. "A dinner was given in the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, to celebrate the victory obtained by W. Clifford in his action against Brandon the boxkeeper for wearing the letters O.P. in his hat" (London: Past and Present, i.465). Henry Clifford (1768-1813), legal writer, created a baronet (1815), Lincoln's Inn (1792), an advocate of the liberties of the people, famous for exertions in the O.P. riots. See The Whole Proceedings on Trial of an Action Brought by Henry Clifford, Esq., Against Mr. James Brandon for an Assault and False Imprisonment on 5 Dec. 1809, 8 vols., 1809.

15 Sergeant Shephard unidentified.

16 Julie-Jeanne-Eleonore de Lespinasse (1732-76), Mademoiselle de Lespinasse's salon became a meeting place for the Encyclopedists. The letters were love letters to the Comte de Guibert, author of an essay on military tactics. Letters de Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, 3 vols., Paris, 1809.

17 HLP wrote in her diary, 11 Dec. 1809: "Miss Parkes and Miss Williams to dinner" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A). Another reference to Miss Parkes appears in a letter from HLP to ST, 27 Oct. 1806: "Miss Parkes and their Mother had long promised us a visit and at length arrived from Liverpool....They were very soothing to me...and sung sometimes to the Organ, sometimes to the portable Piano forte." Miss Parkes and Miss Williams unidentified further.

18 For the Letters of Madame de Sévigné, see ante 6 June 1809, n. 1. Quotation untraced.

19 "Swift strength" (Horace, Odes IV.ix.30).

20 Mrs. Caulfield unidentified.

21 For Angelica Catalani (1780-1849), see ante 4 July 1808, n. 22.

22 For the reference to Lady Keith, see ante 19 Sept. 1809, n. 2.

23 MF wrote to HLP of CF's studies at Greenwich on 10 June 1808; she also included a comment on Dolph's studies: "the Baby goes to school too, and says his Latin declensions very tolerably." Dolph attended the school of a Mr. Brewster at Richmond.

24 For Girard's Synonymes François, see ante 13 Aug. 1808, n. 17. Quotation untraced.

Tuesday 10 January 1809

MS. JRL (582.50).

POSTMARK: A JA 11 810.

London, Jan. 10. 1809.¹

Not all the knocking in the world shall drive me out of your head, my sweet Mrs. Piozzi, I'm resolved. So, spite of all the Visitors that come to amuse themselves, pretending that it entertains you, here am I, knocking among the rest, and willing to take my chance for reception. But if you're too busy to read, you must write to me by Mr. Shephard again, if not before: So Remember--for if every other Memory fail, in this distracted Globe, "yours will hold her seat."²

You have such a passion for news just now, that I shall try and hold forth on Some London topics, in hopes you'll read my letter--not that I am much about, in this great City, where I begin to think one might turn Hermit easily enough if one chose--nor has it now many charms for me--I suppose, like Horace's Otium without Maecenas--"Non dulce in Tecum simul."³ But you promised to come in April you know, and meantime must forgive me for asking if you have seen my Greek Uncle's late Publication--"Pearson on the Creed, abridged, for the use of young People"--though none but old ones can understand it, I'm afraid. Learned and luminous, the Doctor calls him; and if

you wont go any farther, (being at Bath,) Do, dearest Mrs. Piozzi admire his Motto, chosen, (you could not have done better,) from his own favourite Critic, the Great Bentley, who says, "the most excellent Bishop Pearson--the very dust of whose writings is gold!" N.B. I think this eulogium first put the Doctor upon abridging his work. I suppose you know the Bishop's History;⁴ I blush to say that I never heard of him before, and would quarrel with my Uncle, if I dared, for not prefixing some sort of account of him to the work; for he might as well prefix as preface.

Wallace must be the shyest person on earth; to every body in London at least; for I can meet with nobody who has seen or heard of him here.⁵ Walter Scott will Soon have another accouchement, I'm told; but the world must wait for the christening to know the name.⁶ Do you read Lord Valentia? I dont, because I can't contrive to borrow, nor afford to purchase his travels, not because I hear them, as I do, most vociferously abused.⁷ Lord Byron is gone the Same Tour, the Man who published Some Poems once, and the Edinburgh Reviewers, in their usual style of sarcastic insolence, begged he would let alone being a Poet, for he was "a Lord, and nothing but a Lord." He rejected their advice though, and has lately published a satirical, disguisitorial Poem, on the Scotch and English Bards,⁸ something in the manner of the Pursuits of Literature; which work I never heard you mention, by the bye.⁹

But I am a goose to go on in this way to you, who have all these books and 100 more fast rivetted in your adamantine Memory by this time, no doubt. So I shall talk about Bath, and entreat you to tell me, dear darling Mrs. Piozzi, whether you hear much of a Friend of mine, and a very excellent Player, Mrs. Caulfield, Daughter of Lady Anne Talbot, and whether her Husband is come back safe from the wars.¹⁰ Mrs. Miles, was her Master.¹¹ I heard her the other day for the first time, and lamented to find that She gives into the reigning fashion of flourishing and adorning what She plays, till the subject, which should always predominate, is hardly audible. A vice too, that in her youth She had the wisdom to resist. Amidst all this skirmishing work, I cant for the life of me, help thinking of Pope's triplet. Perhaps he did not know a note of Music; but he has had the luck to hit upon the happiest history of true taste that could be given, I think. I mean, (what you know by heart;)

"True expression, like th' unchanging Sun,
Clears and improves whate'er it shines upon;
It gilds all objects but it alters none."¹²

However the prerogative of superiority may be settled in other respects, in Music, women must always yield the palm, I think. If all the Ladies playing in the world, were tied up in a bag

and thrown into the Sea, the world would be never the worse. But I am the more intolerant from having been lately so much accustomed to the noble simplicity of Woelfl's majestic Music, which makes me even forget how very misjudged this awkward discussion must be to my dear Mrs. Piozzi, who will most likely need all her patience to forgive it.

My compliments to Mr. Charles Shephard. I expect he will bring me a letter from Mrs. Piozzi. "The horse-leach hath 2 daughters, crying Give--Give--"¹³ and you will certainly think I am one of them--but recollect that you have to answer for my importunity after all. He gave me, (not the Horse-leach but Mr. Shephard) his Latin Verses;¹⁴ I thought them beautiful--and you too, for telling me to ask for them.

Your Friend and Admirer Clement, continues to attend his office with great alacrity. Luckily he is not compelled to let contemplation loose upon a wooden desk all day, but has a great deal of exercise--not to the Alehouse, like Kit Smart, but to the City docks Custom-House, etc., etc.¹⁵ With commissions for callimancoes.¹⁶ Sometimes he is released at 2 o'clock; in wh case he runs from the docks to Hyde-Park. I must say for him though, that he has dispatched 2 Folio Vols. of Rapin's ponderous History.¹⁷ Dolph writes Exercises, and Latin Letters to me, and says his Catechism. "They promised and vowed 3 things in my name."¹⁸ "3 things which they never did" --he continued, from his own little head.

Grandpapa triumphs in this July-January; glories in the hot weather, and finds himself [in] better health and spirits, than he has been these 10 years.¹⁹ --The Ides of March are what he has to dread, I fear. Mama desires her kindest regards, and begs to know how the Pump behaves to you.²⁰ Though I have betrayed my parentage,²¹ do say how you are, and write soon, my beloved Mrs. Piozzi, to yr ever gratefully and unalterably attached

Marianne Francis

I must wish you joy of Lady Keith, etc., etc.²² As to Miss Parke, I have a great respect for her, and know She is an excellent Musician and didnt enough consider that She has that rare and happy coincidence of good nerves and a good voice. If She mentions my playing it is a great sign of goodnature also; for I am only learning and practising and shooting at least 100 miles beyond the mark yet--but I always bear in mind my favourite saying from Bishop Leighton--"He that aims high shoots the higher for it, though he shoot not so high as he aim."²³ N.B. I flatter myself I am fat enough for Caesar himself--and "sleep o nights" besides:²⁴ So dont believe any scandal you hear about me.

1 The actual date is 1810.

2 Hamlet I.v.96-97.

3 "Otium/non dulce ni tecum simul" (Leisure, unless with you, is not sweet) Horace, Epodes i.8.

4 John Pearson (1613-86), Bishop of Chester (1673), author of The Exposition of the Creed...Abridged for the Use of Young People by the Reverend Charles Burney (1810). Richard Bentley, D.D. (1662-1742). Quotation and HLP's knowledge of Pearson untraced.

5 Margaret Holford, afterwards Hodson (1778-1852), Wallace; or the Fight of the Fallkirk, 1809. HLP wrote to ST the following account of her meeting with the author of Wallace, 25 Jan. 1810: "I went to a Blue Party for the Purpose of mending my Amusements, and getting some what for the Money I fling away: There however I made so bad a figure I shall be afraid even of Greys in the future. They asked me what I thought of Wallace, a new Poem. I think little about it, quoth I; 'tis one of those Imitations of Marmion which Walter Scott's Merit is sure to fill the Kingdom with--he has set a new fashion, and every body will follow it I suppose--They do the same by Brahm's John Brahms (1774-1856), English composer/ Music Miss Such a one's Dress-- and Abbe Sieze's Politics. There Sate the Lady who wrote the Book--encircled with Admirers, not one of whom I was acquainted with--so I sneaked home with a fresh Cold caught in the Cause of Literature!!!" HLP wrote to ST of the encounter again, 31 Jan. 1810: "It was comical scene enough, The Lady's name--Holford. They called her Miss Holford all Evening, but I knew not a Bit the more that She was Author of Wallace--and one of them said She had read that Poem to them the Evening before--to which I only bow'd, and Wonder'd why her Eyes darted fire at me so" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A).

6 Scott's The Lady of the Lake was published in Edinburgh, June 1810.

7 George Viscount Valentia, Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt, 1809. For one unfavorable review of Lord Valentia's Travels, see QR (Jan. 1809), ii. 88-126.

8 For Henry Brougham's review of Lord Byron's Poems on Various Occasions, (1807), see Edin. Rev. (Jan. 1808), xi. 285-89. George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron Byron (1778-1824), English Bards and Scotch Reviewers: a Satire (published anonymously, Mar. 1809).

An enlarged edition of the poem with the author's name prefixed appeared in Oct. 1809. Twenty eight of the fifty one poems in the original collection were later included in Byron's Hours of Idleness, I presume (Newark, 1807).

9 Thomas James Mathias (? 1754-1835), author of Pursuits of Literature (1794), a satire on contemporary authors.

10 Anne Elizabeth Talbot (1769-1855), daughter of Charles Henry Talbot (1720-98), cr. Baronet (1790), of Mickelham, Surrev and Belfast (AR, 1855, xcvi. 262).

11 Jenny (Guest) Miles (c. 1763-c.1816), music teacher, "a tailor's daughter of Bath, who gave Queeney lessons. Later she became the great Mrs. Miles, and instructed Princess Charlotte of Wales" (Balderston, p. 455 n. 8). For a reference by HLP to Mrs. Miles, see ante 13 Dec. 1809, n. 4.

12 An Essay on Criticism i.315-17.

13 Proverbs xxx.15.

14 Charles Shephard's verses untraced.

15 For Christopher Smart and CB, see ante 13 Aug. 1808, nn. 10, 11. MF's reference is to Johnson's remark in conversation with Dr. Burney on Smart: "Indeed, before his confinement, he used for exercise to walk to the ale-house; but he was carried back again" (Life i. 397).

16 Callimanco: "A woolen stuff of Flanders, glossy on the surface, and woven with a satin twill and chequered in the warp, so that the checks are seen on one side only; much used in the 18th c." (OED).

17 The second edition of Rapin's History, translated by Nicholas Tindal, appeared in 2 vols., folio, 1732-51.

18 The reference is from the first long paragraph in the Book of Common Prayer.

19 CB was still in residence at Chelsea College in Jan. 1809.

20 The Pump Room at Bath.

21 Reference untraced.

22 For the birth of Lady Keith's daughter, Georgina Elphinstone (1809-92) and HLP, see ante 19 Sept. 1809, n. 13.

23 Possibly an allusion to: "I stood like a man at a mark, with a whole army shooting at me" (Much Ado About Nothing II. i.254). Robert Leighton (1611-84), Archbishop of Glasgow, The Works of Robert Leighton, ed. G. Jerment, 1805-08. Quotation untraced in Leighton's works.

24 Julius Caesar I.ii.193.

Monday 6 February 1810

MS. JRL (582.51).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Bath.

POSTMARK: C FE 7 810, 12 o'Clock FE 7 1810 Nn.

Feb. 6, 1810.

Here shall be a letter, my ever dear Mrs. Piozzi, with less about Music, and more about Mr. Shephard, who is such a Favourite--no wonder! A clever amusing creature he is to be sure--"The merriest man,/Within the limits of becoming mirth, etc., etc."¹ --talks on every thing with the Same good humour--has entertained us extremely Since he came from Bath, and gives besides such a satisfactory account of Mrs. Piozzi, expatiating with me on her every separate perfection as much as long as I will. So you See Mr. Shephard is in all our good graces--only I'm angry with him for despising Miss Smith² which I find he does, or affects to do, and for maintaining that his handwriting is better than mine, which, bad as it is, I always deny.

I hear there are 2 more Vols. of Mrs. Mountagu come out, wh I suppose you have seen. This will be a nice new dish of antithesis for the Ed. Reviewers to fall upon,³ as in their fullest moments their appetite always Serves for the easy dispatch of female productions, or transatlantic writers; witness Northmore and Barlow, Washington and the Columbiad, 2 American Poems, cut up with great glee.⁴ Of Wallace, Mr. Shephard gives

me no flourishing account either, So I turn back to old Rapin, and Froissart, (the modern Herodotus,)⁵ and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation,⁶ which I mean to attack next--and plod on quietly with the solid pudding taking Retrospection for my desert. I had a long chat with Mr. Shephard about it. His favourite Story there is about Urban, I think. "There is a leader and a great Man dead this day in Israel," etc.--I was delighted with the Lord Mayor and the hare. "Let him come," etc., etc., and above all, the Unbeliever's Creed pleases me highly; printed you say, in the Connoisseur--how long ago? And written, I wonder by whom?⁷

Clem took to that very much--he, poor fellow, goes to the City every day with due alacrity--and comes home talking to me about Thread-needle Street and Mincing-Lane⁸--how one rich rogue robs another--How "a man of wealth is dubb'd a man of worth"⁹-- and

"What a world of vile ill-favoured faults

Looks handsome in ten thousand pounds a year!"¹⁰

The old Story, you know, but new to me, though I look as little aghast about it all as I can help. --But Men, at least Boys, must be employed; and even Mr. Wilkins¹¹ is the better perhaps for being forced to trot to the Mansion-House every day.¹² I met him a little while ago. He was very condescending, and gave me a long account of Hindoo Mythology. I ventured to ask him what

had been the result of all his laborious researches. "Poetry --the most elegant fictions and-- "But what historical records?" Of them he owned there was a sad deficit; but added, that a clue had been lately discovered. Much of the Hindoo writings is Prophecy; and this he says he considers as clear History: that it was the custom of those remote ages to write of things past as if they were to come. He talked much to me of a Lady Spencer, a very clever woman he says; do you know her?¹³ She keeps herself very quiet though, because, as Wilkins observed, "Nobody will wear blue stockings you know xxx t's the fashion." Your Friend Dolph does, tho': He is gone back in double blue to hic haec hoc.¹⁴ --The other day, he was laughing at some domestic dilemma. Some unhappy plate that had broken its nose. So Mama told him never to laugh at mischief. "O," said Dolph, "I'm fond of mischief--like Cupid for that!" I believe he takes Cupid for the God of mischief. He says that he read in Tele-machus how Cupid shot an arrow and smiled.¹⁵

Do you See much of Tall Townsend at Bath? His Daughter Mrs. Taunton,¹⁶ who, poor dear, looks like elegance in despair always, lives very near us, and desires me to present her most respectful compliments to Mrs. Piozzi. --I am at Richmond now, on a visit of a week to my Sister. The Neice comes on prodigiously; grows like the grass, only white and red, not green and yellow, and looks beautiful. Charlotte desires her most

affectionate respects to you, dearest Mrs. Piozzi. If these
knocks at the door and Boys at the Balls¹⁷ dont put every
body and every thing else out of your head, do let me have
the happiness of hearing from you Soon--and say how your
health is, and dont put it up in a corner--and tell when you
come to Town, and if my Lord Lake manages matters well at
Brynbella.--at all events do try sweet Mrs. Piozzi to remember
your ever admiring and gratefully attached

Marianne Francis

1 Love's Labor's Lost V.i.121.

2 For Elizabeth Smith, see ante 24 Aug. 1808, n. 19.

3 For Francis Jeffrey's mixed review of The Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu (1809), see Edin. Rev. (Oct. 1809), xx. 75-87.

4 For Francis Jeffrey's unfavorable review of The Columbiad: a Poem by Joel Barlow (Philadelphia, 1807), see Edin. Rev. (Oct. 1809), xv. 24-40. Thomas Northmore, Washington, or Liberty Restored (Baltimore, 1809).

5 For John Froissart's Chronicles, see ante 30 Jan. 1809, n. 18.

6 Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), Bishop of Salisbury (1709), author of History of the Reformation in England, 3 vols., 1679-1714.

7 Noting the influence of Soame Jenyns, HLP wrote: "The Unbeliever's Creed, printed in a weekly paper called Connoisseur, had likewise its momentary effect, and deserved lasting remembrance, as the sprightliest and most compendious answer to the Dubieties of Hume, and his contradictory assertions concerning every thing visible as invisible." She also gave several examples of assertions from the creed; see Retrospection, ii. 437. References to Urban, the Lord Mayor, and the hare untraced.

8 Threadneedle Street, from Princes Street, between the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange, to Bishopsgate Street. Mincing Lane, Fenchurch Street to Tower Street, City occupied principally by merchants and brokers. For an account of London business locations, see Francis Shephard's "The London Money Market" (ch. ii.) and "Industry and Commerce" (ch.v.) in London: 1808-70, Berkeley, 1971.

9 Pope's Imitations of Horace: Epistles I. vi. 81.

10 "Three hundred" (The Merry Wives of Windsor III.iv.32-33).

11 Charles Wilkins (1749-1836), A Grammar of the Sanskrita Language, 8 vols., 1808. MF met Wilkins at a dance at the Dovetons (MF to CBt, 25 Jan. 1810, BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3704A). For the Dovetons, see ante 24 Aug. 1808, n. 21.

12 The Mansion House, the official residence of the Lord Mayor of the City of London, located near Threadneedle Street.

13 Margaret Georgiana (Poyntz) Spencer (1737-1814), married (1755) John Spencer (1734-83), M.P. for Warwick (1756-61), cr. Baron Spencer of Althorp in Brighton (1761). "Lady Stafford writes to her s. Granville, 30 Nov. 1801, 'I do not wonder at your liking Lady Spencer; all men formerly liked her, and she was most captivating and pleasing' (C/okayne/). Lady Spencer was probably known to HLP. Although she does not appear in HLP's letters or diaries, she is mentioned in the writings of Lady Llanover, Mrs. Delany and other bluestockings.

14 Hic, haec, hoc: the Latin nominative singular demonstrative pronoun "this".

15 François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fenelon, The Adventures of Telemachus, the Son of Ulysses, tr. John Hawkesworth, 2 vols., 1809. Quotation untraced.

16 For "Tall Townsend," see ante 13 Dec. 1808, n. 23. Joseph Townsend married Joyce Mankivell (1773). By this marriage he left two daughters, Charlotte and Sophia. MF wrote to CBt, 29 Jan. 1810: "Tall Townsend's daughter, Mrs. Taunton, lives close by, and called on us the other day. Miss Wesley calls her the lute with one string" (BM, Add. MSS., Eger. 3704A).

17 The reference is to the holiday visit of Salusbury, HLP's nephew and heir, and invitations to parties. HLP wrote to ST, 25 Jan. 1810: "Pelted as my Nephew Salusbury and myself are with Invitations, and seduced into Society on every Side by every Creature--I think it very pretty to sit home and write Letters" (NLW, Brynbella MS. 11100A).

Monday 26 February 1810

MS. JRL (582.52).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Bath.

POSTMARK: C FE 27 810.

Monday, Feb. 26, 1810.

My affronted hand is at length prevailed upon to ask whether you will again, ever dear Mrs. Piozzi, admit me in your Crowd of engagements? "Books and all that stuff"! why Bath is the most impudent place in the world, to make you talk so; and how all the silly Souls in it can agree with you, puzzles me, except when I recollect the old saying, Les contraires se cherchent.¹

You have not forgotten how to tell Stories though, I rejoice to find--and the King and the Lord Mayor certainly deserved a place in Retrospection, only I suppose it would have been too much like "speaking evil of dignities."² Poor George the 2d seems to have passed for a sort of "My Lord Fool" with every body. That sad trick of tuning the Instruments in unison is called King George's Overture; and when I asked the reason of this odd epithet, the People told me a Story of His Royal Goose being present at a Concert, arranged with a great deal of trouble for his kingly ears. The Instruments were a long time tuning to perfect pitch, by the zealous Musicians, when

one of them at length stepped out to inquire what his Majesty would please to hear first¹--"O," said the King, "it dont signify; let them play that again."³ --This I suppose I have only been telling you again, my sweet Mrs. Piozzi, knowing and recollecting every thing as you do. One story however that you never heard before I can tell, because it only occurred 2 days ago, and it shoud be known, to make People in love with humanity.

A lady of our acquaintance, Miss Bent,⁴ going out alone at 11 o'clock, to visit a Friend in her own Street, fell down upon the pavement in a fit--(the first She ever had.) None but Strangers saw, none but Brutes were near her, for a Mob collected round. Men began to laugh and Boys to pelt, till a woman passing by, stopped, and entreated that She might be taken in at a Milliners' shop close by. "O No, we can't tell who the Lady is." Next She tried a hackney-Coach going by--"No no," said the surly Brute--"how do I know but the Lady's mad, and I mayn't be paid?" At last, when the woman promised to get in herself too, he consented, and away they drove. In about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour poor Miss Bent began to open her eyes and look wildly round. The woman tried to make out her address in vain; till at length She began to pant and look black and complain so of suffocation, that they were forced to get out of the Coach and walk. The poor Girl seemed revived by the air, and said She recollected then, She knew She lived in

Westminster.⁵ To Westminster then they walked from Russell Square--every Street, every door was tried in vain--no home could be found! Still the Strange woman would not leave her, and they went half over London together, till at length it luckily occurred to her to say over the names of all the Squares, one after another--and when She came to Russell Square, Miss Bent recollected Keppel Street.⁶ Away they went again, and the woman at last succeeded in discovering the house, by 5 o'clock. The Mistress of it began showering down acknowledgements--gratitude and admiration, on the benevolent Stranger, who modestly interrupted her to say that She must "disclaim all praise, She had only been employed in her profession." "Profession?" --"Yes Madam. My Husband is Almoner in the house of Mr. Thornton.⁷ When he is ill, I officiate for him. Our office is to go about London on purpose to discover objects of charity, or to relieve actual distress. The charge is Mr. Thornton's, which he is always delighted to defray, most happy to be of the least use to any being upon earth."

Are not these Thorntons fine creatures now? and was it not a mercy, that this woman happened at such a juncture to be walking by? N.B. This Mr. T. is the friend of Wilberforce.⁸ there are 2 or 3 Brothers, Merchants. Do you forgive this long Story which I have just

heard and could not help writing? Wish me joy. I have finished Rapin, Whigs, Tories and all, at last. But now comes Tindal's Continuation,⁹ and then I have to work at Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation. Do you remember the account of the modern Methusalem, (Henry Jenkins) who lived to 169, and died 1674, I think, in full possession of his faculties¹⁰--now I have made a plan for you to do the same, my dear, evergreen, Mrs. Piozzi. So I shan't ask any more about the health, for fear I should tease you into neglecting, that it may not be inquired about. The People tease each other about "Penseés du Prince de Ligne,"¹¹ which all think it their duty to read. Then they quarrel about the London Institution (9 years old I find) where one of the Clerks, from Some unpardonable negligence, has been suffered to elope with 1300l.¹² which will prove but a sad companion for him, poor fellow, I fear. Then come those spiteful Reviews-- The Edinburgh Democrats saying, "we get up a number of neat little expeditions."¹³ Does not this stupid, unfeeling, irony put you in a passion? and does not this method of mentioning the late national calamity,¹⁴ and sad consumption of men and money, fit very ill into the case of a joke? Buonaparte like his Father, "with leer malign" contemplating the Scene.¹⁵ --I should think his picture might be advantagiously taken in that predicament, and would no doubt produce a better effect than

a design I heard of the other day, sent to a Painter to execute. He was requested to represent a Princess with an Infant and a Nurse just cast on a desert Island. "With one eye" (the Designer enjoined,)" let the Princess be compassionately looking at the Infant She holds in her arms, with the other let her be angrily glancing at the Vessel, sailing away, that left her behind."¹⁶

Adieu, my beloved Mrs. Piozzi! Pray let me hear soon, that I may be sure you forgive all this nonsense from your ever admiring and gratefully and affectionately attached.

Marianne Francis

Mama sends her best, truest remembrance, and good wishes for a speedy and propitious journey to Town.¹⁷ Clem always will insist on his love to Mrs. Piozzi, whom he is planning often to See, spite of the dot and go one¹⁸--and little Dolph, poor squinting Cupid, is learning Epigrams and "doing Phedrus" at School too, in hopes you'll like his Latin.

1 Proverb untraced.

2 Reference and quotation untraced.

3 George II (1683-1760), patron of Heidegger and Handel.
Story untraced.

4 Miss Bent unidentified.

5 Westminster, a city constituted by royal charter, extends as far as Kensington and Chelsea westward, to the City of London boundary (Temple Bar) eastward, to the Thames southward, and to Marylebone northward.

6 For Keppel Street, Russell Square, see ante 7 Nov. 1809, n. 1.

7 Henry Thornton (1760-1815), philanthropist and economist elected M.P. for Southwark (1782-1815), intimate friend of William Wilberforce, influential member of the "Clapham Sect," first Treasurer of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), author of Probable Effects of the Peace upon the Commercial Interests of Great Britain (1802). Henry Thornton had two brothers, Samuel (1755-1838), director of the Bank of England, and Robert, M. P. for Colchester. E. M. Forster's biography of Henry Thornton's daughter, Marianne Thornton (1956) gives a detailed picture of the early Evangelical movement.

8 For William Wilberforce (1759-1833), see ante 3 Jan. 1809, n. 8.

9 Nicholas Tindal, The Continuation of Mr. Rapin-Thoyras' History of England, from the Revolution to the Accession of King George II, 2d edn., 2 vols., 1751.

10 Henry Jenkins (d. 1670), called the "Modern Methusalah," a native of Yorkshire, claimed to have been born about 1501, was buried at Bolton, where he is commemorated by an obelisk.

11 Letters et pensées du Marechal Prince de Ligne, publiées par Madame le Baronne de Stael Holstein: contenant des anecdotes inédites sur Joseph II, Catherine II, Frédéric le Grand, Rousseau, Voltaire, etc., et des remarques intéressantes sur les Turcs, 1808.

12 For the London Institution, see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 20. Story untraced.

13 For Henry Brougham's comments on "The Conduct of the War," see Edin. Rev. (Oct. 1809), xv. 197-236. Quotation untraced.

14 The "late national calamity" refers to Walcheren; see ante 14 Nov. 1809, n. 19.

15 "With jealous leer maligne" (Paradise Lost iv.503).

16 Story untraced.

17 For HLP's visit to London, see ante 14 Nov. 1809, n. 2.

18 For "dot and go one," see ante 13 June 1809, n. 24.

Friday 9 March 1810

MS. JRL (582.53).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Bath.

POSTMARK: B MR 10 810.

March 9th. 1810, Chenies St. Bedford Sqr.

My dearest Mrs. Piozzi cannot digest a letter I find, unless it carry some tidings of her Favourite Mr. Charles Shephard. So I must perforce, say something about him, in order to procure a patient reading for myself. Well then! We do meet pretty often and generally quarrel whenever we meet. The other day he dined here, and I told him, like a Fool, your decision about our hands, which of course made him more conceited than ever. He called once since--but I was driving about from one dull drawing room to another, and so missed my quarrel. (N.B. this is not my constant practice. I follow Swift's prescription as nearly as I can. You recollect his impudent advice to a young Lady. "With regard to the trade of Visiting, half a dozen Fools are, in all conscience, as many as you should require, and it will be sufficient for you to see them twice a year."¹

Shephard has persuaded me to read Blackstone.² So I am up to my chin in Freehold and Copyhold, Fee-Simple and Fee-tail, without being able to make either head or tail of the matter. So now, my sweet Mrs. Piozzi, no tongue can accuse me of not saying all I can devise, about your Friend, to please you, and give myself a good right to hasten to Somebody else. The first

that occurs is Alex: D'Arblay, who, talking of Fools, (i.e. myself, at the top of the page) comes into my head; I suppose because he is a Fool reversed, that is, a very clever fellow. When he was quite a Baby, he called his Nurse a Fool one day. "My dear," said his Mama, "You must never call your Nurse a Fool." "Who may I call Fool then?" --"Nobody, my little Boy." "Why then what's the word made for?" said Alex, sharp enough. No news, Alas, is heard either of him or his Mother now;³ none indeed, since a letter filled with apprehensions lest Alex should fall under that horrid Conscription and be forced away to fight, against English arms perhaps⁴--perhaps upon English ground, if the sad prophecy of some despairing minds should be fulfilled, that the mercy of Buonaparte to England will be like the favour of Polypheme to Ulysses; "to be the last devoured." For my part I think it best fun to suppose that we shall escape, like Ulysses, at last. How I can jump from Ulysses to Charlotte, I dont very well know. But I must say that She and the Neice, (par excellence) and Barrett have been with us a few days in Town, and threaten me with all the plagues of Egypt, if I forget their best respects and Char's affectionate remembrances to Mrs. Piozzi. She is wise and contents herself with one beautiful Baby, instead of ambitioning more. Yesterday, Barrett went to See--Alexander, Widow, aged 108, who Shews herself

and gives an engraving of that self for 5 shillings in Hanway Yard.⁵ She was in bed though, when he arrived, so his curiosity was disappointed. The most amusing Specimen of longevity I recollect is recorded in the works of Sir Wm Temple, who says and believes, that in the reign of James I, the Morrice dance was performed by twelve old men, whose ages together made only twelve hundred years!⁶ Bless their old hearts! My Favourite Henry Jenkins lived like an old Strulbrug⁷ till 169 I vow. But all this is in Retrospection, no doubt,⁸ and I had better have been reading it there, than writing it here. Collins the Poet had one of the best Memories in the world my Uncle Charles says, because he read more than any body and quoted less--always recollecting to separate his own remarks and stories from those of other People.⁹ This is not my fortunate case. it was my good fortune though to light upon your Bonmot of George the second directly. When application was made to him for silencing Whitfield, "Shall I," said the King, "Make him a Bishop?"¹⁰ Is that right?

I saw Grandpapa yesterday, for the first time since I have been in Town. He looked perfectly well, strong, and coughless, which I glory in--in spirits enough to make me play to him--only fearing a little, the Spring. You know last year, it was all but fatal to him. Dr. Charles dined here a few days ago, (When Mr. C.S. was with us. I wanted those two to talk, but somehow,

they would not.) The Doctor expatiated a little upon Herodotus, his excellence, simplicity and truth, etc., to all which I listened with unaltered mien. For I suppose if he had suspected that I was reading this very book and admiring it's excellence at that very time, he never would have given me his blessing again. I believe no man ever yet sincerely tolerated a dead language in a live Female, however he might pretend to candour, etc., etc. The cloven foot of jealousy always peeps through etc., etc. every contrivance of policy to conceal it--And the good old reign of puddings and tapestry is often inwardly regretted, I suspect.

I have at length finished Rapin, who comes down with his 2 Folios to Queen Anne; then up starts Tindal, and goes to George the II with 2 more. This is unconscionable I do think. An excuse for shirking Tindal, in Favour of Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation which I do desire to read, would please me, I must own. So now my dear, Evergreen Mrs. Piozzi, if you know of a better Historian of those times than Tindal, or if he can be impeached of partiality or prolixity do pray tell, and I shall leave him in triumph.

Mrs. Placid I have not Seen, but will, Friend Codger and all.¹¹ Mr. John Kingston, the Widower of Barrett's beautiful and unfortunate Sister has been publishing a Novel.¹² Shame

on his silver hairs! (If he had any.) I have no patience with a man shaping the result of a classical education, extensive reading and leisure hours into a Love Story. Faulconstein Forest, is the name; Mr. K. wished it to be called a Moral Tale; but Hookham, the Printer¹³ gravely assured him that in that case no Ladies would read his book, which he had much better call a Romantic Tale. With what success the amendment was adopted, I have yet to learn.

Miss Bent is quite recovered. No renewal of her attack, no vestige of disorder now. You would have been a wiser Wife for Thornton's Almoner, to be sure. But then consider the poor Girl insisted She knew where She lived, and the woman believed her, all the time, expecting to knock at the door every instant. Miss Bent is on a visit to Some Friends in Keppel Street. I like what you say about H.T.¹⁴--and the verses you sent me were beautiful, and so was your letter, and so is every thing you write and do and say, except finding fault with my beautiful hand. Dolph returned home yesterday upon attainer of the whooping-cough--but no symptoms have yet appeared, and we hope it is a mistake.¹⁵ He bids me tell you he is in Ovid's Epistles, and he thinks all about Hercules the prettiest part.

Mrs. Mountagu's Letters are not out yet,¹⁶ I believe; at least I have not seen them. They are very slow. We shan't

have "Mons parturiens,"¹⁷ etc., etc., I hope. Happen however what will, my dear, invaluable Mrs. Piozzi, never happen to doubt the gratitude admiration and sincere affection of your ever attached.

Marianne Francis

Now do own: this is more legible. Is it not?

Mama's best, truest regards, and our toast, "a speedy journey to London." Clem says as usual--"Be sure to send my best love." Pray let me hear soon.

1 For the quotation from Swift's "A Letter to a Young Lady, on her Marriage," see ante 3 Jan. 1809, n. 15.

2 William Blackstone (1723-80), judge and writer, author of Commentaries on the Laws of England (1765-69) and a collection of Law Tracts (1762).

3 Alexander d'Arblay (1794-1837), son of Alexander-Jean-Baptiste Piochard d'Arblay (1754-78) and Frances Burney (1752-1840), deacon (1818), priest (1819), Perpetual Curate of Camden Town (1824-37), and Minister of Ely Chapel (1836) (WW). Story untraced.

4 For Robert Walsh's article on the French "Code de la Conscription," see Edin. Rev. (Jan. 1809), xiii.427-62. "In the spring of 1812 M. d'Arblay heard of an American captain who was to sail from Dunkirk with a clandestine landing at Dover in mind; and Madame d'Arblay, having spent almost ten years in France, determined to take this means of returning to visit her father and her family and to deposit Alex, now a tall, good-looking youth of seventeen, safely beyond the reach of Napoleon and of conscription in the army destined for the Russian campaign" (Hemlow, pp. 324-25). FBA's letter untraced.

5 The widow Alexander untraced. Hanway Street, Oxford Street, a narrow lane running into Tottenham Court Road, once called Hanway Yard.

6 Sir William Temple (1628-99), The Works of William Temple, Bart., 2 vols., 1750. The story of the Morrice-Dance appears in the chapter on "Health and Long Life" in Temple's Miscellanea (1701) (Works, i. 276-77).

7 In Gulliver's Travels (1726) the Struldbrugs are a race endowed with immortality which renders them miserable; see ch.x.

8 These references are not included in Retrospection.

9 Reference on Collins' memory untraced.

10 George II, King of England. George Whitfield (1714-70). HLP wrote in Retrospection: "I well remember when the ardent, though irregular, exhortations of Mr. George Whitfield roused the metropolis from its stupor, that some application was made to his majesty for silencing him as they said: his reply was echoed about immediately. 'Shall I (cried the King) make him a bishop!'" (ii. 390).

11 Mrs. Placid untraced.

12 John Kingston (1782-1860) married Julia (Barrett) Kingston sister of HBt; author of *Faulconstein Forest* (n.d.) (WW).

13 J. Hookham, printer, 13, Great New Street, Fetter Lane (London Directory for 1810).

14 H.T. may refer to Henry Thornton. Verses untraced.

15 Dolph suffered from ill health all his life and died of consumption in 1817 (Hemlow, p. 395). In Ovid's Heroides, Epistle ix, "Deianira," is devoted to stories of Hercules.

16 For Elizabeth Montagu's Letters, see ante 6 June 1809, n. 2.

17 For the reference to "mons parturiens," see ante 15 Feb. 1809, n. 7.

Wednesday 28 March 1810

MS. JRL (582.54).

ADDRESS: Mrs. Piozzi, Bath.

POSTMARK: C MR 28 810.

March 28. 1810. London.

My dearest Mrs. Piozzi wrote me a delightful letter indeed this time, and in such good spirits too, that it made me quite happy; so here comes my best Copper-Plate to tell her so. I read the incipient recantation most exultingly to Mr. Shephard, but my pride of superiority was a little abated at being compelled in common honesty to shew him the recantation reversed.¹ However we were both charmed with the letter in general. He knows tall Townsend, and says the Col. of Rhodes is excellent, and gives you credit for the device.² I saw too a sweet penitential answer of yours to an address objurgatory from him, something about an ounce of pork.³ My sweet Mrs. Piozzi, dont starve yourself, that's such an unbecoming exit: besides you are coming to Town soon, and I expect and depend upon seeing you fat and stout and brilliant, and evergreen as you always are. I pity poor Shephard who is breaking his heart, because he is forced to be in the country a month, while you are in Town. He requests I will tell you that there are Three Houses in Holles Street to be let.⁴ One small, and two large ones. Can he, can I, can any of us be of use in securing a habitation

for you? You know how proud the Office would make us. O, and another thing! Mr. C. S. says Satus Hercule pulcro--is quoted in Marmion, Dedication to Heber, I think.⁵ The Persian Ambassador is capital. Clem told me a Story something in the same way; but it is only yours, served up in an inferior form, I fancy. Lady Ponsonby, the beautiful, (but what beautiful Lady Ponsonby, I know not)⁶ talking and playing with the Ambassador a long time, his Excellency grew tired at last, so tapping her lightly on the Shoulder, "That will do, pretty Fellow, that will do --go away now."⁷ I have not been so fortunate as to see him yet, though he daily perambulates the Streets and Squares, not, however, looking like the Persian Ambassador who was here two Centuries ago, and who had fought so hard with the Turks, that it was said "his Excellency's skin would fetch but little money after his death, because it was so full of holes." "War is a fire lighted at the Devil's Tinder-box," says the same Authority, Howel's Letters, which I have been reading lately with great glee. Do you know them? Your Countryman Mr. Howel was no Moth-eaten Philosopher (Foolosopher as some have it) for whom you could reprehend my antiquated regard, but Secretary to James the 1st. and his ill-fated Son; busy in Spain one part of his life, and in Prison the other. (The only difference between a Martyr and a Prisoner he affirms to be this: that one is buried before his death, the

other after it.) A Man who takes "Fortune's buffets and rewards with equal thanks,"⁸ who barrell'd up a great deal of knowledge in foreign Countries to traffic with in his own, guiding his mind and its Studies by this motto: "Teneri fideliter et uti feliciter." His "Familiar letters in 1 volume" have amused me vastly, and I think you would not have distain'd such a Correspondent, though I often wonder, my dear Mrs. Piozzi, how, after writing to Dr. Johnson and hearing from him so much, you can bear, noble creature as he was! to receive a letter from any other mortal.

Howel's Hypothesis is this: that as a Furnace does dia-phonize dust and sand, so the great Universal fire of that last day shall, by its violent ardor vitrify and crystalize the whole body of the Earth.⁹

I like the Epigram on Buonaparte much: we shall see how far it is prophetically true. There is one comfort for the world, that if Monsters reproduce, they never generate each other¹⁰ (Witness the white Men of Darien,¹¹ etc.) Buonaparte's days must be, (one may hope,) the best of them, threaded on the string of time, and worms must eat him as well as Herod, at last. I dare say it is often matter of exultation to the poor man, that he makes his grave with the rich in his death; that the same narrow house holds them both. But enough of worms and Epitaphs¹²--I must turn to Lords and Ladies. And here you will think me miserably deficient again. Lord Byron's Verses on the Peerage I

never saw. I only know that he wrote some Poems 2 years ago, which found their level in the Ed. Review, that scrupled not to tell their Author he was "a Lord, and nothing but a Lord." There can be nothing new from his Lordship I fancy, because he is under the Persian Sun at present, in the manner of Lord Valencia.¹³ But now that we are upon Lords and rhymes and "such small year,"¹⁴ let me venture to ask my dear Mrs. Piozzi if She has seen Faulconstein Forest, a new publication by Mr. J. Kingston, Barrett's Brother in law--a Romantic Tale in one volume in which shape, some saucy Reviewer will, no doubt say, is couched its chief merit. Dr. Charles has been editing the Meters of Aeschylus,¹⁵ and your Friend Dolph has discovered a new name for Retrospection. He told me the other day, that he went into a shop, and there saw upon the table the same big book I so often read at home. I asked him the Name--"O," says Dolph, "It's Mrs. Piozzi's book-- I mean Annalations of the 5th and 6th Centuries"--(Six-Cinq, as you know Elizabeth used to call Sextus Quintus.)¹⁶ N.B. There is no circulating Library in England that has not Retrospection in it, as matter of course. Poor Dolph is still at home with a cough, and still reads Ovid's Epistles, and never goes to bed without a book by his bed-side, to be ready in the morning.

Yesterday morning, a Gentleman was giving a circumstantial detail of an affair in which he had been ill-treated 20 years ago. "Sir," (said a Listener-on,) "You have a better Memory than

Caesar"--The other stared--"For you forget nothing, not even injuries excepted."¹⁷ So you and Caesar must go down in the bad Memories after all. The People here talk of nothing but the Archduchess's fête (fate)¹⁸ and long for Fortunatus's invisible cap. (cap or ring was it)¹⁹ to slip over to France, and see the sport.

I have a Cousin who has seen this last, greatest wonder of the world, Napoleon (I always cut off the N) and says, he has the "eye of the eagle."²⁰ This is William Phillips, Brother to my blooming Cousin Fanny: he is a little Midshipman at home on board his Majesty's Ship leave of absence (the pleasantest of the whole line) for a short time, after 3 years in the West Indies, etc.²¹--by which means he has acquired a right to boast 3 times a day, that he has done more than Buonaparte, for he has stood with one leg on one side of the line, and one on the other. There's the cruel Watchman crying one o'clock. I must close the fringed curtains of mine eyes.²² Be sure you take care of yourself and come safe and soon to Town, and let me hear first, pray, and consider Salisbury, if you wont consider any body else.²³ At any rate forgive and endure the admiration and affection of my beloved Mrs. Piozzi's ever irremediably attached

Marianne Francis

N. B. I took a passion for rising early from Thomson's Seasons,

many years ago--and vowed in respect to the Poet, never again to "lie in dead oblivion, losing $\frac{1}{2}$ the fleeting moments of too short a life," etc.²⁴ Think what must have been my disappointment and surprise, at hearing from Grandpapa that going once to visit my etherial author at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, he found him in bed. "How is this Sir?" said he-- "O," cried Thomson, "I stay in bed because I've no motive for rising."²⁵ Is this the nature which slumber could not tempt! I exclaimed to myself when I heard it, shocked at the dissonance of thoughts and action, and secretly resolved never to believe in poetic instruction again.

Mama's best regards and propitiatory wishes for a safe and speedy journey. When will you come? Clem insists on his best love still, which he hopes soon to lay at your feet himself. Adieu my beloved Mrs. Piozzi. I never know how to leave off.

1 For a reference to HLP's commentaries on MF's handwriting, see ante p. xliii.

2 For Tall Townsend, see ante 13 Dec. 1808, n. 23. The Colossus of Rhodes was a bronze statue of Apollo by the Greek sculptor Chares, 250 B.C. According to tradition, its feet rested on two moles, which formed the entrance to the harbour, and ships passed between its legs.

3 Objurgatory: "Having the character of scolding or chiding; conveying or uttering an objurgation or sharp rebuke" (OED).

4 Holles Street, Cavendish Square and Oxford Street. HLP's letter untraced.

5 For Walter Scott's Marmion, see ante 4 July 1808, n. 6. Walter Scott dedicated the sixth canto of Marmion to Richard Heber, the editor of Persius and other classical authors, but this quotation does not appear in the dedication to canto six or any of the other cantos. Scott writes of Heber: "Of Roman and of Grecian lore/Sure mortal brain can hold no more" (Walter Scott, Marmion: a Tale of Flodden Field, 3d edn., Edinburgh, 1808, ll. 129-30). "Sound by handsome Hercules."

6 Louisa (Molesworth) Ponsonby (1749-1824), married (1) (1769) William Brabazon Ponsonby (1744-1806), cr. Baron Ponsonby of Imokilly, co. Cork (13 Mar. 1806); (2) (1823) William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam (d. 1833), second Earl Fitzwilliam.

7 The Persian Ambassador, Mirza Abdul-Hosan visited England in 1810. "The Persian Ambassador was introduced to her Majesty with the same pomp and form as if her Majesty was holding a public drawing room. His Excellency delivered his Credentials to her Majesty, and also the presents from his Court....which were most graciously received" (Gent. Mag., Jan. 1810, lxxx. 79).

8 See Hamlet III. ii.72-73.

9 James Howell (?1594-1666), diplomat and administrator under Charles I, imprisoned as a Royalist (1643-1651), author of Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae: Familiar Letters (1645), ed. Joseph Jacobs, 1890-92. The quotations read: "A Prisoner and a Martyr are the same thing, save, that the one is buried before his death, the other after" (p. 296); "War is a Fire struck in the Devil's tinder box" (p. 350) (1737 edn.). Remaining quotations untraced. "To be held and employed in affection."

10 HLP's epigram untraced. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, HLP "filled Thraliana with long disquisitions seeking to prove that Napoleon was the Beast of the Apocalypse" (Clifford, p. 417). For this comparison, see ante 15 Feb. 1809, n. 5.

11 MF refers to the "Darien scheme," an effort by Scotland "to emulate England and Holland by seizing part of the colonial trade which had contributed so much to the affluence of those countries: it collapsed...in the failure of the Darien scheme and the virtual bankruptcy of the 'Company of Scotland' to which the people of Scotland had committed so much both in money and in hopes in the years after 1695" (T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People: 1560-1830, 1969, p. 242).

12 "Let's talk of graves, of worms and epitaphs" (Richard II III.iii.69).

13 For Edin. Rev. and Byron, see ante 10 Jan. 1810, n. 8. For Lord Valentia, see ante 10 Jan. 1810, n. 7. Byron was on a grand tour of Iberia and Greece (1809-11), had written Hours of Idleness, Newark, 1807.

14 Quotation untraced.

15 Aeschylus, Aeschyli Tragoediae, MS. notes by C. Burney, 1806 [BMC]. CBJr's later work on Aeschylus untraced.

16 Sixtus V (Felix Perretti), pope (1585-90).

17 For another reference to "injuries," see ante 15 Feb. 1809 .

18 The marriage of Buonaparte and the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria was celebrated in Vienna 11 Mar. 1810. The Archduchess set off for Paris on the 13th. For a description of "The New Empress of France" see Gent. Mag. (Mar. 1810), lxxx. 270.

19 Dekker's comedy, Old Fortunatus (1600), dramatized the folk tale of the beggar Fortunatus, who, in his travels, secured the marvellous hat of the Soldan of Turkey, which transported the wearer wherever he wished to go.

20 Apollyon: the devil. "Behold his eye, as bright as is the eagle's" (Richard II III.iii.69).

21 John William Phillips (1791-1833), third child of Molesworth Phillips and Susannah Elizabeth Burney, Captain of the ship Elizabeth and Lieutenant of the Royal Navy, died at sea (WW). For Fanny (Phillips) Raper, see ante 24 Oct. 1808, n. 2.

22 The Tempest I.ii.402.

23 For John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, see ante 4 July 1808, n. 2.

24 "Summer" The Seasons 11. 72-73.

25 For an account of the incident, see Lonsdale, p. 29.